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TRAVELS
THROUGH
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA,

THE
COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS,

AND
UPPER CANADA,

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797;

WITH AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF LOWER CANADA.

BY THE
DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT LIANCOURT.

VOL. II.

CONTAINING THE TOUR THROUGH VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, THE JERSEYS, AND
NEW-YORK, A GENERAL VIEW OF THE COMMERCE, POLITICS, AND MANNERS,
OF THE UNITED STATES; WITH TWO MAPS, AND FOUR LARGE TABLES.

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FRANKLIN

THE UNITED STATES

NORTH AMERICA

COUNTRY OWNED PROPERTY

SUPPER CANADA

WITH A VIEW TO THE PRODUCTION OF

DUKE DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT

VOL. II

CONTAINS A FULL AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC, FROM THE FIRST
SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

London

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TRAVELS

THROUGH

The United States of North America, Canada, &c.

IN THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797.

PASSAGE FROM CHARLESTON TO NORFOLK.

THERE do not frequently occur opportunities of obtaining a passage from Charleston to Norfolk: the season was too far advanced to admit of travelling on horseback through North-Carolina, and making in that state a sufficiently long stay to acquire good information. After having waited a week for a vessel to convey me to Virginia, I had engaged a birth in a sloop: but my Charleston friends thought it too much encumbered with passengers to allow of my being conveniently accommodated on board, besides its being indifferently equipped; and Mr. Grant, one of those gentlemen from whom I had experienced the greatest civilities at Charleston, invited me to give the preference to a small vessel that was consigned to him, which belonged to one of his friends at Norfolk, and which was to sail in two days. This vessel was not to be laden, to carry no other passengers than the owner's nephew and myself, and to take us in three days to Norfolk. Although I disliked the vessel on account of her small size, as she was but of twenty-nine tons burden, yet the advantage of the other circumstances counterbalanced that objection, and I thankfully accepted the offer: but, instead of sailing at the expiration of two days, she was delayed six days longer: instead of having no cargo, she was laden with casks of rice even to the very cabin: instead of a single fellow-passenger, there were four: instead of being a

good failer, she was as slow as a Dutch dogger: the captain was ignorant, lazy, careless, and unacquainted with the difficult coast of North Carolina.

At length, after having encountered the most serious dangers on the shoals of Cape Fear and Cape Lookout, which we ought to have left at the distance of thirty miles; after having had one of our masts four times shattered by the severity of the weather; after having run aground during the night on a bank in Chesapeake Bay, from which we extricated ourselves with difficulty at the expence of four hours' severe labour; after having escaped from several other perils to which the ignorance and neglect of our captain had exposed us; and after a most unpleasant voyage of eleven days, we arrived at Norfolk on the 29th of May.

Thus it often happens that the event is far from corresponding with the measures planned by prudent foresight: but inconveniences and dangers are nothing when they are passed; and those attached to sea-voyages leave a less strong impression on the mind than any other. Besides, on sea, danger does not subject the passenger to any laborious exertions: for in that situation, beyond all others, he is compelled to acknowledge himself subject to the sway of uncontrollable necessity. His condition, however, is not on that account the more agreeable; far from it: but it affords a sort of melancholy consolation to a man already fatigued with untoward events, and predisposed to bear with patience those further crosses of which he is destined to be the sport.

On my passage I learned that our little vessel belonged to Colonel H****, the British consul, and principal of one of the most opulent commercial houses in Norfolk, which, however, does not bear his name, but that of his nephew, Thomas H****: for by the laws of England, and those of every nation who wish that the duty of their envoy should be the primary object of his attention, a consul is not allowed to carry on any species of commerce in the country where he is employed. But Colonel H****, like so many others, thus eludes that regulation, and employs his capital on his own account under the firm of his nephew, which he directs

directs as completely as if he were the avowed principal in the business. It was with Mr. Morgan—who is not the colonel's relative as Mr. Grant had informed me, but one of the persons employed under him for the affairs of the consulate—that I failed : and from his conversation I had a new opportunity of observing how uniformly all those who are employed by the * * * * ministry, and all such as have imbibed their principles, speak of the Americans with aversion and contempt. Such a disposition on their part seems as little likely to furnish motives that should render palatable the late treaty of amity and commerce, as the articles of the treaty itself.

Since the revolution, * * * * has nominated, for her consuls in the United States, Americans who had been proscribed in their native country for having taken part in opposition to the cause of independence ; she has sent thither, as her ministers, men the most violent in their opinions, and in their discourses against the American nation. In the midst of peace she seizes her ships, and presses her sailors ; she renews these outrages with additional violence at the very moment of concluding the treaty of alliance ; and the American government testifies no resentment of such proceedings. When we see, as is the case at the present period, that morality and honesty are utterly disregarded in politics, it is easy to account for the conduct of * * * * in this particular ; but that of the American rulers is wholly unaccountable.

In sailing out of Charleston Bay, we crossed the bar by the north passage, near Sullivan's Island : this is the narrowest and shallowest of all the passages ; but it was more than sufficiently deep for our purpose : we had a good pilot on board : and thus with perfect safety we abridged our course by a dozen of miles. A few days before, a ship from Jamaica, a valuable prize taken by a French privateer, had been lost through the mismanagement of a drunken pilot, who ran her aground in conducting her through the middle passage, which is the deepest of all. The nature of the sand which composes the bank is such, that in a few hours, it swallows up whatever touches upon it, and that the ship in

in question, from which only a few bales of coffee could be saved, totally disappeared in twelve hours, hull and masts, so that not a vestige of her was any longer to be discovered.

ENTRANCE INTO ELIZABETH RIVER.

Those vessels which, as was the case with ours, are bound for Norfolk, steer to the left after they have passed between Cape Henry and Cape Charles, which form the entrance of the Chesapeake. On Cape Henry is erected a fort which is seen from a great distance. Behind it, and opposite to the entrance of this vast bay, and a little to the left, is Hampton Road. We approached within sight of it in order to gain Elizabeth River, after having passed by the mouths of James and Nansemond Rivers.

STATE OF VIRGINIA.—NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH.

Norfolk is built on Elizabeth River, at nine miles from the spot where it discharges its waters into the bay. In the intervening space there are few houses, and those few almost all present a wretched appearance. An almost uninterrupted succession of pines are the only object which meets the voyager's eye. Erancy Island lies nearly in the middle of the river at a short distance above its mouth. Two points of land, which approach within a quarter of a mile of each other in front of Norfolk, are strengthened with forts which are capable of successfully defending the entrance. That on the Norfolk side is in better condition than the other, which, however, might be speedily repaired, and at no great expence.

The town of Norfolk was entirely burned at the commencement of the war, by order of Lord Dunmore, who was at that time governor of Virginia for the king of England. Not a single house remained standing: and the damage was estimated at a million and half of dollars. The English, who now inhabit the town, ashamed of that act of barbarity, assert

assert that Lord Dunmore gave orders only for the burning of the warehouses on the wharfs, for the purpose of facilitating the defence of the place, and that it was the Americans themselves who burned the remainder of the town by order of the committee of safety of the legislature of Virginia. It is not forgotten how a few years ago the Jacobins in France said that the aristocrats were themselves the persons who set fire to their own *châteaux*. Party-animosity prompts men to advance the grossest absurdities, and causes them to be believed even by those who relate them.—Mankind are every where the same:—an observation, of which the truth is universally acknowledged.

Portsmouth, a small assemblage of houses on the opposite side of the river, did not share in the conflagration of Norfolk. From its situation it seemed entitled to expect all the commerce of Elizabeth River: at its quays the greatest depth of water is found: at the highest tides, it is there twelve feet deep, whereas it is only six at Norfolk: the pump-water at the former place is not brackish, as at the latter: the soil on which the town is built is more dry, and the air more salubrious. But, at the conclusion of the peace, the inhabitants being incensed against the English, refused to admit any merchant of that nation, or any new-comer whose political principles were liable to suspicion. To this rancorous disposition was attributed a political motive of a less generous kind—an apprehension on the part of the American merchants who had remained at Portsmouth, lest the new traders who might come to settle among them, should, by the advantage of bringing in greater capitals than they themselves possessed, be enabled to outdo them in the line of commerce.

However this may be, the consequence has been, that the inhabitants have removed to the opposite side; that Norfolk has been rebuilt, and that its trade is twenty times more considerable than that of Portsmouth: nay, the few merchants who still reside in the latter town, purchase at Norfolk almost all the articles that constitute their cargoes, and some of them even have their counting-houses there.

Portsmouth, which, in a very great space, contains at present only
about

about a hundred houses, and whose streets run in very straight lines, wears the appearance rather of a town recently traced out than of one already built. A small market is held there, but it is indifferently supplied: there is also an episcopalian church, a tolerably handsome building, in which, as in all the churches of Georgia, Carolina, and Virginia, a peculiar station is allotted to the negroes, who are not allowed to mingle with the whites.

At the close of the year eighty-three there were not yet twelve houses rebuilt at Norfolk: at present the number is between seven and eight hundred. It is one of the ugliest, most irregular, and most filthy towns that can any-where be found. The houses are low and unsightly, almost all constructed of wood, and erected without any attention to make them regularly line with each other; not twenty of them are built of brick. The streets are unpaved: the town is surrounded by swamps: the nastiness and stench which prevail in it are excessive, and add to the natural insalubrity of the situation, and of the climate which is extremely hot. The magistrates, it is said, have sometimes attempted to introduce into the place a greater degree of order, and especially of cleanliness: but these regulations have not been attended to; and nobody is any longer willing to act as magistrate.

From these concurrent sources of unhealthiness it results that diseases are habitual at Norfolk in summer and autumn, and that malignant epidemics are there frequent. Last year the yellow fever is said to have carried off there five hundred persons from a population of four thousand. Three hundred died at the time the distemper prevailed; the others fell victims to its consequences. The inhabitants of Norfolk, even those among them who are the most opulent, fancy that the use of wine and strong liquors furnishes them with a preservative against the insalubrity of the climate; and they make liberal use of the remedy. Previous to the war, the town is said to have contained eight thousand inhabitants.

Norfolk carries on a considerable trade with Europe, the Antilles, and the Northern states. Her exports are wheat, flour, Indian corn, timber

timber of every kind, particularly planks, staves, and shingles, salt meat and fish, iron, lead, flax-seed, tobacco, tar, turpentine, hemp. All these articles are the produce of Virginia, or of North Carolina, which latter state, having no sea-ports, or none that are good, makes her exportations principally through those of Virginia.

Norfolk is the only port for the southern part of this extensive state: for, as no vessels above the burden of a hundred or a hundred and twenty tons can go up to Petersburg or Richmond, the produce of the back country which is brought to those places by land, is for the most part sent down in lighters to Norfolk, whence it is exported. Thus, this port almost singly carries on all the commerce of that part of Virginia which lies south of the Rappahannoc, and of North Carolina far beyond the Roanoke.

They are at present forming a canal, which, passing through the Dismal-Swamp, is to unite the waters of the south branch of Elizabeth-River, or rather of Dup-Creek which falls into it, with Albemarle-Sound, by the river Pasquotank, and which will thus considerably shorten and facilitate the communication between North-Carolina and Norfolk. This canal, to which the two legislatures of North-Carolina and Virginia have severally given their sanction, is carried on by subscription: it is three years since it was begun; and in three years more it is expected to be finished. It is to be twenty-eight miles in length, and to run through a soil which is said to be very favourable for the purpose, and easily worked. Five miles of it are already dug on the Virginia side, which I examined with some care, and thought very well executed: the same length is also dug on the side of North-Carolina. The Dismal-Swamp has less solidity than any other which I have ever yet seen: but the earth, which is dug for the passage of the canal, hardens in the air, and makes an excellent dike.

What must appear very surprising, is, that, for this canal which already seems in such a state of forwardness, no levels have been taken. It is not yet known what number of locks may be necessary, and even whether any will be requisite: consequently it is impossible to ascertain what
may

may be the expence of completing it, or even whether the success of the undertaking can be depended on. It is thus almost all the public works are carried on in America, where there is a total want of men of talents in the arts, and where so many able men, who are perhaps at this moment unemployed in Europe, might to a certainty make their fortunes at the same time that they were rendering essential service to the country.

The exportations from Norfolk amounted, in 1791, to 1,028,780 dollars—in 1792, to 1,147,414—in 1793, to 1,045,525—in 1794, to 1,687,194—in 1795, to 1,934,827—and already to 1,088,105 dollars for the first quarter of the current year (1796). When we consider the increase in the exports for some years back, we must recollect that the difference is much more considerable in the value than in the quantity. The necessities of Europe have more than doubled the price: and although it be certainly a fact that the clearing of new grounds augments the quantum of produce, that augmentation bears no proportion to the difference of value presented by the tables for three years back, sent in from the different custom-houses. In giving a combined view of the details of the exportation of the three principal articles of the produce of the country for the last five years, I furnish an additional proof of my assertion.

QUANTITIES.	YEARS.				
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
Barrels of Flour	35,071	45,909	52,836	78,981	66,527
Bushels of Indian Corn	341,984	286,834	258,735	211,313	442,075
Casks of Naval Stores	29,376	44,665	26,753	23,286	14,704
VALUE OF THOSE ARTICLES.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
Flour	191,639	242,357	296,415	436,352	629,384
Indian Corn	120,733	104,977	154,264	105,661	172,499
Naval Stores	52,333	62,631	45,014	45,504	33,111

Thus we see that a barrel of flour, whose medium value in 1791 was five dollars and fifty-five cents, in 1792 five dollars and three cents, in 1793 five dollars and fifteen cents, in 1794 five dollars and fifty-six cents,

cents, rose in 1795 to nine dollars and thirty-five cents; and that Indian corn, which is an article of only secondary demand, was at thirty-seven cents the bushel in 1791, at fifty-four in 1792, at sixty-one in 1793, at fifty-one in 1794, and at sixty-six in 1795.

The comparative table of the prices of timber for the five preceding years exhibits the same augmentation of price.

Years.	Hoghead Staves		Barrel Staves, per thousand.	Heading, per thousand.	Boards, per hundred feet.	Shingles, per thousand.	Square timber, per hundred feet.
	White Oak, per thousand.	Red Oak, per thousand.					
	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.	Doll. Cents.
1791.	16. 66	11. 66	„ 33	20. „	1. 50	2. „	12. „
1792.	16. 56	13. 50	10. „	20. „	1. 50	2. „	12. „
1793.	16. 66	15. „	10. „	20. „	1. 50	2. „	12. „
1794.	20. „	15. „	10. „	20. „	2. „	2. 50	12. „
1795.	20. 15	14. 50	10. „	25. „	2. 50	3. „	13. „

With respect to the naval stores, as they consist of various articles extremely different in value, and as I am not furnished with the particulars, I cannot subject the amount of the general estimates to the same comparison as those of the wheat, Indian corn, and timber.

Exclusive of the flour exported from Norfolk, there is drawn from the state, through that and other ports, a great quantity of wheat, which is taken by the merchants of Philadelphia and New-York, or the millers of Brandiwine, who manufacture it into flour which they export to Europe. Good mills are not very common in Virginia; and the want of capitals to erect a sufficient number of them does not allow the Virginians to enjoy the great advantages arising from the manufacture of flour, which they have hitherto resigned to the other states. The high price of wheat this year, and the hope that it would rise still higher, have kept in Virginia a considerable quantity of that commodity: and, in consequence of this speculation, which the present state of the market shews to have been ill-founded, the planters and the millers have on hand a greater stock of the article than they have ever had in the preceding years at the same season.

The same is the case with respect to the tonnage of the different American ports; its increase is in great measure owing to the circumstances of the war, which render the American bottoms the only vehicles that afford any tolerable security for the transportation of those articles of American produce of which Europe and the colonies stand in need, and confine in their own ports the merchant ships of France, England, Holland, &c. until the return of peace. Ten years ago, Norfolk could not reckon ten large vessels of her own; whereas at present she possesses fifty of that description, exclusive of fifty others of smaller size particularly employed in the trade to the Antilles. Under the name of Norfolk are to be understood Norfolk and Portsmouth; for those two places, though otherwise distinct, constitute but a single port of entry, and are both subject to the same custom-house. The present tonnage of Norfolk is 15,567 tons, exclusive of the vessels employed in the coasting trade.

The danger of smuggling which might be carried on by vessels coming from foreign countries, and discharging their cargoes in James or York river, induced the congress to enact a law prohibiting vessels bound to Richmond, Petersburg, or York-town, from entering those rivers without having on board a custom-house-officer, whom the captain comes or sends for to Norfolk. This precaution, which operates as a partial check on that illicit trade, does not however entirely repress it; and I have been assured that it is carried on to a considerable amount along the shores of the Chesapeake, notwithstanding the vigilance of two small vessels belonging to the government of the Union, which are constantly cruising with a view to prevent it.

The exportation of tobacco from Norfolk has, by the diminution of the culture of that article in Virginia, been reduced above one third within the last five years. In 1793, it amounted to 15,002 hogheads—in 1794, to 11,052—and in 1795, to 9,968. I have not been able to procure an accurate statement of the quantities exported in 1791 and 1792.

Many English commercial houses are established at Norfolk; and the
merchants

merchants of that nation hate the Americans here as well as throughout almost the whole of the United States. They break out into invectives, and are lavish of contemptuous expressions, against the country which enriches them. We ought never to wonder at the effects of prejudice and passion: yet, in order to account for this preposterous conduct, it is necessary to recollect that the generality of those merchants, who are but the agents of different houses in England, are men utterly destitute of education: for the better sort of English merchants established in America are not guilty of such blameable conduct.

The animosity of the English merchants residing at Norfolk is further exasperated by the presence of a consul who is a native of America, a loyalist, who bore arms against his country during the war between the colonies and Britain, and who, in addition to the politics of the British cabinet, feels the spur of personal resentment for the confiscations he has suffered. Public opinion however is unanimous in his favour with respect to his conduct in the war, which was very different from that of several officers who so strikingly derogated from the honourable character which the English nation is generally allowed to possess.

This year England procured from Virginia a number of horses to mount the cavalry which she proposed to send to the French islands; and those supplies, which at every former period had always been considered as warlike stores, were by the American ministry accounted ordinary merchandize: consequently their exportation was authorized by law, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the French consul. But fortune has not proved so favourable to the British plans as the council of the United States: for, of four hundred horses already shipped off, only one hundred and fifty lived to reach the place of their destination, and arrived there in bad condition. A vessel which had about a hundred on board did not preserve a single one of the number. The precautions, taken for the transportation of three hundred more that yet remain at Norfolk, being the same as those adopted with respect to the former, the same result must inevitably ensue; and the same will probably

be the fate of five hundred others now purchasing in North-Carolina.

If the circle of English merchants and the creatures of the consul at Norfolk indulge in angry invective against the Americans and the party attached to France, the merchants and other members of the community who have embraced the contrary party, support it with equal warmth: so that nought but division reigns at Norfolk in consequence. But the prevailing opinion there is in favour of the French. This warmth of animosity, as much as the unhealthiness of the climate, retards the increase of Norfolk, where few new merchants come to settle, notwithstanding its advantageous situation for commerce. It cannot however be doubted that the temptation held out by the hope of making a fortune will sooner or later counterbalance those inconveniences, as it has, in the case of those merchants who are already settled there, prevailed over the probability of diseases.—I have every-where heard the President of the United States mentioned with great respect.

In all Virginia there is but a single bank established—that of Alexandria, which consequently affords to the commerce of Norfolk no other aid than that of its paper, which in every part of the state is accepted as cash, when indorsed with a good name. In Norfolk there are not many opulent houses, very few whose commercial enterprizes are of considerable magnitude, but several that carry on trade to a more limited extent.

Agriculture can hardly be said to exist in Norfolk county, or in that of Princess Ann, which borders on it. These two counties do indeed produce some Indian corn: but the lands would, from their nature, require great attention and labour to render them productive of good crops, especially along the borders of the Chesapeake and the sea-coast. The landed property is much divided; and the inhabitants, who in general are not in very easy circumstances, devote themselves rather to the felling of timber than to the cultivation of the soil. Scarcely does the size of their gardens exceed half a score perches: they cut down trees on their own lands and wherever else they find them of any value; and

and they squander their whole earnings on strong liquors, as is the practice with all those who lead that kind of life. Yet they are in the habit of gaining above a dollar per day, deduction being made for the conveyance of the timber to the river-side; and the expence of this transportation is about one half of the value of the article thus transported. This timber is purchased by merchants at Norfolk, who derive a considerable profit either from the employment or re-sale of it.

The plantations in the interior parts of these counties, being somewhat better cultivated than the borders of the sea or of the rivers, furnish the Norfolk market with salt beef and pork in sufficient quantity even for exportation.

In all these parts, land is sold at from six to seven dollars per acre; and often the value of the timber which it offers for the axe amounts to four or five times the price of the original purchase.

From eighty to ninety vessels of different dimensions are annually built at Norfolk. The price of building is, for the hull on coming from the hands of the carpenter, twenty-four dollars per ton for those of above a hundred and twenty tons. Ready for sea, they cost from forty-seven to fifty dollars per ton. The prices have risen above one fourth during the last three years. The shipwright's wages are two dollars and three quarters per day.—Vessels of inferior dimensions are much cheaper. A considerable number of them are sold at Philadelphia, and to great advantage.—These small vessels are constructed for quick sailing: but this port, in common with almost all those of the Chesapeake, labours under the inconvenience of worms which attack the vessels from June to September, and do them material injury.

The vicinity of Norfolk is abundantly productive of workmen of every kind—of sailors, of sea captains—and Virginia is not in this respect dependent on the Northern states, as are Carolina and Georgia. There is at Norfolk a tolerably good school for boys, but it is lately established: it is what is commonly called a grammar-school. Forty dollars per annum is the sum paid for each pupil. There is no school for girls, except those where they learn to read: and such parents

as wish to give their daughters any further education, send them to Williamsburg or Baltimore.

The courts of the justices of the peace for the police of the city and its environs are held at Norfolk; the county-court is held at Suffolk, another town about eight miles distant from the former. The prisons are small, and ill conducted: there is no walk for the prisoners: they are fed by the jailor, who receives for each a shilling per day.

The market at Norfolk is held every day, but it is not well furnished. The beef, however, is better here than at Charleston: it costs ten pence the pound; mutton, veal, &c. a shilling; flour, fourteen dollars the barrel. A common workman is paid a dollar per day, besides his board. The cord of fire-wood costs three dollars; hickory-wood, half a dollar additional. The hire of a negro is from eight to ten dollars per month. The medium rate of house-rent is two hundred and thirty dollars. The price of lots in the town is from nine to ten dollars the foot in front, on a depth of seventy feet. Fish is very abundant in the river and the bay. The Virginia currency is six shillings to the dollar, ten dollars making three pounds.

Mr. Plume, a native of Ireland, an active and intelligent man, who settled at Norfolk before the American war, conducts there a tannery and rope-walk, in which he employs as workmen his own negroes. He manufactures to a large amount, furnishes a great part of the cordage consumed in the port, and sends his leather to every part of America. He procures almost all his hemp from the back parts of Virginia; the remainder he derives from Russia. The latter, without being stronger than that of Virginia, is more easily wrought, and more readily receives the dressing. The country supplies Mr. Plume nearly with all the hides he has occasion for: he nevertheless gets some from the heretofore Spanish part of Saint-Domingo.

It was intended that Norfolk should build one of the six frigates of which the United States had determined to compose their marine: but, subsequent considerations having influenced the Congress to adopt the resolution of reducing the number to three instead of six that were voted

two years ago, the other three frigates have been countermanded. That which was to have been built at Norfolk is among the number of the latter: it was begun at Gosport, a small dependency of Portsmouth, where there are dock-yards for the construction of the largest vessels. I have seen the beginning of the intended construction: only the keel and some of the principal ribs are put together: but the timber necessary for completing the work is almost entirely collected on the spot, where it lies without workmen and without protection. It is confidently asserted that this collection of fine timber, which has not been procured without considerable trouble, and especially an enormous expence, is going to be sold. It might, one would think, be much more advantageously preserved for the use of the United States, who appear, by this order for its sale, disposed to preclude themselves from even the possibility of reverting to their former resolution.

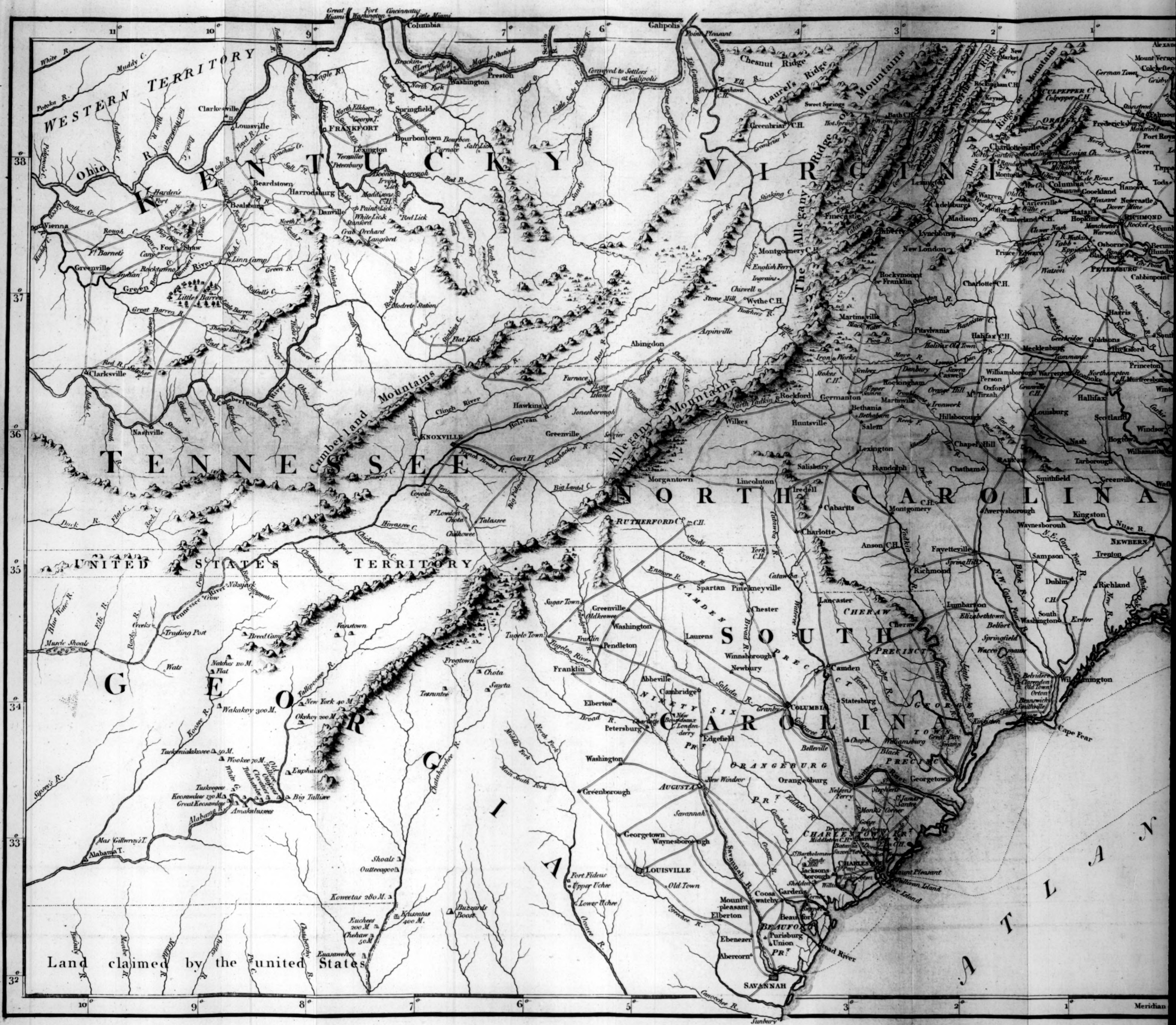
The communication between Norfolk and Portsmouth is continual: it is carried on by six row-boats belonging to a company, and by three scows in which horses and carriages are conveniently ferried over. The fare for each passenger is one-sixteenth of a dollar: but, on paying six dollars, a person may become free of the passage for twelve months. These boats are managed by negroes belonging to the company. It is not an uninteresting observation to remark that one of those negroes, named Semes, aged from thirty to five and thirty years, has learned to read and write by his own unaided exertions. His conversation announces solid good sense, together with an earnest desire of instruction: and, after having seen him, it is not easy to adopt the opinion of those who refuse to allow the negro race any considerable portion of intellect.

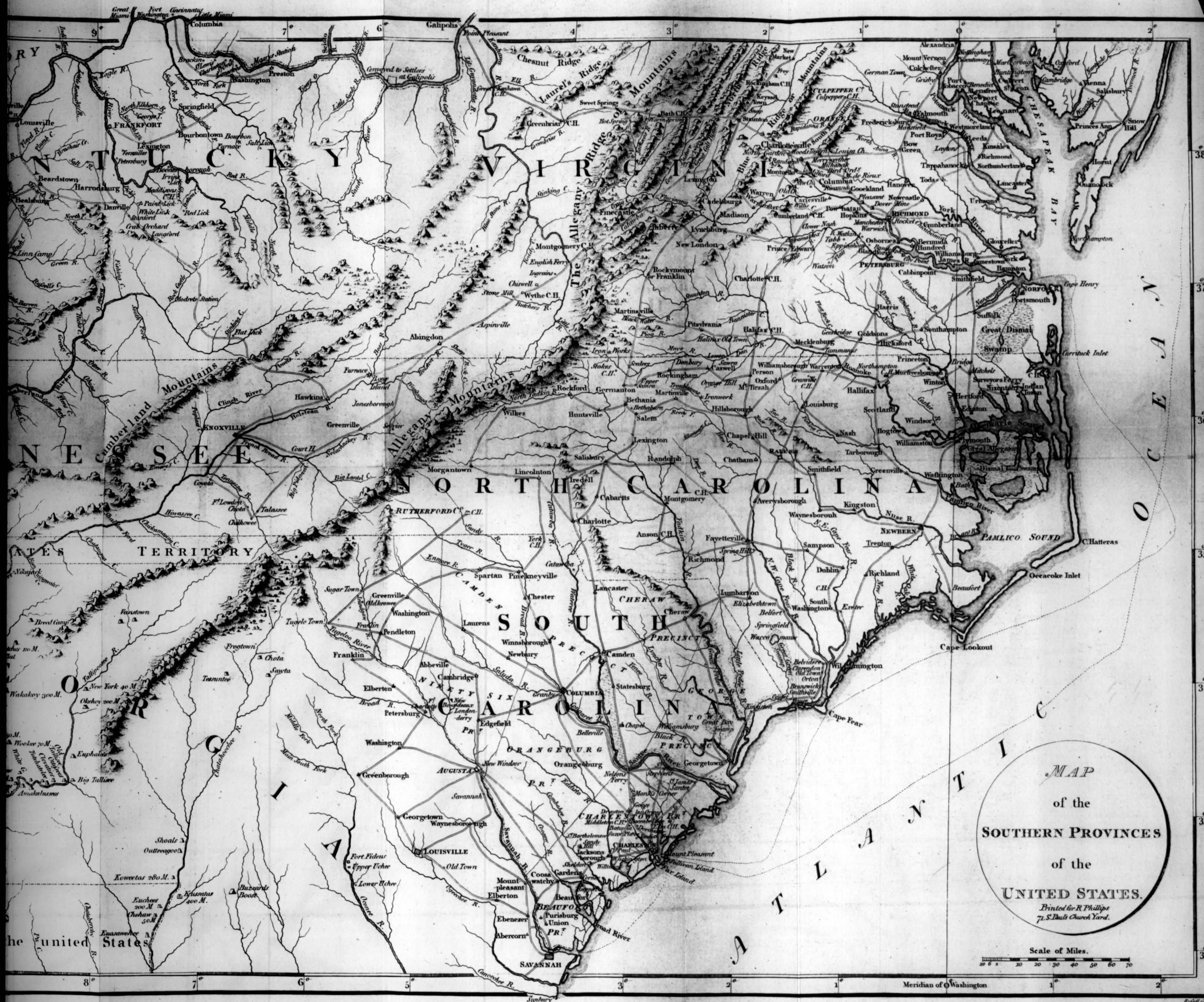
All the country about Norfolk is level, without any elevation. The width and beautiful forms of Elizabeth-River—the little town of Portsmouth on the opposite shore—the great number of shipping, some at anchor, some at the wharfs, some under repair, some building, enliven the prospect, and render it tolerably pleasing: but, without these accessaries, it would be dull and insipid. The navigation of fifteen miles, which must be performed in order to reach the beginning of the Dismal-Swamp canal, lies
through

through a country equally flat, where the houses are thinly scattered, small and mean in appearance, and situate each in the centre of a small patch of cleared ground not exceeding two or three acres. All along Elizabeth River and the creeks which flow into it, are built great numbers of small vessels, which are almost all intended for sale at Philadelphia.

The temperature of the air at Norfolk is constantly variable, as is the case in many other parts of America. It frequently happens that in the same day the diversity of two or three seasons is experienced. The easterly and north-easterly winds render the weather cold even in summer: from every other point the wind is accompanied with burning heat. At Norfolk, as in almost every other part of America, spring is unknown. The heat begins to be felt at an early season; and at the commencement of April, pease, beans, thorn-bushes, and even rose-trees, are in bloom.

In every part of America through which I have hitherto travelled, the obliging civilities I have experienced have invariably proved how false and groundless are those prejudices which the French and English so obstinately entertain to the disadvantage of the Americans. Were I in this instance to form my ideas from my own personal experience alone, they also might in like manner be branded with the appellation of prejudice: but I have found my opinion corroborated by that of every traveller whom I have had an opportunity of seeing, and who thought proper to judge for himself, uninfluenced by partiality. The friendly reception given to travellers in America, especially by those to whom they come recommended, is not confined to a dinner—the usual return for letters of introduction: it is common to meet men, even men of little leisure, who devote to you as great a portion of their time as you think proper to engross—who seek for the means of rendering your stay agreeable—and this without compliment, with an appearance of sincerity and satisfaction which saves you from being embarrassed by their complaisance, and makes you feel it each moment more and more agreeable. As to me, who think myself by no means addicted to exaggeration, and who am far from being an admirer of every thing I see in America, I confess that I seldom quit a place where I have made any stay,





MAP
of the
SOUTHERN PROVINCES
of the
UNITED STATES.
*Printed for R. Phillips
71. S. Pauls Church Yard.*

Scale of Miles.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

APPENT
WEST CO
COLUMBIA

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

stay, without thinking and acknowledging myself bound to entertain a sense of gratitude, of which I carry away with me a resolution of sooner or later proving the sincerity. Major William Lindsey, Commissioner of the Custom-house, is, of all the inhabitants of Norfolk, the individual with whom I have the most particular reason to be satisfied. He is a man recommended by simplicity of manners and goodness of heart, and is held in universal esteem. I am personally indebted to him for information on a variety of subjects; and to his amiable disposition toward me I am further indebted for the opportunities of acquiring such information as he could not himself furnish me with.

There are three churches in Norfolk: one, Protestant-episcopalian, which, like all the others of that sect in Virginia, is subject to the inspection of the Bishop of Williamsburg: another belongs to the Roman Catholics, and the clergyman derives his powers from Mr. Carrol, Bishop of Maryland: the third is a Methodist church, in which, as in all others of that denomination, there is an abundance of grimaces, howlings, and contortions.

To the port of Norfolk, above any other in the United States, came the greatest number of colonists escaped from Saint-Domingo at the commencement of their troubles. The principal cause of that choice was the circumstance that the convoy which sailed from Cape François after the conflagration of the town, put into Hampton-Road. Norfolk lies twenty miles from the road: and the warmth of the climate, the slavery of the negroes which left it in the power of the refugee colonists to employ those whom they had been able to bring off with them, and the kind reception which the inhabitants gave to the ill-fated fugitives, fixed them on the spot. Private subscriptions raised in all the towns of Virginia, together with further sums voted by the state legislature and by Congress, afforded the unfortunate French incontestable proofs of the benevolence and generosity of the Americans. The people of Norfolk showed themselves very warm advocates of the French cause; and, among several testimonies which they displayed of that disposition, the

following deserves to be quoted. The French convoy was preparing to quit the Chesapeak in order to proceed to the northern part of America: a report was circulated that the friends of * * * * intended to send a pilot-boat to Halifax to give intelligence of their departure to the English fleet; and that very night all the pilot-boats were unrigged.

The number of French resident at Norfolk has considerably diminished. They have dispersed through the other parts of America, where there is hardly a town that does not reckon some of their number among its inhabitants.

I had great pleasure in meeting at Norfolk my friend Monsieur Guillemand whom I had left sick at Philadelphia; but we are once more to separate, and to meet again at Richmond.

HAMPTON.

A wherry, employed in transporting the mail from Norfolk to Hampton, whence it is forwarded by land to Richmond, is the usual conveyance for passengers who intend to pursue that route. In good weather, the passage, which is about eighteen miles, is performed in two hours: we were ten hours in crossing, for want of wind: and as the tide was low when we arrived at Hampton, on the second of June, our negro sailors missed the narrow channel which leads to the town, and so completely stranded us on a bar which chokes up the entrance of the creek, that we were obliged to gain Hampton in a boat. This place is a small village, which the difficult entrance of its creek will prevent from ever becoming more considerable.

Hampton is the only place where, on proceeding from Norfolk, a person can debark who proposes to travel by land through this part of Virginia. The arrival of the Richmond stage three times a week, and the residence of a few pilots who were induced to choose this spot for the place of their abode on account of its proximity to the entrance of the Chesapeak, give to this petty village some little share of activity, though

though indeed it is very little. The inn here is detestable, and we could find in it but two small beds to accommodate five passengers of us who arrived together. It is said to be in contemplation to erect a more convenient one: so much the better for those who may come after us. Fortunately we were to quit this abominable lodging at two o'clock in the morning; and it was already eleven: hence this uncomfortable night was soon past. But there was not a single morsel of bread to be expected previous to our departure; and I stood in very great need of some.

Heretofore there was a custom-house established at Hampton. The exportations amounted, in 1791, to 1,393 dollars—in 1792, to 4,061—in 1793, to 11,789—in 1794, to 41,947. In 1795, this custom-house was united with that of Norfolk.

YORK-TOWN.

The road from Hampton to York-Town runs all along through woods: The patches of cleared land are yet rare and inconsiderable in this district. One meets however with some fields of Indian corn, meadows, crops of rye. Spots of several acres are seen inclosed with fences, which are even sometimes well executed by means of a mound of earth a couple of feet in height, forming a kind of wall, on which are planted stakes that are afterwards interwoven with pine-branches. But in traversing America the traveller cannot refrain from asking in his own mind why the people do not plant quick hedges, which afford a better security, and are at the same time an ornament to the lands.

The soil, in the whole of this tract, appears not bad, though by no means of the first quality. The most common trees in the woods are the pine, the oak, the beech, and the hickory. I have seen some of considerable height. The country is flat. The ground however is thirty feet higher than the river at York-Town: yet the road, with the exception of two or three small risings, has to the view all the inconveniences of an absolutely level plain.

York-Town is the place where terminated the American war—where the French effectually aided the Americans to shake off the yoke of England—and where British pride was a second time severely humbled.

I have gone over the part of the country that had been occupied by the encampments and the works of the allied armies : it was quite familiar to me from the plans of it which I had often examined. It is now difficult to discover any vestiges of the batteries, of the parallels, even of the two redoubts so brilliantly carried by the American and French grenadiers under the command of Messieurs de la Fayette and de Vio-mefnil. The earth has preserved the traces of them no better than many American heads would now wish to retain the remembrance. Some of the British intrenchments in front of the town are more distinctly recognizable. But the only really existing monument of that memorable siege is General Nelson's house, the most considerable edifice in the whole town, and which, until a few days after the commencement of the siege, was Lord Cornwallis's head-quarters. That great house, which is built of brick, and which at that period had been recently erected, is pierced in every direction with cannon-shot, and bomb-shells ; and the surrounding spot of ground every-where displays strong traces of their ravages. That house, which General Nelson neglected to have speedily repaired after the siege, has, since his death, devolved, together with the rest of his property, to his three sons ; and they not agreeing as to the disposal of the house, it remains unrepaired. This consequence which is detrimental to the interests of his family, is, in my opinion, very advantageous to the town, inasmuch as it preserves there a curious monument of an event which proved decisive in favour of American independence, and which at any period would be honourable to any nation. After the surrender of York-Town, the Congress, in passing a vote of thanks to the American and French armies which had thus brought the war to a conclusion, gave orders for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of that transaction. The monument is not even yet begun. Such negligence is inconceivable, shameful, and unaccountable. The present disposition of the American government toward England does
not

not admit of a supposition that they have at this time any thought of erecting that monument.

York-Town, where we arrived on the third of June, does not present any other object of curiosity. It is a small and tolerably well built village, where the English, contrary to their usual practice during the American war, destroyed no houses except such as impeded their defence. Its population consists of eight hundred persons, of whom two thirds are negroes. It is agreeably situated, commanding a fine prospect of the majestic stream of York-River, which Gloucester-Point, that lies opposite, narrows here to two thirds of a mile, but which above and below the town is two miles wide.

York-Town carries on no trade: but the inhabitants say that forty years back it was the emporium of all Virginia. It supplied with European commodities all the shops and stores of the most distant towns; and it was the port where the planters, who at that time sold their tobacco directly to the English merchants, were accustomed to ship it. Before the commencement of the revolutionary war, there were still six or seven ships annually loaded there for England. Since that period its commerce has been uniformly on the decline; and it has now dwindled to nothing. Norfolk and Baltimore export all the produce of York-River, and furnish the town with European goods. The inhabitants are of course destitute of employment: some of the number retail spirituous liquors and a few stuffs: others call themselves lawyers and justices of the peace. In general they have at some distance from the town small farms to which they every morning pay a visit. But these occupations not engrossing much of their attention or their time, the inhabitants of York-Town, who live together on terms of the greatest harmony, much more assiduously employ both the one and the other in dining together, drinking punch, and playing at billiards. To give a somewhat higher zest to this monotonous round of life, they often change the place of their meetings.

On the opposite side of the river, in Gloucester-County, are annually built a considerable number of vessels.

York-

York-Town is the capital of York-County, which contains a population of about six thousand inhabitants, of whom above one half are slaves. The town, notwithstanding the decay of its commerce, has a custom-house, to which are subject several little ports in the vicinity. The value of its exportations was 99,811 dollars in the year 1791—154,466 in 1792—34,992 in 1793—7,579 in 1794—and 3,060 in 1795.

I dined with the greater number of those who compose the society of York-Town, at the house of Mr. Clarkston, to whom I had letters of introduction. Doctor Griffin, to whom I had also a letter, was absent from town. He is said to be a man of information. I found in Mr. Clarkston and all the others a very obliging disposition, a great desire to do every thing which they could conceive likely to prove agreeable to me; in short I observed in them all the characteristics of an honest, simple, and frank hospitality. Every individual among them preserves an honourable remembrance of the French troops, on account of their exemplary conduct as well during the siege as during the space of some months which intervened between the termination of the siege and their departure for France. The name of Maréchal Rochambeau is here held in high veneration.

There is no regular market at York-Town: each person furnishes himself with meat in the best manner he can; and they are seldom unsupplied with it. Beef costs from three to four pence the pound; mutton and veal six pence; other articles in proportion. Fish is here abundant, and almost for nothing. The highest rents in the town are from eighty to a hundred dollars. Flour, an article which it is difficult to procure, costs at present fifteen dollars. Although the air of this place be infinitely more salubrious than that of Norfolk, the inhabitants nevertheless frequently experience intermittent fevers in autumn.

WILLIAMS-

and afterwards saw other women who were
at the same time in the same manner
WILLIAMSBURG.

The inhabitants of York-Town being precluded by the narrowness of their circumstances from keeping horses, of which however they often stand in need, one or two persons have some for hire in that little town, consisting of only about fifty houses. I there had an opportunity of procuring one to convey me to Williamsburg, where I arrived on the fourth of June.

The road from York-Town to Williamsburg is in many parts agreeable: the country is somewhat more hilly; and cultivation is a little more common. New settlements are seen which are tolerably well begun; and the pieces of new-cleared land are in almost every instance surrounded with ditches well made and well foddred: but the houses uniformly exhibit a mean appearance, and their inhabitants betray strong symptoms of poverty. A long tract of woodland is here also to be passed, where no cultivation is seen; but where the oak, the hickory, the liquidambar, the sassafras tree, grow with vigour, and seem to indicate a good soil. The cattle here, as in Carolina, are constantly in the woods: they are poor and ill-favoured, and of a bad breed. They are fed in the stable during a few weeks previous to their being killed.—In all this tract, land is sold at four or five dollars the acre.

Williamsburg is situate in a plain five miles from York-River, and at the same distance from James-River. Two creeks, which empty themselves into those great rivers, approach within two miles of the town on each side, and are there navigable. It is by means of these creeks that the commodities of Europe arrive from Richmond, Norfolk, and sometimes Baltimore, to furnish the stores in the town, which are in general indifferently supplied.

Before the revolution, Williamsburg was the capital of Virginia: but at that period the legislature chose Richmond for the place of their meeting, as being more distant from the sea-coast; and they have since established themselves there. This removal has reduced Williamsburg

to

to a village. Every person who was connected with government has followed the legislature to Richmond; and the number of inhabitants is annually decreasing at Williamsburg in the same manner as at York-Town. The present population is about twelve or thirteen hundred souls, of whom above one half are negro slaves.

A state-house, of which one part serves for the sittings of the district-court, bears the name of "the Capitol." It is a tolerably handsome brick building, but is falling to ruin. A marble statue of Lord Botetourt, one of the governors of Virginia under the former system, whose conduct had entitled him to the respect and attachment of the Virginians, stands in the peristyle of this Capitol; but it is in a disfigured state. The lower class of the inhabitants of Williamsburg, actuated by revolutionary animosity, considered as an act of homage to liberty every insult offered to that monument erected by gratitude in honour of a former lord; and in consequence they shamefully mutilated it. The inscription engraven on the pedestal, expressing the grateful sense of the people of Virginia, and which the populace did not destroy, forms a striking contrast with the indignities which the statue has experienced, and honourably vindicates the memory of Lord Botetourt.

This Capitol terminates a street of a hundred and sixty feet in breadth, and three quarters of a mile in length, at the opposite end of which stands the college. This establishment, founded in the reign of William and Mary, still bears their names. Its income, before the revolution, was from seventeen to eighteen thousand dollars: at present it is reduced to three thousand five hundred. It arose partly from duties on the exportation of tobacco and several other commodities, and partly from land. The duties fell to nothing in consequence of the unlimited freedom of the export trade: the twenty thousand acres of land have alone remained: these are let out on long leases of two or three lives, and are all in a state of cultivation. Another small duty, on the surveying of land, concurs with the rent arising from those twenty thousand acres in composing that scanty income of three thousand five hundred dollars, which the legislature does not seem inclined to augment.

Mathematics,

Mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, natural and civil law, with the modern languages, constitute the whole round of instruction given in this college. The pupils are not sent thither before the age of fifteen, and generally spend two years in pursuing the different courses of study. One is astonished to learn that not one of them lives in those vast buildings destined for their reception, but that they are dispersed through the different boarding-houses in the town, at a distance from all inspection. Bishop Madison who is president of this seminary, and the other professors, who together with him definitively make all the regulations respecting the internal police of the college, assert that it has been proved by experience, that good order, peace, and even the success of their studies, are more effectually promoted by this separation of the students, than by their being united together within the same walls, as the common effects of such union were frequent quarrels and preconcerted mutinies. On hearing their reasonings, one would be tempted to think that they have paid greater regard to their own ease than to the interest of the youth entrusted to their care, whom strict watchfulness, good management, and attentions proportioned to their age, would have as effectually kept in good order at Williamsburg as in every other college in the world.

The students pay fourteen dollars to each professor whose course of lessons they attend: their board and lodging cost them from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars: consequently the expence to their parents amounts to about a hundred and sixty or a hundred and seventy dollars a year. Exclusive of these emoluments, each professor receives the annual sum of four hundred dollars from the funds of the establishment. Bishop Madison occupies the chair of natural and moral philosophy, and has, in addition to his professorial salary, two hundred dollars more, as president.

The internal administration of the college is entrusted to the care of the professors, who are nominated by a board of eighteen visitors chosen throughout the whole state. The house—like the generality of those in Williamsburg, York-Town, and even Norfolk—is kept in very indifferent

condition. The college is not sufficiently opulent to make the requisite annual repairs; and whenever it becomes necessary to undertake such as are in any wise considerable, it is aided by the legislature. It possesses a library tolerably well furnished with classical books: it consists almost entirely of old books, except two hundred volumes of the finest and best French productions sent as a present by Louis XVI. at the termination of the American war, but which a merchant at Richmond, who was commissioned to forward them to the college, suffered to lie forgotten in his cellars amid hogheads of sugar and casks of oil, until, when at length he did forward them, they were totally spoiled. The funds of the college do not allow any addition to their library, which moreover is very ill kept in point of order and cleanliness.

The legislature of Virginia is said to entertain the design of founding a new college in a more central part of the state: but it is not known whether that of Williamsburg is to be taken as the ground-work of the intended establishment, or suffered to continue on its present footing and left to its own scanty resources, while the new college should be liberally endowed.

There is besides at Williamsburg an hospital for lunatics, which is supported from the public treasury. It is a fine building; but in it the unfortunate maniacs are rather abandoned to their wretched state than subjected to any treatment which might tend to their recovery. From the observations made in Virginia on maniacal complaints, the principal causes assigned for them are enthusiastic devotion and spirituous liquors; and it appears that such as arise from the latter of these causes are less difficult of cure than those which owe their origin to the former. There are only fifteen lunatics of both sexes in this hospital, which is capable of containing thirty.

The soil in the vicinity of Williamsburg is tolerably well cultivated: but here, as in other parts of Virginia, each proprietor possesses so great an extent of land, that he cultivates but a small portion of it. The ordinary rotation of culture here is—Indian corn—next wheat or other grain—then three or four years in fallow, during which the crops of
grass

grafs furnish the cattle with good sustenance. After this rest of three or four years, the ground is again cultivated in the same manner. The lands thus managed yield from eight to twelve bushels of wheat per acre, or from twelve to fourteen of Indian corn. Those few spots that are manured with dung produce double that quantity. In the immediate environs of the town, the land in general is indifferent; it sells for seven or eight dollars the acre. The best spots, especially those which are situate near creeks, bear a higher price, as far as twelve dollars: but it is worthy of remark, that while, in almost every other part of America, the price of land has encreased three and four fold, in these lower parts of Virginia it has received no augmentation during the last twenty years.

At Williamsburg a regular market is held, and the prices are the same as at York-Town. A pair of oxen fit for the plough are sold for forty dollars. They are small and indifferent. Sheep are in tolerable plenty; but they are of an inferior and ugly breed. Their wool is valued at about a quarter-dollar the pound. The difference in the demand, rather than in the quality, sometimes causes a small variation in the price.

The state taxes are not considerable. I shall speak of them more at large, when I have had sufficient opportunities of procuring more complete information on the subject. The town-rates are nothing; there being neither pavements, nor public buildings, nor bridges, to be kept in repair: the heaviest rate is that for the sustenance of the poor. Each house-keeper contributes, for himself and for each of his negroes above the age of sixteen years, half a dollar for that purpose. The sum total of these contributions is distributed by the overseers of the poor, under the inspection of the justices of the peace, to such families as are deemed to stand in need of assistance. These receive from twelve to thirty-six dollars per annum, according to their yet remaining ability to work or their total incapacity for labour.

In a country where it is easy to procure a subsistence and to make some reserve for old age—in a country where population, being extremely productive, constantly supplies each family with some young

branch capable of supporting it—one can hardly feel inclined to bestow his approbation on a tax whose inevitable tendency is to perpetuate and even to create idleness and improvidence: and it might perhaps with reason be said, that, in this pretended charity, there is a greater portion of vanity and indolent inattention than of genuine beneficence and enlightened policy. It was first introduced into Virginia because it was established in England: it has maintained its ground here because a tax of this kind is not easily reformed—because it is supported by habit—and because, moreover, in a country where slavery prevails, and where the possession of the soil is vested in so few hands, that class of whites who do not possess landed property are more indigent than elsewhere.—The negroes have no share in this public charity.

Mr. Andrews, mathematical professor in the college, and Bishop Madison, did me the honours of the town with that obliging politeness which I have been habitually accustomed to experience in America. With the former of these gentlemen I had become acquainted at Norfolk; to the Bishop I had letters. In the two days which I spent at Williamsburg, they introduced me to the chief part of the society of the place, which appears very much united, and to consist of well-informed men. Bishop Madison is himself a man of considerable knowledge in natural philosophy, chymistry, and even polite literature. His library, much less numerous than that of the college, consists of a more choice selection of books, especially of those relating to the sciences. He annually augments his collection by the addition of the most esteemed scientific and new publications. To him the public are indebted for meteorological observations very accurately made in different parts of Virginia, and to which he has devoted much time.

The inhabitants of Williamsburg, if we except the professors and the judges, have not much more opulence or employment than those of York-Town: they have as frequent meetings as the others: but it appears that they live less “freely,” as the country phrase expresses it—that is to say, they drink less wine and spirits.

All the remarks I have hitherto heard on the subject of politics in
Virginia

Virginia are in direct opposition to the idea that had been given me on that head in the northern states. The general opinion, it is true, is evidently against the treaty: people would have wished that it had never taken place, or at least that it had been made on better terms—that the president's instructions had been more faithfully followed—that he, yielding to what appears to have been his first impulse, had sent it back to England without communicating it to the senate: nor is it thought here that a war would have been the consequence of such a step. But, from the then existing state of the business, it would have been matter of considerable regret to them that the opinion of the opposition-party in the late congress had prevailed respecting the non-appropriation of the funds necessary for carrying it into execution; and they seem satisfied that the long debates, which leave no doubt of the disapprobation with which the treaty was received, have terminated in the manner that they did.

As I advance farther into the country, I shall become better acquainted with the general opinion. I have great pleasure in observing that the French army is here remembered with veneration; it partly remained here for several months; and each individual recollects with interest and gratitude the particular officer with whom he was acquainted. Above all the others, monsieur de Rochambeau and the baron de Viomesnil have left an honourable remembrance of themselves in the minds of the inhabitants: and whenever the conversation personally turns on the individuals of that army—whether generals, commanders of corps, or aides-de-camp—it appears that the judgement which has been formed of them here was dictated by great benevolence, sagacity, and justice.

JOURNEY TO RICHMOND.

Of all the inconveniences attending the public carriages in America—and the number of those inconveniences is great—one of the most mortifying

mortifying is that they almost invariably run over the very worst parts of the country through which they travel. The roads are generally, and with good reason, laid out in the driest soils, consequently in the spots which are the least adapted for cultivation. In the space of sixty miles which I yesterday travelled from Williamsburg to Richmond, I did not see twenty houses; and such as I saw were mean and wretched. A few fields of Indian corn occasionally met my sight, and some new-cleared grounds of considerable extent, but not a single field that was tolerably well cultivated; whereas I am assured, that, within four miles on each side of the road, the lands are good and the plantations numerous. A few hills, however, occur on the way: and when a traveller's eye has, like mine, been near three months fatigued by that unvarying uniformity of flat sands and stagnant marshes, a hill proves a source of enjoyment: he excuses its aridity in consideration of its being a hill: and when, with the diversity and animation which this change in the face of the country gives to the prospect, he combines the idea that he has now reached the boundaries of that mephitic stagnation which engenders and propagates all species of maladies with such fatal rapidity, his enjoyments are not confined to the eye alone.

Crowded in the stage by ten passengers and their baggage, we did not arrive at Richmond before eleven o'clock at night, though we had set out from Williamsburg at eight in the morning; the rain, which has been abundant during the last two days, having rendered the roads very bad.

TOWN OF RICHMOND.

The position of Richmond is truly agreeable. The lower town, which is situate along the bank of James-River, lies between that river and a tolerably high hill: but the greater part of the houses—those indeed of almost every person who is not engaged in trade—are built on the hill, which commands a prospect of the river, and whence

whence the view embraces at once the islands formed by its waters, the extensive valley through which it flows, and the numerous falls by which its stream is broken. On the opposite side of the river, the country rises in a gentle acclivity; and the little but well-built town of Manchester, environed by cultivated fields which are ornamented by an infinite number of trees and dotted with scattered houses, embellishes the sweet, variegated, agreeable, and romantic perspective.

The Capitol is erected on a point of this hill which commands the town. This edifice, which is extremely vast, is constructed on the plan of the "Maison Quarrée" at Nîmes, but on a much more extensive scale. The attics of the Maison Quarrée have undergone an alteration in the Capitol, to suit them for the convenience of the public offices of every denomination, which, thus perfectly secure against all accidents from fire, lie within reach of the tribunals, the executive council, the governor, the general assembly, who all sit in the Capitol, and draw to it a great afflux of people. This building, which is entirely of brick, is not yet coated with plaster: the columns, the pilasters, are destitute of bases and capitals: but the interior and exterior cornices are finished, and are well executed. The rest will be completed with more or less speed: but, even in its present unfinished state, this building is, beyond comparison, the finest, the most noble, and the greatest, in all America. The internal distribution of its parts is extremely well adapted to the purposes for which it is destined. It was Mr. Jefferson who, during his embassy in France, sent the model of it. Already it is said to have cost a hundred and seventy thousand dollars; and fifteen thousand more are the estimated sum requisite for completing it and remedying some defects which have been observed in the construction.

In the great central vestibule, which is lighted by a kind of dome contained in the thickness of the roof, has lately been placed a statue of George Washington, voted, ten years since, by the general assembly.

bly of Virginia. In addition to the sentiments of gratitude which they felt in common with the rest of America, that body entertained moreover a particular affection for him, together with the pride of having him for their countryman. Since that period the president has acquired new claims to the general approbation and esteem. If he be chargeable with some errors in administration, as I think he is, nevertheless his devotion to the public weal and the purity of his intentions cannot even be suspected: yet it is doubtful whether at the present moment the assembly of Virginia would be inclined to vote him such an honour: at least it is certain that the same unanimity would not prevail on the occasion. This statue was executed by Houdon, one of the first sculptors in France. He undertook a voyage to America five or six years since for the express purpose of making a bust of the president from the life. Although the statue be beautiful, and display even a nobleness in the composition and a likeness in the features, it does not bear the marks of Houdon's talent: one cannot trace in it the hand of him who produced the celestial Diana which constitutes the chief part of that artist's reputation.

Near this statue of the president stands a marble bust of monsieur de la Fayette, voted at the same time by the assembly of Virginia, and also carved by Houdon, but with greater display of ability.

The population of Richmond amounts to six thousand persons, of whom about one third are negroes. This town has prodigiously increased during the years which have elapsed since the legislature chose it for the place of their sittings: but within the last two or three years it has remained stationary. A few years back, a conflagration consumed almost all the lower part of the town. This accident induced the inhabitants to rebuild in brick not only the houses consumed, which had been of wood, but also several others which the owners' fears wished to preserve from the same calamity. At present there are few wooden houses at Richmond.

The trade of this town consists in the purchase of the country productions, the number of which is confined to wheat, Indian corn, and

and tobacco—and in selling at second hand the articles of domestic consumption, which are generally procured from England. The number of merchants who carry on a direct commerce with Europe is inconsiderable: they keep their ships at Norfolk; the river not being navigable for those of large size higher up than City-Point, at the distance, by water, of sixty-six miles below Richmond. They therefore send the produce of the country in smaller vessels to Norfolk, where they easily find opportunities of completing their cargo, if needful. The generality of these merchants are only the agents or partners of English houses: the others hardly carry on any other than the commission trade, which may be considered as the real business of the place.

It is from the merchants of Richmond or Petersburg that those of Norfolk most commonly purchase the grain, flour, and tobacco, which the latter export, and which the former have purchased at first hand. The country produce is paid for by the merchants in ready money or at short credit: they even frequently obtain it on cheaper terms by furnishing the planters with an advance of money on their crop. The Richmond merchants supply all the stores through an extensive tract of back country. As they have a very long credit from England, they can allow a similar indulgence of six, nine, or twelve months to the shopkeepers whom they supply, and from whom they always derive a considerable profit, which is still further increased when they exact payment in country produce.

Almost all the merchants of Richmond have shops for the retail-trade. They all deal in bills of exchange on Europe; a trade which often proves extremely profitable to them.

There are few opulent merchants at Richmond; still fewer in easy circumstances; and it is no difficult matter to find good notes at four and five per cent per month. But people have not here, as in the principal towns of America, the resource of putting these notes into the bank: accordingly this kind of traffic is here much more lucrative. The legal interest of money, which is only five per cent per annum,

together with the scarcity of specie and the general want of confidence, render it difficult to obtain money on loan.

RICHMOND CANAL.

The falls of James-River, which obstructed its navigation from the distance of seven miles above Richmond, heretofore imposed a necessity of employing land-carriage for that space. At present a canal, running parallel with the course of the river for those seven miles, connects the communication by water, and opens a navigation which extends without interruption two hundred miles above Richmond. This canal, already nearly finished, will be entirely completed during the present year, excepting the basin, which the directors propose to form at the entrance of the town, and of a much greater size than seems necessary for the trade of Richmond on any reasonable supposition of its future encrease. The locks at the opening of the canal are erected: they are simple, and the gates are easily managed by one or two men, but might be rendered still more easy in their movement. These, being three in close succession, raise the boats to an elevation of seventeen feet. Others will be required, if it be intended to carry the canal as far as Rocket, a mile below the town, beyond which point vessels of forty tons cannot come up on the Richmond side: on the other side vessels even of greater burden can come up almost opposite to the town. The extension of the canal to Rocket has for its object to facilitate the direct transportation of the back-country produce to City-Point, and so on to Norfolk. By this mean, those commodities, which otherwise would find no market except at Richmond, might reach Norfolk, and, by exciting a competition between the merchants of both towns, might probably cause an encrease of profit to the planters. But the expence of these additional locks would be very considerable. The fund of two hundred and forty thousand dollars, raised by a subscription of seven hundred shares, is already exhausted: and a loan
of

of twenty-one thousand dollars, made by the trustees of the canal under the authority of the state, and secured by a mortgage of the tolls that have already begun to be received on the part which is finished, has been proved scarcely sufficient to complete the execution of the original plan. It appears that the great expence which would attend the addition furnishes the holders of the canal shares with a pretext for opposing it, and that the Richmond merchants use that as a cloke to cover their wish to remain the sole purchasers of the produce of the back country, which is the real motive of their opposition to the further extension of the canal.

INSPECTION OF MERCHANDIZE.

The culture of tobacco is not carried on in the vicinity of Richmond, at least not on an extensive scale. There are nevertheless three houses of inspection in this town: similar establishments are to be found in every district of Virginia where tobacco is cultivated, and in all the commercial towns. These inspections, whose object is to ensure to foreign purchasers the quality of the commodity for which they contract, are ordered by the state for tobacco, flour, and other articles. They are established in like manner in all the states which produce these articles. But the inspection of the tobacco in Virginia, and especially on James-River, is esteemed to be conducted with a degree of exactness and severity which contributes as much as the real superiority of the article itself to keep up its price in the market. Every tobacco-planter who intends his crop for exportation packs it up in hogheads, and thus sends it to one of the houses of inspection. There the tobacco is taken from its case, which is opened for the purpose; it is examined in every direction and in every part, in order to ascertain its quality, its homogeneity, its purity; it is rejected as unfit for exportation if any defect is perceived in it; or, if no objection appear, it is pronounced to be exportable. It is then re-packed in its hoghead, which is branded with a hot iron, marking the place of inspection and

the quality of the contents; after which, it is lodged in the storehouses of the inspection, there to await the disposal of the planter, who receives a certificate of the particulars, serving at the same time as an acknowledgement of the deposit. It is by selling this "tobacco-note" to the merchant that the planter sells his tobacco. The purchaser, on viewing the note, is as well acquainted with the article as if he had himself inspected it: and he has only to send the note and transfer to the store where the tobacco lies, and it is immediately delivered out to his order. The tobacco is often sent by the planter himself to the warehouses of a different inspection from that where he has it inspected, either because he thinks them more convenient to the market, or for other private reasons. This happens at the warehouses of the Richmond inspection, which annually receive numbers of hogheads that have been inspected elsewhere.

The inspectors—for there are two in each inspection—receive as inspection-fee a dollar and half per hoghead: from the sums hence arising they receive their salaries, which vary from a hundred to two hundred and fifty dollars per annum, according to the importance of the office where they are employed. The residue of the inspection-fees constitutes a part of the revenues of the state.

Every other species of produce destined for exportation is also subject to inspection, as flour, hemp, tar; but these articles do not seem to undergo the same severe scrutiny as the tobacco. For, at Philadelphia, for instance, the Virginia flour, notwithstanding its being branded with the mark of "superfine," is subjected to a new inspection. The merchants of Virginia attribute this re-inspection to commercial jealousy on the part of Philadelphia: but there exists in reality so prodigious a difference between the flour hitherto manufactured at Richmond, and that from the mills of Pennsylvania and Delaware, that the former is constantly taken in the course of trade at half a dollar, and sometimes even at a dollar and half, lower than the latter.

MILLS.

MILLS.

I have seen one of the two mills at Richmond : it stands below the falls of the river, receives a great power of water, and turns six pair of stones. It is a fine mill, and unites the advantages of all the new inventions : but it is ill constructed : the cogs of the wheels are clumsily executed : it is moreover not sufficiently roomy. It nevertheless costs a yearly rent of near six thousand dollars to monsieur Chevalier, a Frenchman from Rochefort, heretofore director of the French paquets to America, and now settled in Virginia. This mill is generally employed in private manufacture, and seldom works for the public ; when the latter is the case, the terms for grinding are five bushels for each barrel of flour. Monsieur Chevalier and his partners are in the constant habit of speculating on the moment when they shall send their flour to market. Their speculations have hitherto proved very advantageous to them : but they have reason to apprehend a material loss from a late speculation which determined them two months since to refuse the offer of thirteen dollars per barrel, in hopes of obtaining a still better price. At the present moment they could not find a purchaser at above ten dollars.

MANNERS AND LAWS.

Society here displays the characteristics of simplicity and honesty : nevertheless it is not linked in the bond of unity. The men who belong to opposite parties seldom visit each other : but, when they happen to meet, they treat each other with all the politeness and civility of well-bred people.

The party opposed to government—that is to say, the party wishing for a change in the existing constitution, a restriction in the executive power—has here many zealous adherents. This party would prefer to their own the new French constitution, such as it is : and, from the permanency

permanency of that constitution in France, they derive encouragement to effect a change in the constitution of the United States.

The party in the English interest consider the support of the English constitution, even with all its existing abuses, as the mean of overthrowing the present constitution of France, and substituting in its stead a monarchy; and also as a circumstance calculated to gratify the desire which they evidently manifest of conferring a great additional strength on the executive power of the United States—as well as the desire, not less real though less openly avowed, of seeing a hereditary monarchy established in this country.

Between these two extremes there is an intermediate class whose sentiments are marked with moderation. There are also some extravagant enthusiasts who blindly embrace the French or the English party without any ulterior political consideration, and merely through interest or passion. The commercial body, for instance, at Richmond, as almost every-where else, are exclusively attached to England, because it is with her they have all their dealings, and have no prospect of credit or profit except by her means; and at Richmond, as in nearly all the trading towns, the commercial body enjoys a certain degree of superiority. During the late discussion of the treaty in Congress, the majority of this town informed their representatives in the national legislature that they wished them to vote for its ratification. I have seen all sorts of company, and in none have I heard the president mentioned otherwise than in terms of respect.

Mr. Edmond Randolph, heretofore secretary of state to the Union, and become so famous in consequence of monsieur Fauchet's letter, follows here the profession of a lawyer, to which he had devoted all that part of his life that was not employed in public affairs. He has great practice, and stands in that respect nearly on a par with Mr. J. Marshall, the most esteemed and celebrated counsellor in this town.

The profession of a lawyer is here, as in every other part of America, one of the most profitable. But, though the employment be here more

more constant than in Carolina, the practitioner's emoluments are very far from being equally considerable. Mr. Marshall does not from his practice derive above four or five thousand dollars per annum, and not even that sum every year. In Virginia the lawyers usually take care to insist on payment before they proceed in a suit: and this custom is justified by the general disposition of the inhabitants to pay as little and as seldom as possible. I have heard physicians declare that they do not annually receive one-third of what is due to them for their attendance; that they have some of these debts of five and twenty years' standing; that their claims are frequently denied; and that, in order to recover payment, they are obliged to send writs, carry on law-suits, &c. &c. &c.

The derangement of affairs occasioned by expences exceeding the bounds of income, and especially by gaming—and, above all, the want of delicacy resulting from that derangement and from the habit of thinking lightly of debts—are the causes of this immoral order of things; and it is in some degree encouraged by the laws of the state, which do not allow the seizure of lands or other immovable property for the payment of debts. This law, which the Virginians say they originally derived from England, has been preserved by them in all the reforms which they have made in their legal code, and has been preserved by them alone. Slaves and movable property are seizable: but whoever is acquainted with the manners of the country may readily conceive how great the facility of making a feigned sale of them: and then, by holding them as hired, they are placed beyond the reach of seizure.

Gaming is the ruling passion of the Virginians: at pharo, dice, billiards, at every imaginable game of hazard, they lose considerable sums. Gaming-tables are publicly kept in almost every town, and particularly at Richmond. Yet a law of the state, enacted no longer ago than in December 1792, expressly prohibits all games of hazard, all wagers at horse-races or cock-fights, of which the Virginians are passionately fond—forbids the losing of more than twenty dollars at cards within four and twenty hours—places all the holders of banks

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on the footing of vagabonds—orders the justices of the peace, on the slightest information, to enter the places where they are held, to break the tables, seize the money, &c. &c. Nevertheless, to the present hour, the greater number of those who enacted that law—of the present legislators, the justices of the peace, and the other magistrates—are assiduous in their attendance at those seats of gambling. The bank-holders are every-where received and acknowledged as “gentlemen;” and their profession is envied, as being a very lucrative one. The part of this law which is said to be the most punctually executed is that which cancels the debts contracted at the gaming-table, and prohibits the payment of them.

It is not uncommon to witness scenes of bloodshed at these gaming-houses. Since my arrival here, a young man, of a family of consequence in Virginia, fancying, in his impatient heat at a billiard-party, that he had reason to be dissatisfied with the behaviour of a marker whom he thought deficient in due respect to him,—after discharging a volley of abuse on the man who with much difficulty bore it—thrust him through the body with a kind of cutlass which he wore by his side. The marker did not die in consequence of the wound: but, even if he had, the young man would have equally escaped prosecution. The latter has quitted the town for a few days, and will shortly reappear, and resume his usual pursuits, as if he had been absent only on account of ill health; although nobody denies the commission of that public act, or attempts to palliate it.

The law against inoculation is more rigidly enforced. It prohibits every person from having himself or any of his family inoculated without permission obtained from all the justices of the county, who, on his petition, are to assemble, and enquire into the motives of his request, its necessity, its propriety. If they acquiesce, their permission, which is to be given in writing, is still of no avail: that of all the neighbours for two miles round is moreover required; and the refusal of a single one prevents the inoculation. Any physician who should presume to inoculate without these precautions, would be punished by a fine

fine of ten thousand dollars. Whoever is accidentally attacked by the small-pox is carried to a lonely house in the middle of the woods, and there he receives medical assistance. If the village, the town, the district, to which he belongs, catch the infection, these places are cut off from all communication with the rest of the country, and are permitted to have recourse to inoculation: otherwise it is never allowed; for it is easy to perceive that the faculty of obtaining permission for the purpose by the unanimous vote of the magistrates of the county and the general consent of the neighbours, in a country where prejudices receive such additional strength from the law, is a mere illusion.

People are often heard to murmur against this absurd law: yet it is punctually obeyed: and nobody can allege as a pretext for this prejudice, that the Virginians are afraid of "tempting God," as was the cant of our priests in France, who, in this instance as in many others, have done all the mischief in their power. Those who are asked a reason for such a regulation adduce the fear of propagating a dangerous disease with which they assert that Virginia has never been otherwise than partially and accidentally infected. They repeat the assertions which in Europe had long proved a bar to the extension of that admirable discovery. They say that the practice of inoculation, by rendering the disease more common, increases the number of its victims far beyond what nature intended; that inoculation is itself full of dangers; that the attendant expences, which are considerable, do not lie within the ability of the poor (for, in Virginia, as elsewhere, some popular reason must be given), &c. &c. &c. One is astonished to hear from the mouths of enlightened men these arguments which the old women of Europe have long ceased to repeat. Population does not suffer a greater decrease in Pennsylvania or the other American states where inoculation is permitted, than in Virginia where it is prohibited: on the contrary, it daily increases. This entire isolation of the place where the small-pox breaks out, such as the laws of Virginia prescribe, cannot be carried into effect with all the conditions necessary to render it salutary. May not the infection be conveyed by the physicians,

whom the law does not subject to quarantine? And might not the necessary expences of inoculation, which are known to be so moderate, be confined by the provident attention of government to a sum which no family should feel burdensome? To all these palpable truths no solid answer is given: yet the advocates of inoculation are far from having any hope of being able to effect an alteration in the law.

I have heard alleged, as the real motive for the regulation, the fear entertained by the planters of being obliged to inoculate their negroes, if the practice of inoculation should become so general as to render that precaution necessary to preserve them from the danger of its epidemic ravages. It is difficult to credit such a reason, when the expence is so trifling, when the process is so easy, and when besides they are in the habit of not paying their physicians. The most probable causes are heedlessness, want of reflection, and custom. Yet the first right of man, that of preserving his own life, is prohibited by this Gothic legislation. Political systems too often resemble systems of religion: each man, according to his private interest, frames one for himself, which is composed of the grossest absurdities and the most glaring contradictions; and his conscience becomes gradually accustomed and reconciled to it.

The civil laws of Virginia have struck me as wisely ordained. That which relates to persons dying intestate, divides the property equally among the children—assigns to the mother one third of the whole—and conducts with great foresight and justice the division of the fortune of the deceased in default of children, wife, father, mother, brother, sister, &c. But the freedom of testamentary devise is allowed to subsist in unbounded latitude; and the manners of the country almost universally incline the testators rather to follow the ancient customs, than to regard the intentions of the more recent law: the consequence of which is that the eldest son inherits almost the whole property, and the males are provided with fortunes at the expence of the females.

The slave-laws are much milder here than in any of the other countries

tries through which I have hitherto travelled. Justice, I grant, is not the same for the master as for the slave, for the white man and the black. Legislation is always partial in this instance; but that partiality is a cruel and almost unavoidable consequence of the admission of slavery; and this truth ought alone to be sufficient to occasion its abolition among an enlightened people who retain any idea of morality. The Virginians have gone farther in reforming the barbarity of the ancient laws respecting slavery, than any other people of the United States—perhaps than any other nation upon earth where slavery prevails in full force.

In 1772 the legislature of Virginia petitioned the king of England to authorize the governor to give his sanction to a law prohibiting all further importation of negroes into the province: and his refusal to grant their request is one of the grievances on which the most bitter complaints are made against his British majesty in the preamble to the new constitution framed in 1776. Accordingly an act forbidding all future importation of negroes into the state was one of the first laws passed by the legislature after the adoption of the new constitution.

A negro who raises his hand against a white man is acquitted if it be proved that he has done it in self-defence; otherwise he receives thirty lashes. The slave is judged by five justices of the peace, whose unanimous voice is requisite to pass sentence of death. Slaves are called upon to give evidence on the trials of other slaves in criminal causes; but they are cautioned by the judges, that, if their testimony be proved false, their ears will be cut off. No man who is in the slightest degree interested either for or against a negro is allowed to sit in judgement on or give evidence against him. If justice disposes of the person of a negro, the owner is paid the full value of his slave; a regulation which renders the masters less inclined to screen their slaves from the severity of the laws.

The courts of justice in Virginia are innumerable. The costs of law are not considerable: and in consequence litigation is frequent. Suits for the recovery of debts occupy above one half of the time allotted for

the sessions. The best proved debt cannot be recovered within a shorter period than eighteen months: and it often happens that several years are not sufficient to put the creditor in possession of his right. The natural aversion to the payment of debts finds in chicanery a thousand means of gratifying itself: and on that head, here as well as in every other country, the manners of the people aid and strengthen the resources of chicanery.

Disputes respecting the title to lands are also one of the most frequent causes of law-suits.

The criminal code is nearly the same here as in the other states which have not followed the laudable example of Pennsylvania: it is even somewhat milder. It is with pain, however, that one observes that the foreigner who indents himself as a servant is liable to the punishment of the whip for various offences, even those which only concern his master's service. The other punishments are, as elsewhere, hanging, whipping, burning in the hand, &c. *

The state of Virginia has no public debt, except a hundred thousand dollars in which she was found debtor to the Union on the settlement of the accounts of the states with the general government—and a claim of between three and four millions of livres, made, on the part of France, by Monsieur de Beaumarchais, for arms and military stores of every kind, furnished to her during the war. The people here have the justice to allow the goodness of those supplies, and the absolute necessity of them at the time when they were sent: they even acknowledge the greater part of the debt; nevertheless they do not seem disposed to give any formal deed of acknowledgement; the state being as little inclined to the payment of debts as the individuals who compose it.

* Since the writing of this journal, the legislature of Virginia, on the 22d of December 1796, passed a law, that now lies before me, by which the punishment of death is solely confined to cases of premeditated murder. All other crimes, even that of high treason, are punishable only by confinement for a shorter or a longer term. At length the Pennsylvania system, respecting the penal code and the management of prisons, is now established in Virginia.

The state even possesses a capital which is estimated at above sixty thousand dollars. But this capital, which is daily encreasing, arises from a source that must sooner or later be productive of disturbance: it is the grants of land. Pursuant to an existing law, the state disposes of vacant lands at the rate of two cents per acre, or twenty dollars for a thousand acres; which is the usual proportion of those grants. To obtain such grants, it is sufficient to declare that the lands for which application is made, and of which the boundaries are described in the petition, have no owner: whereupon the state—that is to say, the land-office, which in this instance represents the state—grants a warrant, or an order for a survey. The grantee has his grant surveyed by the state surveyor: it is registered; and a very moderate annual tax which he pays for his land, secures to him the possession of it. But it frequently happens that successive applications are made by several persons for the same land—not precisely for the same tract bounded by the same limits—but for a tract, which, having different boundaries, includes a greater or lesser part of that already granted; of which the remainder is included in another similar application. These again fall under others of the same kind in endless succession; so that the same identical acres are often claimed by five or six grantees, or even more.

The state does not warrant to the grantee that the lands have not already been granted; it is his business to acquire such information as shall secure to him the future possession of the property. But, in an uninhabited country, with a single office, where lands belonging to the state at large (without any subdivisions into townships or counties) are granted, it is impossible to acquire the necessary information; and men of the most upright intentions are often deceived on the occasion. The speculators find their account in this obscurity: and in this kind of speculation, which is very prevalent in Virginia, the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and the other northern states take a deep share. The state also derives a profit from these double or triple sales, by the money thence accruing. But, besides that it is the duty of a government to preserve the governed from imposition, and still more to abstain

abstain from all participation in the fraud—it is easy to foresee that a time will come when the grantees of those lands, mortified at seeing themselves thus duped, and incensed by a refusal on the part of government to refund their money, will carry into that country a new germ of discontent, and consequently of disturbance.

This state of affairs is generally known at present: and accordingly Virginian lands are fallen into discredit. The quantity is immense: the course of annual migration tends rather to diminish than increase the population of Virginia: thus the period when the uncultivated lands, of which there are very extensive tracts, shall come to be inhabited, is much farther distant there than in any other state of the Union. Meanwhile pretty numerous demands are already made to the court which is appointed to take cognizance of such affairs; but that court, barely deciding in favour of the oldest titles, pronounces the money to be absolutely lost which the second or third grantees have paid to the state for their lands, and to the surveyors for the expences of surveying. These last sums amount to double the price of the purchase, that is to say, to four cents per acre.

From the condition of the finances of the state of Virginia, it follows that the burdens imposed on the citizens are, as I have already remarked, by no means heavy. The duty on the inspection of tobacco tends to render them still lighter. They consist of five shillings on every hundred pounds estimated value of lands, divided into four classes (and the lands are always estimated below their real value)—two dollars and one twelfth on every three hundred and thirty-three dollars estimated value in city-lots—one shilling and eight pence on each slave below * the age of twelve years, except those who are exempted from taxation by the corporation of the place on account of their infirmities—a sum on each stallion, whether horse or ass, equal to the price demanded for his covering—four pence for every other horse, mare, or mule—forty shillings for every ordinary licence—fifty dollars

* *Au-dessous* in the French. Is it not a fault of print for *au-dessus*, above?

for each billiard-table—six shillings per wheel on every four-wheeled carriage, except phaëtons and waggons, which pay but four—and ten shillings per wheel on every two-wheeled carriage. Such are the taxes voted in the last session for the expences of 1796. They vary in proportion to the greater or lesser amount of public expenditure ordered.

Independent of these taxes, there are duties imposed on proceedings in the supreme court—on transfers of certificates of the surveys of land—on certificates and contracts drawn by notaries—on certificates given by the county courts or those of the towns—and, finally, on certificates passing the great seal of the state. The valuation of the lands was made in 1781 and 1782, and is permanent. Lands recently granted by the state are subject to the tax.

The sheriffs in the different counties are, by virtue of their office, collectors of all the taxes. They are annually nominated by the governor of the state, from a list of three justices of the peace, drawn up by the county-courts. They cannot be continued in office above two years. They must give security to the amount of thirty thousand dollars. They receive a commission of five per cent on the sums by them collected. The commissioners (generally two in each county) who assess the taxes, receive a dollar per day during the time they devote to that business. The duties on judicial processes are received by the county clerks, and by the officers who issue them.—Every immigrant artisan who arrives in the state enjoys during five years an exemption from every other tax except that on land, if he follows a trade.—The taxes being light are well paid in Virginia. The seizure of movable property, and even of slaves, ensures the regular collection of all the funds.—The expences of the government of Virginia annually amount to a hundred and sixty thousand dollars.

The counties impose no taxes unless when they have bridges, prisons, or court-houses, to build. In such cases the lands at the value estimated for the state-taxes, and the negroes, are taken as data by which to regulate the temporary impositions which are deemed necessary.—I have already

already remarked that the roads are made and repaired by the labour of the inhabitants.

The town-taxes are in general confined to those for the support of the poor. At Richmond they embrace a variety of objects: they are imposed on carriages, and the letting of houses; they comprize moreover an imposition of two shillings per head on negroes above sixteen years of age, &c. but they do not in any particular wear the features of an arbitrary capitation-tax, from which several of the other states are not exempt.

The state of Virginia, like most of the other states of the Union, is unprovided with arms for her militia, and cannon for her artillery. The late assembly has ordered a yearly provision to be made of four thousand stand of arms with military accoutrements, and ten pieces of cannon. Each artillery company is to have one. The magazine for their reception is appointed to be at Point-of-Fork on James-River; and the arms are fabricated at New-London in Bedford-County.

A wise law of Virginia, intended to act on the electors as a stimulus to attend the numerous elections held in this state, subjects to a double tax all those who absent themselves on such occasions, unless they can plead ill health as their apology.

There has not for a considerable time been any establishment of free schools in Virginia. Every thing remained to be done in that respect—the division of counties into school-districts—organization of their administration—erection of school-houses, &c. A law of the twenty-second of December 1776, has provided for all these objects with prudence, foresight, and consummate judgement. Some years however must yet elapse before such establishments can take place in every part of the state: but the foundations are already laid: and we may anticipate the period when the system of gratuitous public education will flourish in Virginia for the whites, as it does in Massachusetts and Connecticut for all the inhabitants.

The constitution of Virginia, framed in 1776, establishes the same
division

division of powers as the constitutions of the other states. Each of the counties, which are eighty-eight in number, sends two members to the house of delegates: Norfolk, Williamsburg, and Richmond, which are privileged towns, send one each. They are elected annually. The qualifications for eligibility are, that the candidate possess the rights of a citizen of Virginia, and have attained the age of twenty-one years.

The senate is composed of twenty-four members—two for each district; the state being, for this single purpose, divided into twelve imaginary districts. The senators are elected for four years; and one quarter of their number annually vacate their seats. The age of twenty-five years is required for election into the senate. The electors must possess a hundred acres of uncultivated land, or twenty-five acres under cultivation, or a house or lot in a town.

The governor, the executive council (without whose concurrence he can do nothing), the judges of the supreme court, the attorney-general, the treasurer, the director of the land-office, and the commander in chief of the militia, are chosen by ballot by both houses.

The governor is elected for one year, and cannot continue in office above three years in seven. The executive council is composed of eight members, two of whom are removed every three years by a ballot of both houses, and are not re-eligible during the three years next ensuing. The president of the executive council, who is elected by the council itself, acts as governor of the state in case of the death, incapacity, or absence, of the governor.

The judges continue in office during good behaviour.—The treasurer is appointed only for one year, but is re-eligible.

The justices of the peace are proposed by the county-courts to the governor, who appoints them without the power of rejection. The subordinate officers of justice are nominated by the courts to which they belong, and the constables by the justices of the peace.

The governor cannot give his opinion on the laws: he cannot grant a pardon without the consent of his council. Of all the states

the Union, Virginia is that in which the governor possesses the least power, and the salaries of office are the lowest. The public functionaries here receive very slender remunerations: and accordingly employments are habitually refused by the very men who are best qualified to hold them, but who, by accepting them, would lose a considerable portion of the income which they can derive from their professions, and who thus could lay up no reserve for the establishment of their families.

This constitution, framed during the war with the mother-country, is preceded by a preamble enumerating the grievances with which Virginia so justly reproached the * * * * government.

The organization of the judicial system is more complex in Virginia than elsewhere. Each county has a monthly court: four or five counties constitute a district, where are held the circuit-courts, the general court, orphans' court, chancellor's court, &c. &c. The Virginians are unanimous in asserting that the seats of judges are, with a few exceptions, very ill filled: and among the exceptions they mention the post of chancellor, held by Mr. Whyte, who enjoys the general esteem. Those who are better qualified to fill the places of judges refuse them because they are laborious and productive of little profit.

Perfect freedom of religion is allowed by the laws of Virginia: but few nations are less addicted to religious practices than the Virginians. At Richmond there is no church. Prayers are sometimes read in the Capitol, in one of the halls destined for the legislature: and then they are read by an episcopalian clergyman, because those who call themselves members of that profession are more numerous than the others. Meetings of anabaptists, methodists, and even quakers, are more regularly held, but in private houses, as none of those sects have any public building appropriated to the practice of their religion.

The colonization of Virginia, or rather its first settlement, dates from the year 1584, at which period Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Walter Raleigh the property of all the lands he could discover beyond the seas, uninhabited by any Christian nation. This property extended
to

the distance of two hundred leagues from any habitations which the new colony might establish within six years. The queen reserved for herself only a fifth part of the produce of any gold or silver mines which might be discovered. It was in the isle of Roanoke, which now constitutes a part of North-Carolina, that the new settlers first landed: and hence they afterward proceeded to Hatorask in the bay of Chesapeake. This establishment, which was not aided by any public assistance from England, already cost Sir Walter Raleigh forty thousand pounds sterling. He was therefore obliged to form a partnership with Thomas Smith and other adventurers, to whom, in return for considerable sums of money received from them, he granted an unlimited freedom of trade and a share in the proprietorship. But in 1603 Sir Walter was arrested by order of the English court; and it has never since been known what became of the small number of colonists at that time settled in his immense grant.

From the misfortunes of Sir Walter Raleigh some rich proprietors and merchants of London, who were jealous of his possession, conceived the idea that he had no longer any claim to it: and this opinion received confirmation from the conduct of king James, who, by letters patent, granted to Sir Thomas Gates, the Earl of Salisbury, and some others, for themselves and their heirs, all the lands of Virginia, to the extent of two hundred miles north and south of Point Comfort, together with the adjacent islands within a hundred miles of the coast, &c. &c. This company was incorporated under the name of "treasurers and company of adventurers and planters of the city of London for the first colony in Virginia." This patent, issued in 1609, granted and allowed freedom of commerce with England, exemption from all taxes, and the rights of an English subject, to every person born in the new colony. The council, which was to sit in London for the direction of the enterprise, was chosen by the nomination of the company. Never was patent granted in such extensive latitude.

The Indians, as in every other instance, assisted the rising colony: they had shown themselves equally kind and hospitable to Sir Walter

Raleigh: but here also, as every-where else, they in the end became objects of persecution; and wars between them and the colonists shook and disturbed the new settlement.

In 1621, a sort of constitution had been given to the colony by the company who were its proprietors. This constitution appointed an annual assembly composed of two representatives from each town, plantation, or hundred—a privy council nominated by the company—and a governor, also of their nomination, who possessed a negative on the laws proposed by the assembly.

In 1622, Charles the First, dissatisfied with the conduct of the company, took the government of the colony into his own hands, in violation of the charter granted by his predecessor, which deprived him of that right. This change of masters, however, did not affect either the rights or the opinions of the colonists.

It was under the reign of Charles the First that Lords Baltimore and Fairfax obtained a dismemberment of the jurisdiction, government, and territory, of Virginia.

In 1650, after the deposition of that prince, the English parliament forbade the colonies to carry on any commerce with foreign nations: and this was the first step in that prohibitory system, of which the support and the consequences have since been attended with the loss to England of her colonies in North America.

The colony of Virginia for some time refused to acknowledge the authority of Cromwell and the republican parliament: but in 1651 the colonists laid down their arms, and received from parliament a new charter confirming them in the enjoyment of all their former rights, except the possession of that portion of their territory antecedently granted to Lords Baltimore and Fairfax. But, after the restoration of royalty in England, the succeeding kings paid no greater respect to this charter than Charles the First had shown to the former. The assembly was now divided into two houses: appeals were carried from the tribunals of Virginia to London: the prohibition of foreign trade was again enforced—

forced—the territory of Virginia diminished—the inhabitants of the colony thrown into prison, transported to England, &c. &c.

Virginia, thinking herself more severely aggrieved by England than any other of the American colonies, was one of the first to take a part in the revolution: and no one of the states made more vigorous efforts, expended greater sums, or displayed more signal energy, to accomplish that happy object.

DEPARTURE FROM RICHMOND.—MANCHESTER.—JOURNEY TO PETERSBURG.

The bridge that unites Richmond to Manchester is one of the worst and most dangerous of all possible bridges. In its length it is divided by two islands: but, from one end to the other, it is nothing better than an irregular assemblage of unjoined unfastened planks laid upon joists which bend in consequence of their length, and which themselves rest on piers, partly of wood partly of stone, the tottering remains of a somewhat better bridge that was destroyed a few years since by an extraordinary swell of the river. These remnants of the former piers are moreover of unequal height, so that this bridge possesses every imaginable characteristic of insolidity. It is called a temporary bridge, because the people talk of building another: but the same thing has been said for the last five or six years, during which period the passage has continued in its present state. There are not even any funds pointed out for that object; and it would require considerable sums to erect the intended bridge in such manner as to secure it against those annual freshes which are very powerful, and which acquire additional violence in passing the falls, at the foot of which the bridge stands. Those yearly swells of the river, particularly at the close of winter, rise from twenty-five to thirty feet in height.—In addition to its other defects, this wretched bridge is unprovided with rails or parapets: and not a year passes without witnessing some melancholy accidents in consequence.

Manchester

Manchester is a very neat little village, well built, and standing on a very gentle declivity. Gardens and trees abound within it, and it presents, as I have before observed, a beautiful prospect from Richmond. But the country over which a traveller passes on his way from Manchester to Petersburg, is flat, and for the most part barren: very little culture appears; but an almost uninterrupted succession of woods, broken however by here and there some fields which yield four or five bushels of wheat per acre, or from eight to ten of Indian corn. These fields are never manured; hardly even are they ploughed; and it seldom happens that their owners for two successive years exact from them these scanty crops.

Osborne's, at the distance of fifteen miles from Richmond, is the only village on the road. It is situate on the bank of a river which winds in numerous mæanders. From Osborne's to Petersburg, the face of the country continues the same: it presents indeed a somewhat greater number of log-houses, but every where exhibits the features of laziness, of ignorance, and consequently of poverty. Although a great part of these lands be naturally bad, nevertheless, with greater industry and more judicious management, they might be cultivated to advantage; for they produce trees of tolerable height and good quality.

PETERSBURG.

Petersburg is built on the Appomattox. At the town and ten miles below it, this river is but four or five feet deep. The vessels therefore which can come up to Petersburg are still inferior in point of tonnage to those which can go up to Richmond. Broad-bay, eight miles below Petersburg, is the place where the vessels are loaded.

The trade of Petersburg is similar to that of Richmond: but, as this town lies nearer to North-Carolina, it receives a greater quantity, than the other, of the produce of that state, such as wheat, tobacco, salt provisions, and some hemp. Its exportations are for the same reason

reason more considerable than those of Richmond, although, generally speaking, the produce it receives is inferior in quality. Tobacco, for instance, which sells at Richmond for six or seven dollars the hundred weight, does not fetch quite five at Petersburg. The cause of this difference is the superiority of the soil, and it is said also of the cultivation, in the lands on the banks of James-River and to the right of it, where grows the tobacco that is almost exclusively carried to Richmond. The price of tobacco has experienced a rise of two fifths within the last two or three years, because the increased price of wheat has induced the planters to appropriate to the culture of that grain considerable tracts of land which were before devoted to the raising of tobacco, and the two last crops of this plant have moreover been very indifferent.

Flour-mills are more numerous at Petersburg and in its vicinity than at Richmond: but, if we may judge of the flour that is exported, by that of which they make the bread that is eaten in the best houses and even at the tables of the mill-owners, it must be very far inferior to that of Philadelphia. It is not white; and the millers say that good wheat is difficult to be procured. The grain which I have seen of the present crop—for the harvest is every-where nearly finished—is small and light. Nevertheless the flour sells at thirteen and even fourteen dollars; and the millers of Petersburg, expecting a further encrease in the price, paid, two months since, so high as two dollars and a half per bushel for wheat, even for very considerable quantities. The intelligence from Europe, however, threatens them with a prodigious discount on the expected profits of their speculation; since there has lately arrived at Boston a vessel which had sailed from Norfolk in February, and which has brought back to America her cargo of three thousand barrels of flour, for which she could not obtain above eight dollars per barrel either in France or England. That article has recently been sold for seven and half at Alexandria and Norfolk.

At Petersburg, as well as at Richmond, the mills are upon a good construction.

construction. Five bushels of wheat yield a barrel of first flour: six are required to produce a barrel of superfine flour, exclusive of the second flour, the pollard, and bran. The miller's claim is one eighth; sometimes, when business is dull with him, he contents himself with a tenth. By the way, it appears that the dexterity of the Virginian millers in making the most of their grist is in no wise inferior to that of the millers in Europe.

Petersburg is a tolerably neat little town, built along the river-side, only two streets deep, and a mile and half in extent, on a hill of pretty rapid elevation. Blandford, which is now united with Petersburg into one corporation, is the part which is more remarkable for elegant and well-built houses.

Society at Petersburg appears polite, obliging, and hospitable. Political opinion, divided here as every-where else, is by a great majority in favour of opposition. This difference of sentiments however is less productive here, than at Richmond, of disunion between the individuals of opposite parties. Colonel Peachy, Doctor Stone, Mr. Eustis, brother to my friend Doctor Eustis of Boston, Major Gibbon, Mr. Campbell, are the persons in whose company I have ofteneft been during my short stay in this town. The last-mentioned gentleman has lately married Mademoiselle de la Porte, a French lady, niece to Monsieur de Tubeuf, who, after having settled about three years since in the back country of Virginia, was there murdered by two Irishmen, who supposed him to be possessed of a great deal of money.

The prices of the necessaries of life are nearly the same here as at Richmond: and Petersburg is equally destitute of churches.

PRESQU'ILE, Mr. DAVIES RANDOLPH's PLANTATION.

At Petersburg I had met Mr. Davies Randolph, for whom I had a letter; and, in consequence of his invitation, I went to his house and there spent a day. He lives at City-Point or Bermuda-Hundred, the place where the river Appomattox discharges its stream into James-River.

River. Here the water is sufficiently deep to admit ships of any tonnage: and this in the place where the larger vessels discharge their cargoes into lighters, and thus forward to Richmond and Petersburg the merchandize which they have brought. City-Point is the spot where the custom-house is established for those two places. If the towns of Richmond and Petersburg had been erected at City-Point, their commerce would have been more considerable, their intercourse with Europe more direct, and Norfolk would not, as now is the case, have engrossed almost the entire trade of that part of Virginia. But City-Point lies low, and is surrounded by swamps. The air in the vicinity is not salubrious; and, in all probability, the detriment which the inhabitants must have suffered in point of health would have been sufficient to counterbalance the advantage of superior opulence.

At a half-mile from the custom-house stands the habitation of Mr. Davies Randolph, in one of those long windings which James-River forms in this part: from which circumstance it is that this plantation bears the name of Presqu'île (or Peninsula).

Mr. Davies Randolph is fully entitled to the reputation which he enjoys of being the best farmer in the whole country. He possesses seven hundred and fifty acres of land, of which three hundred and fifty are at present susceptible of cultivation; the rest are all swampy grounds, which may probably be drained at a considerable expence, but which have not yet undergone that process. Eight negroes (of whom two are little better than children), two horses, and four oxen, cultivate those three hundred and fifty acres, which he has divided into fields of forty acres inclosed. Of those three hundred and fifty acres, only forty, which are subdivided into six portions, are alternately dunged; the remainder never has been so.

The common rotation of culture in the country is, Indian corn, wheat, fallow, and thus again in regular succession. The lands produce from five to eight bushels of wheat per acre, and from twelve to fifteen of Indian corn, according to their quality. Mr. Randolph has deviated from this system of culture on his estate: that which he pursues

is as follows—Indian corn, oats, wheat, rye, fallow; and he raises from ten to twelve bushels of wheat per acre, and from eighteen to twenty-five of Indian corn. The rise in the price of wheat has induced him to vary the rotation of his crops, and to substitute that of wheat, oats or rye, wheat, two years' fallow. By pursuing this method, he reaps from thirteen to sixteen bushels of wheat. He separately cultivates the Indian corn in one or two fields according to his former rotation. He has proved by experience that manuring with dung triples the produce. His lands are good; and, compared with the rest of the country, they are kept in very excellent condition, though very indifferently in comparison with the most ordinary husbandry of Europe. He keeps no cows except for the purposes of the dairy, and to furnish him with calves for his own consumption. His cows are very fine, and of his own rearing. His labouring oxen are of a small breed; and it is thought in the country that those of larger size could not stand the heat. He purchases those labouring oxen at thirty dollars the pair. Mr. Randolph feeds thirty sheep, but merely for the supply of his own table.

He declares that each of his negroes last year produced to him, after all expences paid, a net sum of three hundred dollars, although he sold his wheat for no more than a dollar the bushel. He expected that they would this year have cleared him four hundred dollars each: but the fall in the prices of produce will disappoint his hopes.

The situation of his house gives him also the means of annually selling eight or nine hundred dollars' worth of fish—sturgeon, shad, and herrings, which he salts.

His swampy grounds supply him with abundance of timber for fuel and fences: but they produce a still greater abundance of noxious exhalations which prove a source of frequent and dangerous diseases. Mr. Randolph is himself very sickly; and his young and amiable wife has not enjoyed one month of good health since she first came to live on this plantation. Accordingly Mr. Randolph intends to quit it, and remove to Richmond, where moreover he has frequent business in consequence

consequence of his office, which is that of marshal to the state. He wishes to sell this plantation, which, in the worst years, has brought him in eighteen hundred dollars, and which, for the last two years, has yielded him three thousand five hundred. It is in very good condition: but he cannot find a purchaser for it at the sum of twenty thousand dollars, which he demands. This fact furnishes a proper idea of the low price of land in Virginia. I have been assured, that, although some of the lands have doubled their value during the last twenty years, a much greater portion have fallen in their price.

BERMUDA-HUNDRED — EXPORTATIONS FROM RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG.

During my stay at the house of Mr. Davies Randolph I had an opportunity of learning, with some degree of minuteness, the amount and value of the exports from Bermuda-Hundred or City-Point, the emporium and custom-house of the two towns of Richmond and Petersburg. I received the details of particulars from Mr. Helt, the collector of the customs at that place.

Statement of the Exportations from Bermuda-Hundred or City-Point.

Years.	Flour.		Indian corn, including meal.		Wheat.		Tobacco.		Other articles.	Total value.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Value.	
	Barrels.	Dollars.	Bushels.	Dollars.	Bushels.	Dollars.	Hogshds.	Dollars.	Dollars.	
1791.	10,090	48,125	21,180	6,354	165,635	137,477	29,994	1,029,876	41,293	1,263,126
1792.	10,708	54,653	47,722	14,316	75,146	67,382	27,660	1,075,447	24,771	1,236,571
1793.	28,877	164,018	262	133	88,115	99,783	15,043	556,584	25,000	845,620
1794.	5,853	30,904	2,097	1,153	31,212	32,252	11,995	443,828	13,317	521,456
1795.	8,102	81,753	33,358	33,301	....	....	9,475	375,826	16,365	507,306
first six months of 1796.	3,00	48,488	....	....	....	....	4,473	293,456	12,704	354,650

REMARKS

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

In the column of flour, the seconds and even the pollards are included with that of the first quality.

From the different statements included in the above table, it results,

1°. That, during the last five years and half, the several articles have individually risen more or less in price, but all in general very considerably.

2°. That the exportation of tobacco has undergone a diminution of one half, in point of quantity; but that the article has doubled in value.

3°. That the quantity of flour has excessively diminished, at least so far as regards the direct exportation: for it is certain that the greatest quantity is exported by the way of Baltimore.

4°. That the exportation of wheat has dwindled to nothing: a circumstance which, exclusive of the same common cause that has contributed to diminish the exportation of flour, has moreover for its particular reason the number of mills which are daily erected in Virginia.

RETURN TO RICHMOND—FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THAT TOWN.

Monsieur Guillemard had accompanied me to Presqu'île; and we returned together by the same road which we had travelled on the preceding day.

Mr. Hopkins, commissioner of the loan-office of the United States—Monsieur Chevalier, his brother-in-law, of whom I have already made mention—Doctor MacLue, a native of Scotland, a physician of high repute, and a well-informed man—Governor Brooke—Mr. John Marshall—Mr. Campbell—Doctor Foulchie, with whom the affairs of

one of my friends brought me acquainted—Messrs. Brown and Burton, English merchants—are the persons with whom I was most frequently in company at Richmond. The political opinions of those several gentlemen are extremely different: but in the social circle there prevails among them a degree of politeness which would prevent a stranger from perceiving that difference if he were not previously apprized of it.

There are no doubt at Richmond, as in every other part of Virginia, a certain number of individuals, who, dissatisfied with the commercial treaty, carry their resentment of it to an excessive length, and would wish for such a change in the constitution of the United States as should render it more democratic: but I have never heard even the most violent of that class express a wish for separation or disunion: and indeed it must be confessed, that, under the present mediocrity of wealth in the state of Virginia, the paucity of her population in proportion to her extent, and her backwardness in point of agricultural improvement, the inhabitants could not reasonably entertain a desire of such an event.

Mr. J. Marshall, conspicuously eminent as a professor of the law, is beyond all doubt one of those who rank highest in the public opinion at Richmond. He is what is termed a federalist, and perhaps at times somewhat warm in support of his opinions, but never exceeding the bounds of propriety, which a man of his goodness and prudence and knowledge is incapable of transgressing. He may be considered as a distinguished character in the United States. His political enemies allow him to possess great talents, but accuse him of ambition. I know not whether the charge be well or ill grounded, or whether that ambition might ever be able to impel him to a dereliction of his principles—a conduct of which I am inclined to disbelieve the possibility on his part. He has already refused several employments under the general government, preferring the income derived from his professional labours (which is more than sufficient for his moderate system
of

of economy), together with a life of tranquil ease in the midst of his family and in his native town. Even by his friends he is taxed with some little propensity to indolence; but even if this reproach were well founded, he nevertheless displays great superiority in his profession when he applies his mind to business.

DEPARTURE FROM RICHMOND FOR THE MOUNTAINS. DOVER COAL-MINE.

On the 20th of June, Mr. Guillemard and myself set out for the mountains; Monticello, the habitation of Mr. Jefferson, was the object of this part of our journey. Messrs. Graham and Havans, merchants of Richmond, and owners of a coal-mine, were so kind as to conduct us thither. This mine is scarcely wrought. Several pits have been sunk, and relinquished again, in hopes of discovering coals of a superior quality, and in greater abundance, in other places. It appears to be very rich, and to form a part of the same bed which is found in the environs, and has been worked for many years on the west side of the river. But these gentlemen, who are neither chemists nor mechanics, are content to grope their way without applying for advice to more enlightened men; for there is not one person throughout America versed in the art of working mines*.

This is one of the objects, in regard to which literary societies might render themselves extremely useful in the United States. They might easily insert in the public papers extracts of the best works, written in English, French, and German, on this science, which has been brought to such perfection in Europe. Nor would it be an arduous task to hold on this head, as on all subjects of universal utility, a correspondence with men of letters in Europe. The publication of this correspond-

* The Duke must apply this observation to the natives; for many Europeans, skilled in the working of mines, have certainly emigrated to America. *Translator.*

ence, would introduce into America a knowledge of the progress and discoveries made in the science of mines, and all the unpleasant trouble and ruinous expence of fruitless experiments would be prevented.

Messrs. Graham and Havans employ about five hundred negroes in this mine, and the business of the farm, in the province of which it is situated. In the lowest ground the vein runs one hundred and twenty feet below the surface, and is, in general, twenty-four feet thick. The ground from the surface down to the vein consists of a good red and yellow clay, interspersed with stone, easily reducible to dust. The vein is enveloped in a small layer of imperfect slate, and rests on a bed of granite; a circumstance, which, in the opinion of my friend, Mr. Guillemard, must puzzle all the naturalists of Europe. The coals of this mine, and indeed of all those which have hitherto been opened in this country, are very small, and the most solid pieces which can be obtained crumble into dust at the slightest shock, so that they are more adapted to be used in the forges of smiths, than to be burned in grates. Some veins, it is supposed, contain more solid coals; if this should be the case, the mine would prove far more profitable for the owners: but this supposition remains as yet a matter of mere conjecture.

This farm, composed of three hundred and fifty acres of land, which is for the most part of the very best quality, and containing a mine, the existence of which was not unknown to the vender, brought three years ago no more than five thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars, which makes about eighteen dollars per acre. The farm is managed in the common style of the country, that is, very badly; but as it chiefly consists of low grounds, the crops are in general better than on other estates, where the culture of the soil is equally neglected.

The road from Richmond to Dover (this is the name of the place where the mine is found), lies through woods of a middling quality; the soil is poor, and partly cultivated, though in a very indifferent manner.

manner. The houses are small, bad, and not numerous. They are inhabited by white people, who do not seem to be in easy circumstances.

On passing the creek of Fuckehoe, you quit the county of Henrico, in which Richmond is situated, and enter that of Goochland.

GOOCHLAND COURT-HOUSE.

The country between Dover and Goochland court-house, where we stopped at night, is more variegated than before; you find there more heights, and some fine prospects, especially on Mount Pleasant, which commands a wide extensive vale, entirely cleared, and full of houses, and clumps of trees, which have been left standing near the habitations and in the middle of the fields.

This day was a court-day at Goochland. The justices of the peace of the county meet here every month for the administration of justice. The session assembles here, besides the neighbouring judges, lawyers, and parties whose causes are to be tried, numbers of idle people who come less from a desire to learn what is going forwards than to drink together.

It was near nine o'clock at night when I arrived, before Mr. Guillemard. The company was about to break up; the accounts were settled; every one had already mounted his horse, and nothing prevented their separation but the irresolution and prattle common to drunken people, and the usual attachment between them when they meet to get intoxicated together. By my manner of talking English to the landlord, the company easily discerned that I was a Frenchman. Immediately they jumped all off their horses, pulled me down from mine, clasped me in their arms, and exclaimed—"You are a Frenchman—well, you are our friend, our dear friend; we would all of us die for every Frenchman; we are good republicans, we would kill all the English; that would be an excellent thing, would not it? Oh, our friend, our dear friend!"—"He is a Frenchman," they said to each other,

other, "the brave dear gentleman is a Frenchman ! But as you are a Frenchman, you must drink some grog with us."—They embraced me, pulled me about in every direction, and shook me by the hand.—"Do pray tell us what we can do for you ; you are our brother." I was overwhelmed by their number and caresses to such a degree, that I was hardly able to bring my foot to the ground. Although their drunken professions were rather of too sentimental a complexion, yet I could not be displeased with their purpose and intention ; on the contrary, in this respect they gave me great satisfaction. I answered them as well as circumstances would admit : but my answer, as may be easily conceived, was drowned in the noise of their joyful professions. During this time arrived a large bowl of grog, and we drank one after another, toasting the French, France, America, Virginia, and M. de la Fayette, whose name they mentioned with enthusiasm. In spite of my little disposition for drinking, I was obliged two or three times to drink in my turn ; for it was absolutely necessary to empty the bowl. It was with great difficulty I prevented the arrival of a second ; and the inn-keeper having told them that the Frenchman (speaking of me) had made a long journey, and consequently wanted repose, I was at length able to disengage myself from the officious hands of these good people, who would all take me home, ten, fifteen, or twenty miles distant from the place of our meeting.

Another circumstance which favoured our separation, was the tragic return of one of the guests, who had left the company before my arrival to fight another drunkard. This poor young man, who arrived in his battle-array, that is, quite naked, was covered with blood from a blow which tore away a part of his ear, and from another on his eye, which seemed starting out of his head. The tender affections of my friends were now turned towards their wounded companion, and I rejoined Mr. Guillemard, who had arrived during the festive reception which I experienced ; but hearing that the English were rather severely treated, did not think it convenient to join us.

In Virginia, where the villages are less numerous than in other
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parts, and inns very scarce, there is generally one adjoining the Court-House, without which the justices, lawyers, and parties, would have no means to procure either a bed or food. We were very well lodged in the house destined for the judges, where we shared the parlour with three counsellors, very civil and sober men, and good companions. Their sentiments in favour of France and her successes, clothed in language more sensible than that of my first acquaintances in the place, bore a strong appearance of sincerity and candour. They told us, that, by what they had learned, France had demanded of America twenty thousand troops to assist her in the preservation of her colonies in the West Indies, and they entertained no doubt but that America, mindful of her obligations to France, would readily comply with the demand. It is evident that these good gentlemen were by no means possessed of correct information relative to the disposition of their government, and over-rated the extent of national gratitude. However this may be, you hear in Virginia the same language expressive of attachment to France, of hatred and especially of distrust in regard to England, and of affection for M. de la Fayette, which you meet with in every other part of the United States that is not situated in the immediate vicinity of great towns, and places absorbed in mercantile speculations. In general, the inhabitants of the country, and those of large towns—those who live at a considerable distance from the sea-coast, and those who belong to trading places—are two descriptions of people altogether distinct from each other in point of manners and opinions. The truth of this remark, which is obvious in all countries, is more strikingly so in America, where the people are only divided into the two classes of traders and cultivators, where trade and commerce, which are almost entirely in the hands of England, naturally find their interests interwoven with those of that kingdom, and where the merchants and traders acting upon this principle, and possessed of that powerful influence which is generally derived from superior wealth, form, as it were, a distinct nation within a nation; while, on the other hand, the country people, attached by their own interests to the prosperity of that country only

only which they inhabit, desire it sincerely and exclusively, and are merely liable to those errors into which ignorance may betray their good disposition.

M. DE RIEUX. BIRD-ORDINARY.

The road grows still duller after you leave Goochland Court-House. It is every where surrounded with woods, and the eye discerns no difference of hills and dales but that of the road, from its rises and falls. The plantations become constantly less frequent, and less extensive; and cultivation is still more confined. Inns are very scarce on this road; the next is nearly seventeen miles distant from that where we passed the night. I went a mile farther on to stop at one which I knew was kept by a Frenchman, whose house, I had also learned, was lately destroyed by fire. This Frenchman formerly kept a store at Charlotte-Ville. Having there experienced misfortunes not occasioned by misconduct, he established himself where he now is, on the strength of an assurance which had been given him, that, from the general dissatisfaction expressed at the management of the neighbouring inn, his house would be much frequented by travellers. In this he has not been deceived; they all put up at his inn. The unfortunate fire, in which he lost all his furniture and stock in trade, which he estimates at upwards of fifteen hundred dollars, is attributed to his great success, and the jealousy excited by it in the breast of the mistress of the rival neighbouring inn. His name is *Plumard de Rieux*, and he is a native of Nantes. If he belongs, as he says, to the family of Rieux, which however appears not to be the case from his name Plumard, he would appertain to one of those to which ancient opinions assigned the first rank in France. He is brother of a lieutenant in the navy, who, sharing the political sentiments of the ancient navy, has refused to serve since the beginning of the revolution. M. de Rieux married in America the daughter of Mr. Mazzei an Italian, who had settled on that continent, and who during the revolution acted the part of a zealous republican, but after-

wards returned to Europe, where, from his reputation of being a friend of liberty, he was appointed *chargé d'affaires* at Paris by the King and the Republic of Poland.—He has since, it is said, retired to Pisa.

Madame de Rieux is young and amiable, and possesses a well-informed mind. M. de Rieux is beloved and respected by all who know him; he supports with courage and gaiety all the misfortunes which have happened to him. A very considerable inheritance has been lately left to him by an aunt, who remained in France and enjoyed his estates. He hopes to obtain this inheritance, yet he is at the same time aware, that under the present circumstances there is as much probability against as in favour of his wish, although he left France long before the revolution.

I felt at M. de Rieux's what I always experience on meeting with good, honest, and sensible Frenchmen, a satisfaction and interest which I never feel in America under any other circumstances. Is it prejudice, is it weakness? It may be so, but it is what I constantly experience, what I have always experienced in foreign countries, even previously to the calamitous events of the revolution, and what I feel disposed also to experience in future. Ah! how consoling would it prove on meeting with an honest and unfortunate countryman, surrounded by a wife and numerous family, to promote by a loan of some value the restoration of his prosperity, without wounding the delicacy of his feelings. The loss of an enjoyment of this nature is not the least painful result of severe misfortunes in point of property and wealth.

M. de Rieux only tenants the house which he inhabits, and the three hundred and fifty acres of land that belong to it, and pays for the whole a yearly rent of ninety-eight dollars. This affords an additional proof of the moderate value of land in Virginia, as that which he cultivates is very good.

After having spent nearly the whole day at M. de Rieux's, we went ten miles farther on to *Bird-ordinary*, where we stopped for the night. Plantations become now less frequent and poorer; yet all these
planters,

planters, however wretched their condition, have all of them one or two negroes. These slaves, who are in general well treated in Virginia, are upon the whole much more so by these poor farmers, who share with them the toils of the fields, and who, although they do not clothe and feed them well, yet treat them, in this respect, as well as they do themselves: while on the plantations of wealthy colonists the negroes are allowed meat but six times a-year, and subsist entirely on Indian corn, and sometimes on butter-milk.

MILFORD;

A very small village, built within these few years on the Rivanna, a rivulet which empties itself into James-River. Before you reach the village you cross Melhaneck-Creek, which flows into the Rivanna. They are both fordable, but the fords are frequently rendered very dangerous, nay impassable, by a sudden rise of the waters, at least for some hours; for the inclination of their beds is so considerable, that in less than half a day they return to their usual depth, which is only three feet.

MONTICELLO. MR. JEFFERSON; HIS AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE COUNTRY.

Monticello is situated four miles from Milford, in that chain of mountains which stretches from James's-River to the Rappahannock, twenty-eight miles in front of the Blue-Ridge, and in a direction parallel to those mountains. This chain, which runs uninterrupted in its small extent, assumes successively the names of the West, South, and Green Mountains.

It is in the part known by the name of the South-Mountains that Monticello is situated. The house stands on the summit of the mountain, and the taste and arts of Europe have been consulted in the formation of its plan. Mr. Jefferson had commenced its construction before the American revolution; since that epocha his life has been constantly engaged in public affairs, and he has not been able to complete

plete the execution to the whole extent of the project which it seems he had at first conceived. That part of the building which was finished has suffered from the suspension of the work, and Mr. Jefferson, who two years since resumed the habits and leisure of private life, is now employed in repairing the damage occasioned by this interruption, and still more by his absence; he continues his original plan, and even improves on it, by giving to his buildings more elevation and extent. He intends that they should consist only of one story, crowned with balustrades; and a dome is to be constructed in the centre of the structure. The apartments will be large and convenient; the decoration, both outside and inside, simple, yet regular and elegant. Monticello, according to its first plan, was infinitely superior to all other houses in America, in point of taste and convenience; but at that time Mr. Jefferson had studied taste and the fine arts in books only. His travels in Europe have supplied him with models; he has appropriated them to his design; and his new plan, the execution of which is already much advanced, will be accomplished before the end of next year, and then his house will certainly deserve to be ranked with the most pleasant mansions in France and England.

Mr. Jefferson's house commands one of the most extensive prospects you can meet with. On the east side, the front of the building, the eye is not checked by any object, since the mountain on which the house is seated, commands all the neighbouring heights as far as the Chesapeake. The Atlantic might be seen were it not for the greatness of the distance, which renders that prospect impossible. On the right and left the eye commands the extensive valley that separates the Green, South and West Mountains from the Blue-Ridge, and has no other bounds but these high mountains, of which, on a clear day, you discern the chain on the right upwards of a hundred miles, far beyond James's-River; and on the left as far as Maryland, on the other side of the Potowmack. Through some intervals, formed by the irregular summits of the Blue-Mountains, you discover the Peaked-Ridge, a chain of mountains placed between the Blue and North Mountains, another
more

more distant ridge. But in the back part the prospect is soon interrupted by a mountain more elevated than that on which the house is seated. The bounds of the view on this point, at so small a distance, form a pleasant resting-place; as the immensity of prospect it enjoys is, perhaps, already too vast. A considerable number of cultivated fields, houses, and barns, enliven and variegate the extensive landscape, still more embellished by the beautiful and diversified forms of mountains, in the whole chain of which not one resembles another. The aid of fancy is, however, required to complete the enjoyment of this magnificent view; and she must picture to us those plains and mountains such as population and culture will render them in a greater or smaller number of years. The disproportion existing between the cultivated lands and those which are still covered with forests as ancient as the globe, is at present much too great: and even when that shall have been done away, the eye may perhaps further wish to discover a broad river, a great mass of water—destitute of which, the grandest and most extensive prospect is ever destitute of an embellishment requisite to render it completely beautiful.

On this mountain, and in the surrounding valleys, on both banks of the Rivanna, are situated the five thousand acres of land which Mr. Jefferson possesses in this part of Virginia. Eleven hundred and twenty only are cultivated. The land left to the care of stewards has suffered as well as the buildings from the long absence of the master; according to the custom of the country it has been exhausted by successive culture. Its situation on declivities of hills and mountains renders a careful cultivation more necessary than is requisite in lands situated in a flat and even country; the common routine is more pernicious, and more judgment and mature thought are required, than in a different soil. This forms at present the chief employment of Mr. Jefferson. But little accustomed to agricultural pursuits, he has drawn the principles of culture either from works which treat on this subject, or from conversation. Knowledge thus acquired often misleads, and is at all times insufficient in a country where agriculture is well understood; yet it is preferable to mere practical knowledge, in a country where a
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bad practice prevails, and where it is dangerous to follow the routine, from which it is so difficult to depart. Above all, much good may be expected, if a contemplative mind, like that of Mr. Jefferson, which takes the theory for its guide, watches its application with discernment, and rectifies it according to the peculiar circumstances and nature of the country, climate and soil, and conformably to the experience which he daily acquires.

Pursuant to the ancient rotation tobacco was cultivated four or five successive years; the land was then suffered to lie fallow, and then again succeeded crops of tobacco. The culture of tobacco being now almost entirely relinquished in this part of Virginia, the common rotation begins with wheat, followed by Indian corn, and then again wheat, until the exhausted soil loses every productive power; the field is then abandoned, and the cultivator proceeds to another, which he treats and abandons in the same manner, until he returns to the first, which has in the mean time recovered some of its productive faculties. The disproportion between the quantity of land which belongs to the planters and the hands they can employ in its culture, diminishes the inconveniences of this detestable method. The land, which never receives the least manure, supports a longer or shorter time this alternate cultivation of wheat and Indian corn, according to its nature and situation, and regains, according to the same circumstances, more or less speedily the power of producing new crops. If in the interval it be covered with heath and weeds, it frequently is again fit for cultivation at the end of eight or ten years; if not, a space of twenty years is not sufficient to render it capable of production. Planters who are not possessed of a sufficient quantity of land to let so much of it remain unproductive for such a length of time, fallow it in a year or two after it has borne wheat and Indian corn, during which time the fields serve as pasture, and are hereupon again cultivated in the same manner. In either case the land produces from five to six bushels of wheat, or from ten to fifteen bushels of Indian corn, the acre. To the produce of Indian corn must also be added one hundred pounds of leaves

leaves to every five bushels, or each barrel, of grain. These leaves are given as fodder to the cattle. It was in this manner that Mr. Jefferson's land had always been cultivated, and it is this system which he has very wisely relinquished. He has divided all his land under culture into four farms, and every farm into six fields of forty acres. Each farm consists, therefore, of two hundred and eighty acres. His system of rotation embraces seven years, and this is the reason why each farm has been divided into seven fields. In the first of these seven years wheat is cultivated; in the second, Indian corn; in the third, pease or potatoes; in the fourth, vetches; in the fifth, wheat; and in the sixth and seventh, clover. Thus each of his fields yields some produce every year, and his rotation of successive culture, while it prepares the soil for the following crop, increases its produce. The abundance of clover, potatoes, pease, &c. will enable him to keep sufficient cattle for manuring his land, which at present receives hardly any dung at all, independently of the great profit which he will in future derive from the sale of his cattle.

Each farm, under the direction of a particular steward or bailiff, is cultivated by four negroes, four negresses, four oxen, and four horses. The bailiffs, who in general manage their farms separately, assist each other during the harvest, as well as at any other time, when there is any pressing labour. The great declivity of the fields, which would render it extremely troublesome and tedious to carry the produce, even of each farm, to one common central point, has induced Mr. Jefferson to construct on each field a barn, sufficiently capacious to hold its produce in grain; the produce in forage is also housed there, but this is generally so great, that it becomes necessary to make stacks near the barns. The latter are constructed of trunks of trees, and the floors are boarded. The forests and slaves reduce the expence of these buildings to a mere trifle.

Mr. Jefferson possesses one of those excellent threshing-machines, which a few years since were invented in Scotland, and are already very common in England. This machine, the whole of which does

not weigh two thousand pounds, is conveyed from one barn to another in a waggon, and threshes from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty bushels a day. A worm, whose eggs are almost constantly deposited in the ear of the grain, renders it necessary to thresh the corn a short time after the harvest; in this case the heat, occasioned by the mixture of grain with its envelope, from which it is disengaged, but with which it continues mixed, destroys the vital principle of the egg, and protects the corn from the inconveniences of its being hatched. If the grain continued in the ears, without being speedily beaten, it would be destroyed by the worm, which would be excluded from the eggs. This scourge, however, spreads no farther northwards than the Potowmack, and is bounded to the west by the Blue Mountains. A few weeks after the corn has been beaten, it is free from all danger, winnowed and sent to market. The Virginia planters have generally their corn trodden out by horses; but this way is slow, and there is no country in the world where this operation requires more dispatch than in this part of Virginia. Besides the straw is bruised by the treading of horses. Mr. Jefferson hopes that his machine, which has already found some imitators among his neighbours, will be generally adopted in Virginia. In a country where all the inhabitants possess plenty of wood, this machine may be made at a very trifling expence.

Mr. Jefferson rates the average produce of an acre of land, in the present state of his farm, at eight bushels of wheat, eighteen bushels of Indian corn, and twenty hundred weight of clover. After the land has been duly manured, he may expect a produce twice, nay three times more considerable. But his land will never be dunged as much as in Europe. Black cattle and pigs, which in our country are either constantly kept on the farm, or at least return thither every evening, and whose dung is carefully gathered and preserved either separate or mixed, according to circumstances, are here left grazing in the woods the whole year round. Mr. Jefferson keeps no more sheep than are necessary for the consumption of his own table. He cuts his clover
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but twice each season, and does not suffer his cattle to graze in his fields. The quantity of his dung is therefore in proportion to the number of cattle which he can keep with his own fodder, and which he intends to buy at the beginning of winter to sell them again in spring; and the cattle kept in the vicinity of the barns where the forage is housed, will furnish manure only for the adjacent fields.

From an opinion entertained by Mr. Jefferson, that the heat of the sun destroys, or at least dries up in a great measure, the nutritious juices of the earth, he judges it necessary that it should be always covered. In order therefore to preserve his fields, as well as to multiply their produce, they never lie fallow. On the same principle he cuts his clover but twice a season, does not let the cattle feed on the grass, nor incloses his fields, which are merely divided by a single row of peach trees.

A long experience would be required to form a correct judgment, whether the loss of dung which this system occasions in his farms, and the known advantage of fields enclosed with ditches, especially in a declivous situation, where the earth from the higher grounds is constantly washed down by the rain, are fully compensated by the vegetative powers which he means thus to preserve in his fields. His system is entirely confined to himself; it is censured by some of his neighbours, who are also employed in improving their culture with ability and skill, but he adheres to it, and thinks it is founded on just observations.

Wheat, as has already been observed, is the chief object of cultivation in this country. The rise, which within these two years has taken place in the price of this article, has engaged the speculations of the planters, as well as the merchants. The population of Virginia, which is so inconsiderable in proportion to its extent, and so little collected in towns, would offer but a very precarious market for large numbers of cattle. Every planter has as many of them in the woods, as are required for the consumption of his family. The negroes, who form a considerable part of the population, eat but little meat, and this little is pork. Some farmers cultivate rye and oats,

but they are few in number. Corn is sold here to the merchants of Milford or Charlotte-Ville, who ship it for Richmond, where it fetches a shilling more per bushel than in other places. Speculation or a pressing want of money may at times occasion variations in this manner of sale, but it is certainly the most common way. Money is very scarce in this district, and, bank-notes being unknown, trade is chiefly carried on by barter; the merchant, who receives the grain, returns its value in such commodities as the vender stands in need of.

Mr. Jefferson sold his wheat last year for two dollars and a half per bushel. He contends, that it is in this district whiter than in the environs of Richmond, and all other low countries, and that the bushel, which weighs there only from fifty-five to fifty-eight pounds, weighs on his farm from sixty to sixty-five.

In addition to the eleven hundred and twenty acres of land, divided into four farms, Mr. Jefferson sows a few acres with turnips, succory, and other seeds.

Before I leave his farm, I shall not forget to mention, that I have seen here a *drilling-machine*, the name of which cannot be translated into French but by "*machine à semer en paquets*." By Mr. Jefferson's account, it has been invented in his neighbourhood. If this machine fully answers the good opinion which he entertains of it, the invention is the more fortunate, as by Arthur Young's assertion not one good drilling-machine is to be found in England. This machine, placed on a sort of plough-carriage, carries an iron, which gently opens the furrow as deeply as is required. Behind this iron, and in the upper part of the machine, is a small trough, containing the grain which is intended to be sown. This grain is taken out of the trough by a row of small receivers, sewed on a leather band, or ribbon, and turning round two pivots placed above each other at the distance of from seven to eight inches. The small receivers take the grain from the trough, and turn it over into a small conduit, which conveys it into the furrow made by the iron. The distance of one of those receivers from another determines that of the places in which the grain

grain is deposited in the ground; and a harrow, fixed on the machine behind the conduits through which the seed falls into the furrow, covers it again. The *endless* chain of the receivers, which forms the merit of the machine, may be compared with that which is used for drawing water from a great depth, or still more properly with a heaver of flour in Evans's mills. It is put in motion by a light wheel, which moves along the ground as the machine advances, and is fixed in such a manner that it is not obstructed in its movements by the inequalities of the ground, nor even by the stones which it may find in its way. If this machine really answers the intended purpose, it is difficult to conceive why it should not have been invented before, as it is extremely simple, composed of movements well known, and of powers frequently employed. In my opinion it admits, however, of great improvements.

My readers will undoubtedly find that I bestow peculiar attention on agriculture, by speaking of Mr. Jefferson as a farmer, before I mention him in any other point of view.

They must be very ignorant of the history of America, who know not that Mr. Jefferson shared with George Washington, Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Jay, and a few others, the toils and dangers of the revolution, in all its different stages; that in the famous congress which guided and consolidated it, he displayed a boldness and firmness of character, a fund of talents and knowledge, and a steadiness of principles, which will hand down his name to posterity with glory, and ensure to him for ever the respect and gratitude of all friends of liberty. It was he, who in that famous congress, so respectable, and so much respected—in that congress, ever inaccessible to the seduction, fear, and apparent weakness of the people—who jointly with Mr. Lee, another deputy of Virginia, proposed the declaration of independence. It was he, who, supported principally by John Adams, pressed the deliberation on the subject, and carried it, bearing down the wary prudence of some of his colleagues, possessed of an equal share of patriotism, but less courage. It

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was he, who was charged with drawing up this master-piece of dignified wisdom, and patriotic pride. It was he, who being afterwards appointed governor of Virginia at the period of the invasion of Arnold and Cornwallis, acquired a peculiar claim on the gratitude of his fellow-citizens. It was he, who, as the first ambassador of the United States in France, filled at that momentous epocha that distinguished post to the satisfaction of both nations. In fine, it was he, who as Secretary of State in 1792, when the ridiculous and disorganizing pretensions of Mr. Genêt, and the lofty arrogance of the * * * minister, endeavoured alternately to abuse the political weakness of the United States, induced his government to speak a noble and independent language, which would have done credit to the most formidable power. The long correspondence carried on with these two designing agents would, from its just, profound, and able reasoning, be alone sufficient to confer on its author the reputation of an accomplished statesman.

Since the beginning of 1794, Mr. Jefferson has withdrawn from public affairs. This was the time when the malevolent sentiments of * * * * * were displayed against the United States in the strongest manner, and when her unjust proceedings were resented with the utmost indignation from one end of America to the other. This was the most important epocha of the policy of the United States, because they proposed to act with energy and vigour. The preference which under those circumstances the President was accustomed to give to the advice of Mr. Hamilton, which continually carried along with it the opinion not only of General Knox, but also of Mr. Randolph, then attorney-general of the Union, over that of Mr. Jefferson, caused him to embrace this resolution. Immediately after this step, Mr. Jefferson was considered by the ruling party as the leader of Opposition; he was suspected of revolutionary views; he was accused of an intention to overturn the constitution of the United States, of being the enemy of his country, and of a wish to become a tribune of the people. It is sufficient to know that Mr. Jefferson is a man
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of sense, to feel the absurdity of these scandalous imputations; and whoever is acquainted with his virtue, must be astonished at their having ever been preferred against him. His speeches are those of a man firmly attached to the maintenance of the Union, of the present constitution, and of the independence of the United States. He is the declared enemy of every new system the introduction of which might be attempted, but he is a greater enemy of a kingly form of government than of any other. He is clearly of opinion, that the present constitution should be carefully preserved, and defended against all infringements arising from an extension of the prerogatives of the executive power. It was framed and accepted on republican principles, and it is his wish that it should remain a republican constitution. On several occasions I have heard him speak with great respect of the virtues of the President, and in terms of esteem of his sound and unerring judgement.

But the spirit of party is carried to excess in America; men who embrace the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, attack their opponents with imputations, no doubt, equally unfounded. In all party-proceedings neither reason nor justice can be expected from either side, and very seldom strict morality with respect to the means employed to serve the favourite cause; one cause alone appears good; every thing besides is deemed bad, nay criminal, and probity itself serves to mislead probity. Personal resentments assume the colour of public spirit, and frequently, when the most odious acts of injustice have been committed, and the most atrocious calumnies spread, but few members of the party are in the secret, and know that they are the effusions of injustice and false representation. The truth of these observations being evident to all men who have lived amidst parties, should lead to mutual toleration and forbearance.

In private life Mr. Jefferson displays a mild, easy and obliging temper, though he is somewhat cold and reserved. His conversation is of the most agreeable kind, and he possesses a stock of information not inferior to that of any other man. In Europe he would hold a distinguished

distinguished rank among men of letters, and as such he has already appeared there; at present he is employed with activity and perseverance in the management of his farms and buildings; and he orders, directs, and pursues in the minutest detail every branch of business relative to them. I found him in the midst of the harvest, from which the scorching heat of the sun does not prevent his attendance. His negroes are nourished, clothed, and treated as well as white servants could be. As he cannot expect any assistance from the two small neighbouring towns, every article is made on his farm; his negroes are cabinet-makers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths, &c. The children he employs in a nail-manufactory, which yields already a considerable profit. The young and old negresses spin for the clothing of the rest. He animates them by rewards and distinctions; in fine, his superior mind directs the management of his domestic concerns with the same abilities, activity, and regularity, which he evinced in the conduct of public affairs, and which he is calculated to display in every situation of life. In the superintendence of his household he is assisted by his two daughters, Mrs. *Randolph* and Miss *Mary*, who are handsome, modest, and amiable women. They have been educated in France. Their father went often with them to the house of Madame *d'Enville*, my dear and respectable aunt, where they became acquainted with my family, and as the names of many of my friends are not unknown to them, we were able to converse of them together. It will be easily conceived, that this could not but excite in my mind strong sensations, and recollections, sometimes painful, yet generally sweet. Fifteen hundred leagues from our native country, in another world, and frequently given up to melancholy, we fancy ourselves restored to existence, and not utter strangers to happiness, when we hear our family and our friends mentioned by persons who have known them, who repeat their names, describe their persons, and express themselves on so interesting a subject in terms of kindness and benevolence.

Mr. *Randolph* is proprietor of a considerable plantation, contiguous

to that of Mr. Jefferson's ; he constantly spends the summer with him, and, from the affection he bears him, he seems to be his son rather than his son-in-law. Miss Maria constantly resides with her father ; but as she is seventeen years old, and is remarkably handsome, she will, doubtless, soon find, that there are duties which it is still sweeter to perform than those of a daughter. Mr. Jefferson's philosophic turn of mind, his love of study, his excellent library, which supplies him with the means of satisfying it, and his friends, will undoubtedly help him to endure this loss, which moreover is not likely to become an absolute privation, as the second son-in-law of Mr. Jefferson may, like Mr. Randolph, reside in the vicinity of Monticello, and, if he be worthy of Miss Maria, will not be able to find any company more desirable than that of Mr. Jefferson.

The situation of Monticello exempts this place from the pestilential effluvia which produce so many diseases in the lower countries. From its great elevation it enjoys the purest air ; and the sea-breeze, which is felt on shore about eight or nine o'clock in the morning, reaches Monticello at one or two in the afternoon, and somewhat refreshes the atmosphere, but the sun is intolerable from its scorching heat ; as indeed it is in all the southern States. The places that enjoy some advantage over others are those which, like Monticello, are exposed to its direct rays, without experiencing their reflection from more elevated mountains, or neighbouring buildings.

Mr. Jefferson, in common with all landholders in America, imagines that his habitation is more healthy than any other ; that it is as healthful as any in the finest parts of France ; and that neither the ague, nor any other bilious distempers are ever observed at Monticello. This is undoubtedly true, because he asserts it, in regard to himself, to his family, and his negroes, none of whom is attacked by these maladies ; but I am, nevertheless, of opinion, that an European, who during this season should expose himself too much to the air from nine in the morning until six at night, would not long

enjoy a good state of health. During the seven days I continued there, not one passed without some moments of rain, and yet the intensity of the heat was not in the least abated by it.

In Virginia mongrel negroes are found in greater number than in Carolina and Georgia; and I have even seen, especially at Mr. Jefferson's, slaves, who, neither in point of colour nor features, shewed the least trace of their original descent; but their mothers being slaves, they retain, of consequence, the same condition. This superior number of people of colour is owing to the superior antiquity of the settlement of Virginia, and to the class of stewards or bailiffs, who are accused of producing this mongrel breed. They are liable to temptation, because they are young, and constantly amidst their slaves; and they enjoy the power of gratifying their passions, because they are despots. But the public opinion is so much against this intercourse between the white people and the black, that it is always by stealth, and transiently, the former satisfy their desires, as no white man is known to live regularly with a black woman.

Before I close this article I must say, that during my residence at Monticello I witnessed the indignation excited in all the planters of the neighbourhood by the cruel conduct of a master to his slave, whom he had flogged to such a degree as to leave him almost dead on the spot. Justice pursues this barbarous master, and all the other planters declared loudly their wish, that he may be severely punished, which seems not to admit of any doubt.

But it is time to take leave of Mr. Jefferson, whose kind reception has perfectly answered what I had a right to expect from his civility, from our former acquaintance in France, and from his particular connection with my relations and friends. Mr. Jefferson is invited by the republican party, named anti-federalists, to succeed George Washington in the President's chair of the United States, the latter having publicly declared, that he will not continue in this place, although he should be re-elected by the majority of the people of the United States.

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The other party is desirous of raising John Adams to that station, whose past services, and distinguished conduct in the cause of liberty, together with his place of Vice-President, give him also, no doubt, very powerful claims. In the present situation of the United States, divided as they are between two parties, which mutually accuse each other of perfidy and treason, and involved in political measures which it is equally difficult to retract and to pursue, this exalted station is surrounded with dangerous rocks; probity, a zealous attachment to the public cause, and the most eminent abilities, will not be sufficient to steer clear of them all. There exists no more in the United States a man in a situation similar to that of George Washington. On his first election, the confidence and gratitude of all America were concentrated in him. Such a man cannot exist in the present conjuncture of circumstances, and the next president of the United States will be only the president of a party. Without being the enemy of one of the pretenders, one cannot, therefore, concur in the wish which he may entertain of being elevated to that eminent post. The fleeting enjoyment of the vanity of him, who shall be elected president, may, perhaps, be followed by the keenest pangs of grief in his remaining days.

The two small towns of Charlotte-Ville and Milford trade in the produce of the country situated between them and the mountains. They also form a sort of depôt for the commodities of more distant parts of the country; especially Milford, where the navigation begins, and does not experience any farther interruption from this point to Richmond. The water-carriage of merchandize and commodities costs one third of a dollar per hundred weight. The trade, which in a small degree is also carried on with money, is chiefly managed by barter, because money is scarce, and notes are not readily received. The price of land is from four to five dollars per acre, and the quantity of land to be sold is very considerable. Meat, that is, mutton, veal and lamb, fetches fourpence a pound; beef cannot be had but in winter. The wages of white workmen, such as masons, carpenters, cabinet-makers, and smiths, amount to from one and a half dollar to two dollars

a day, according as they are scarce in the country. During the present season masons obtain the highest pay; there are not four stone-masons in the whole county of Albemarle, where Monticello is situated, which I left on the 29th of June.

WOODS-TAVERN. CULTURE OF TOBACCO.

The road to *Woods-tavern*, which runs along Jekney-creek, and through woods, is tolerably good and even. The plantations continue to be thinly scattered, and the proprietors cultivate as much tobacco as they can employ negroes. But here, as on James-River, and in fact throughout Virginia, tobacco is yearly replaced by wheat, which becomes gradually almost the general object of culture; and the present fall in the price of wheat does not seem to render the planters less attached to this change in their system of cultivation.

The culture of tobacco is difficult, troublesome, and uncertain. It is sown in the month of March, in a fat and rather moist ground.

Before the sowing time the land is covered with small branches of trees, which are burnt for the purpose of destroying the herbs and roots, that might injure the growth of the plant, and also in order to increase the fertility of the soil by their ashes. The tobacco is thickly sown on a bed in the most sheltered corner of the field. This bed is covered with branches, lest the frost should hinder the unfolding of the seed, and prevent the sprouting of the plants. When they are three or four inches high, they are transplanted into a field, which has been well manured and prepared for their reception. A negro heaps earth around the plants, which are set four feet distant from each other on all sides. The ground is constantly kept clean of weeds, and all the leaves are taken from the plant, which it is thought might injure its perfect growth, beginning always with those that are next the ground, and which might be affected by the wet. More earth is heaped around the stalk; and its head bruised with the nail, to prevent its running up too high; all the sprouts which shoot forth below the leaves are cut
away,

away, and all the leaves successively torn off, except eight or nine, which alone are left on the stalk. At last when the plant is supposed to be ripe, which happens in the month of August, it is cut, left several days in the field to dry in the sun, and then carried into the barns, where every plant is separately suspended by its undermost part. In this position the leaves attain by desiccation the last degree of maturity, but not all of them at the same time; for this desiccation, which in regard to some is completed within two days, takes with respect to others several weeks. When the leaves are perfectly dry, they are taken from the stalk, and laid one upon another in small parcels. The most perfect leaves must be put together, and those of an inferior quality separated into different classes; this is, at least, the method followed by such planters as pay most attention to the fabrication of their tobacco. These small parcels of leaves, tied together by their tails, are then brought under the press, and afterwards pressed down into hog-heads. This process varies more or less in the different plantations, but the variations are not by any means considerable.

The sorts of tobacco, cultivated in Virginia, are the *sweet-scented*, the most esteemed of all; the *big* and *little*, which follow next; then the *Frederick*; and, lastly, the *one-and-all*, the largest of all, and which yields most in point of quantity. The tobacco produced in these parts is sold either at Milford or Richmond. The price is the same, and so is the freight, which amounts to one third of a dollar per hundred weight; this is also the case in regard to other articles of merchandize. This year it has been sold for six dollars and two thirds per hundred weight. Three years ago it brought no more than from three to four dollars. A negro can cultivate two acres and a half, and as each acre yields, upon an average, one thousand pounds of tobacco, each negro can, consequently, produce two thousand five hundred pounds. But the culture of this plant is, as has already been stated, extremely troublesome; it is exposed to a great variety of accidents, which cannot always be avoided, and which destroy many stalks, or spoil at least many leaves: 1st. After the plant has been transplanted,

transplanted, the root is frequently attacked by a small worm, which causes the leaf to turn yellow, and which must be taken out of the ground with the fingers, to save the plant; 2d. humidity communicates *the rot* to the plant, that is, covers it with red spots, which cause it to moulder away, and the stalk is lost; 3d. violent winds break the stalk; 4th. when the leaves are at the point of attaining their maturity, horn-worms nestle in them, attack them, and completely destroy the plant, unless they can be torn off; 5th. when the tobacco is cut and spread on the ground to dry, the wet impairs its quality. The seed for the next year is obtained from forty to fifty stalks per acre, which the cultivator lets run up as high as they will grow, without bruising their heads.

Mr. Wood cultivates no tobacco on the farm where he keeps his inn, but on another, seven miles farther distant, and the only sort he attends to is *one-and-all*. Near his inn he cultivates wheat and Indian corn, like all the other farmers of the district; but he dungs his fields now and then, and thus prolongs the term of their fertility. He frequently obtains thirty bushels of wheat per acre, and all his produce in wheat as well as tobacco is sold at Milford.

The price of land is in this district the same as in the vicinity of Mr. Jefferson.

Mr. Wood's inn is so good and cleanly—he, his wife, and whole family, are so kindly officious and obliging, that I cannot forbear mentioning those circumstances with pleasure. Mr. Wood is a lively, agreeable, old man; thirty-five years ago he settled in this part of Virginia, where he arrived from Ireland, and has amassed a considerable fortune.

NORTH-GARDEN-MOUNTAINS.

A few miles beyond Mr. Wood's inn, you pass by the North-garden-Mountains. This is a small circle of mountains, almost entirely closed, which contains about ten thousand acres of the very best land.

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The richness of the soil, and the variety of situations, which fits it for all species of culture, have obtained for this district the name it bears. A planter has made there within these few years a successful trial with the vine; he puts into his wine brandy and sugar, and imagines that the wine is made in the same manner in all countries whence it is exported in large quantities. He does not as yet produce wine enough for sale, but the Virginians who have tasted it allow it to be excellent, and he will, of course, find a ready market when he shall be able to make a sufficient quantity.

ROCKFISH.

During the whole journey, until you reach the foot of the *Rockfish*, you continually ascend and descend, but the ground rises all along by sensible degrees; the plantations are more numerous, but the buildings consist of small miserable log-houses, although the cultivated fields which surround them are tolerably extensive. The nearer you approach the mountains the more the tobacco-fields grow scarce, and you at last see nothing but wheat and Indian corn. Among all the farmers I have met with, I found but one who was not dissatisfied with the fall in the price of wheat, and who expressed himself on this subject with moderation and judgement; all the rest perceive in the decrease of the value of their commodities their approaching ruin, and lament it with the utmost grief. At length you reach the foot of the Blue-Mountains, which you ascend by a road two miles in length, that has a gentle rise, and is well cut. A small additional expence would have rendered it completely good by turning off several springs, which spoil it in different places. From this mountain you enjoy an extensive prospect over all the heights you have just traversed; but the country is covered with wood to such a degree, that their tops only can be discerned. On the summit of Rockfish-Mountain you find a few miserable houses, the most considerable of which is an abominable inn, full of bugs, fleas, and all kinds of ordure. I stopped there,
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for I had no choice. All the inhabitants of the place meet here, as they generally do in the small inns in America, to smoke their pipes, to drink whisky, and relate the toils of the day: politics take up but little of their conversation. Newspapers do not reach Rockfish, and the number of families is too small to supply matter for the "*chronique scandaleuse*;" but segars and whisky satisfy these good people, who thus spend in a quarter of an hour in the evening the earnings of the whole day. The landlord of the inn has also a distillery of whisky, which he distills from Indian corn and wheat, mixed in equal proportion, and thus increases its strength. This whisky fetches eight shillings per gallon. The addition of Indian corn augments, in my opinion, the unwholesomeness of this liquor; but this is immaterial for the inn-keeper, whose only care is to dispose of it at a profitable rate. A store, established on the top of the mountain, buys the produce of the adjoining country, which is offered there for sale, and retails the merchandize drawn from Richmond by the way of Milford. The store-keeper transmits also to Milford the commodities of the country, if they are not sent by direct conveyance to Richmond. The carriage to Milford costs two thirds of a dollar per hundred weight. All the goods sold at this store are seventy-five per cent dearer than in Philadelphia.

The land, even on the summit of the mountain, is tolerably good; it is sown with wheat, and produces from eight to twelve bushels per acre. The culture of tobacco terminates at the foot of this chain of mountains; on the other side not a leaf is produced, neither the soil nor climate being fit for it. It is also here that still more fortunately the scourge entirely stops, known under the name of *widles*, and that the grain can be preserved as long as it suits the convenience of the owner, without being threshed. The last farmer I conversed with, before I reached the foot of the mountain, told me, that his grain was infected with that insect,

JOURNEY FROM ROCKFISH TO STAUNTON.

The mountain, whose summit cannot be reached from the other side till after ascending two miles, is descended by a road which, at most, is only three quarters of a mile in length, though it slopes as gently as the former, a circumstance which proves how much the ground rises from one ridge to another in this series of mountains, which contains four such stages. The country, as far as Staunton, is thus constantly rising. The habitations are in this district more numerous than on the other side of the Blue-Mountains, but the houses are miserable; mean small log-houses, inhabited by families which swarm with children. There exists here the same appearance of misery as in the back parts of Pennsylvania. The inhabitants are most of them emigrants from the county of Lancaster, from Maryland, and the environs of Reading and Carlisle. They purchase land in these back parts of Virginia at a cheaper rate than they sold that which they quitted. They clear an additional portion of land, and sell it again on the first opportunity, in order to remove into Kentucky, or Tennessee. These are the main points of direction for the emigration from Virginia, where most of the families from Pennsylvania and Maryland settle only for a certain time. Some of the ancient inhabitants of Virginia emigrate also to the western parts, and it is a certain fact, that the state loses yearly more than it gains by emigration. In the county of Augusta, which is entered after passing the Blue-Ridge, the price of land is higher than in the county of Albemarle. It is difficult to account for this fact, as the produce of the country is retailed at a rate somewhat cheaper, although the increased expence for the carriage to market should, it seems, raise its price. Land costs from ten to twelve dollars the acre. All species of grain, hemp, and flax, are cultivated here, but with as little skill as in the preceding counties. As there are no rich planters in this district, the number of negroes is inconsiderable; yet all these petty planters, however poor and wretched they apparently are, have one slave who shares in their toils and distress.

STAUNTON, AND THE PRINCIPAL MINERAL SPRINGS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD.

On descending the Blue-Mountains, the South-River, or southern branch of the Shenandoah, is crossed ; and, before Staunton is reached, the creeks Christian and Lewis are passed, which, at a few miles distance from that spot, empty themselves into the Shenandoah.

Staunton is the capital of the county of Augusta. From its being in the centre of a group of hills, it is one of the places in Virginia where the heat is most intense, and, above all, most oppressive and intolerable. Some houses constructed on the heights enjoy a little more air, but they are commanded by other neighbouring mountains, which frequently prevent the air from reaching them, and very seldom suffer it to circulate. The land in the neighbourhood is not remarkably fruitful. It would be difficult to account for this spot having been chosen for the site of a town in preference to others, but for the numerous springs of excellent water, and a rivulet, which bursting from a hill near the town, turns two mills, and might turn many more if there were money enough to establish them, and a sufficient quantity of corn to be ground. The small rivulet forms the *Middle-River*, which empties itself into the Shenandoah.

The most frequented road to the *sweet, warm, and hot springs* at *Greenbriar*, and from thence to Kentucky, passes through Staunton, and makes it a considerable thoroughfare. Eight inns are established there, three of which are large, and frequently full. The *warm* and *hot springs* are in the county of Augusta, towards the source of James-River. They are eight miles distant from each other, and strongly impregnated with sulphur. The temperature of the *warm spring* is ninety-two degrees of Fahrenheit, which are equal to twenty-six degrees and two thirds of Reaumur ; that of the *hot springs* one hundred and twelve degrees of Fahrenheit, equal to thirty-six degrees and five ninths of Reaumur. These two springs are considered to be very efficacious in rheumatic complaints, and in all cases where it is necessary

fary to purify the blood. The *sweet springs* are in the county of *Bote-tourt*, forty miles from the others, and near another source of James-River. They are quite cold. The accommodations are not remarkably good in any of these three places, although they are much frequented.

Staunton contains about eight hundred inhabitants, a fourth of whom are negroes. The houses are tolerably well built. From fifteen to eighteen stores receive the produce of the back country, which chiefly consists in wheat, Indian corn, rye, hemp, linseed, wax, and honey. Pretty large quantities of bear-skins and beaver-skins are also carried thither, as well as ox-hides, for the supply of a tan-yard, which has been established in the place. The goods sold by the store-keepers are brought directly from Baltimore, yet more frequently from Philadelphia, as the small capitals of the merchants of Richmond do not allow them to give as long credit as the Staunton traders can obtain in those two large cities, where they also find a cheaper market. The trade of Staunton has decreased of late years on account of the establishment of several small towns in the county of Greenbriar, as the store-keepers in those places buy up some of the commodities which were formerly brought to Staunton, and supply the same parts of the country with articles of merchandize which were originally supplied by Staunton.

Two market-days are weekly kept in the town, but the market is badly furnished with provisions. Meat sells at six pence a pound. Flour fetches about eleven dollars the barrel; it is fine and white, and of a taste infinitely superior to that on the other side of the Blue-Mountains. The price of a town-lot of one acre varies according to its position, from sixty to a hundred dollars. This country is not free from bilious fevers in autumn, yet they are less frequent than in the low countries. Four physicians are established in this small town, whose practice is very extensive.

A newspaper is published at Staunton twice a-week, and another is received there every week from Winchester. These papers, it is true,

are rather warm in defence of the French cause, yet they are written with moderation, and never attack directly or indirectly the government of the United States. As far as I am able to judge, they are but little read.

I had a considerable inflammation in my eyes, which increased to such a degree, that on my arrival at Staunton I was absolutely blind. In order to get rid of it, I was obliged to have recourse to bleeding, physic, and blisters, and to remain four days in that small town. This distemper, which I caught at Monticello, is very common throughout this country in the hottest part of the season, especially with those who expose themselves to the sun.

During my stay at the inn where I lodged, I saw great numbers of travellers pass by, who were either merchants or sellers of land, going to Greenbriar and Carolina, or persons on their way to the medicinal springs for relief from rheumatic pains, or other maladies, which they had contracted in the low countries. The political opinions they delivered in the course of conversation were remarkably good. The declaration made by the President, that he will not be a candidate at the next election, was the common topic; and while they unanimously declared that Mr. Jefferson should be his successor, they were at the same time clearly of opinion that nothing could repair his loss.

A presbyterian church has been built at Staunton; it is well frequented every Sunday by the followers of that sect, as well as by persons of different religious persuasions. A Baptist preacher delivers now and then a sermon in this church, which does not, however, make the least alteration in the composition of the audience.

The inhabitants of Staunton, like the generality of Virginians, are fond of gambling and betting. I witnessed there two miserable horse-races. The best horse was not worth sixty dollars, and the bets amounted to three or four hundred. But as money is by no means plentiful, they lay knives, watches, &c. &c. I have seen twelve watches deposited in the hands of the same umpire. With respect to
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the manners of the people here, they are in general much like those of Richmond, nor are they actuated by a superior desire to discharge the debts which they contract.

TOUR FROM STAUNTON TO WINCHESTER. KEYSSEL-TOWN.

The road from Staunton to Winchester runs into two directions, ten miles from the former place, but the two roads thus formed join again thirty miles farther on. We had been advised to strike into the old road, as being the best, and we preferred it accordingly; I say *we*, for Mr. Guillemard had rejoined me. The road as far as that fork, and even far beyond it, offers no interesting objects; it is good, but, to judge from the nature of the ground, it must be almost impassable in winter. Rocks are very numerous; the habitations do not stand at a great distance from the road, but they have a mean appearance.

Fourteen miles from Staunton, a woman who keeps an inn, or at least who assumed the title in an advertisement over her door, was not able to furnish us a breakfast in her hut, the most filthy and nasty I have hitherto met with throughout America. Three miles farther on, we were at considerable pains to obtain one, which fell much short of satisfying the calls of hunger. As we could not entertain the least hopes of getting a dinner at Snap's (this is the name of the master of this second inn), we were compelled to brave the intolerable heat of the noon-tide sun, and to proceed four miles farther on, to Keyssel-Town, a town which, though only twenty years old, is already falling into decay. It is an assemblage of about twenty miserable houses, four of which are whisky-houses. The land is generally good, and fetches upon an average from fifteen to seventeen dollars the acre; but uplands sell only for four or five. Keyssel-Town stands close to the Peaked-Mountains, a ridge which stretches, without the least interruption, from the northern branch of the Shenandoah to Newton, that is, about sixty miles in a direction parallel

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to the Blue-Mountains, which are fifteen miles distant. This chain is, in fact, only a continuation of the same mountain; for the summit forms throughout its whole extent a straight line, uninterrupted by slight differences in point of form. The state of culture is here much the same as in all the preceding districts; large quantities of land in possession of the same owner, and put into cultivation until they are completely exhausted. Hemp, which grows very fine, is cultivated throughout the whole of this country, but flax is merely attended to on account of the seed. The number of cattle is very considerable, but they are constantly kept in the woods. There are but very few farmers who stall them, even in winter, although the frost is for three months very severe: they then strew a few handfuls of bad hay before the door, which these poor lean animals come to eat; and this must last until the next day, when they return for the same scanty supply. Dung is consequently little valued in this country. Although this is the general method, yet there are some exceptions for the better.

On the journey from Staunton to Keyffel-Town we pass the northern branch of the Shenandoah, and the Middle-Creek. Two physicians and four inn-keepers constitute the principal population of Keyffel-Town. One of the physicians is also master of an inn; the other, a German by birth, formerly employed in the Dutch service at Batavia and the Cape of Good Hope in the hospitals, enjoys, it is said, some reputation in the country. We were told that people frequently come forty miles to consult him. His name is Dr. Hall; we saw him; he seems to possess more knowledge than physicians generally do in this country; but this distinction is no peculiar ground of praise. This doctor, who arrived in America fourteen years ago, has successively resided in the state of New-York, Jersey, and different parts of Virginia. In the last instance he quitted the western mountains, three years since, to settle in Keyffel-Town; he sold for fifteen hundred dollars ninety acres of land, and a house, which two years before he had purchased for two hundred and forty, and where he had actually made some improvements.

improvements. I mention this fact, because instances of a similar kind seldom happen in this country. They depend undoubtedly on peculiar circumstances; for, as has already been observed, the increase of the price of land in Virginia is far from keeping pace with the rapid progression it experiences in the northern States, and which seems to commence in South-Carolina. Meat is sold for three pence a pound, and fresh pork for from four to five. Some inhabitants of these parts buy up salt pork in *Greenbriar-County*, and retail it here. They purchase it for five pence, and sell it for nine. We saw at Mr. Snap's a waggon loaded with thirty hundred weight of this article, which was to be sold in the environs of Fredericksburg. The soil consists in general of calcareous earth, and the uppermost layer is clay, which is frequently so red, that you would suppose it to be of a ferruginous nature. The habitations are pretty numerous, but mean and poor. Some mills on the creek do not look quite so wretched; but there is not one good house, not one good stable, and not one good barn, even on the estates of the most considerable farmers.

FREY.

The house of one *Pickering*, twelve miles from Keyffel-Town, had been pointed out to us as a comfortable mansion. We did not find *Pickering* there, but *Frey*, a German, to whom the former sold it last year, and who had established himself here some weeks before our arrival. The house was in so wretched a state as to be seen through on all sides; there was nothing to eat either for man or horse, nor was there any drink to be got but whisky. We were, however, obliged to content ourselves with this hut; for it was night, and we should have been obliged to travel four miles more in search of another inn, which perhaps might not have been better. We accordingly accommodated ourselves to circumstances, and were informed that this *Frey*, the son of a German, came last year from Reading, and paid three hundred and twenty dollars for his house, two distilleries, which belong

belong to it, and sixty-two acres of good land. This tract of country is peopled by one and the same sort of emigrants, who come from Lancaster and Reading, good subjects, honest people, middling cultivators; but awkward, rude, uninformed, and dirty. These qualities and inconveniences characterize all the settlers in America who are Germans, or sons of Germans.

The air here is so intensely hot, and the rays of the sun beat with such violence, at this season of the year, that to render travelling during the day at all tolerable, it is necessary to depart even before day-break; and to rest from seven or eight in the morning till five in the evening; when the traveller must set forward again, to make a moderate day's journey before the arrival of night. With these hours one can seldom proceed more than five and twenty miles a day; for it is necessary, both to the rider and his horse, to travel at an easy pace. The sun begins to scorch as soon as it rises; at five in the morning the heat is already inconvenient; in the evening it is excessive till sun-set; and even long after the sun is down, the ground and all the surrounding objects are impregnated with heat, and continue to reflect it upon the traveller. But after all, though the air is sultry through the whole day, I have always suffered less from it than from the burning rays of the sun, which to me were terrible. And very often, in despite of the management I have talked of, the traveller loses the advantage of part of his precautions, from the want of inns at convenient distances; being compelled, whatever he may endure, to proceed further into the morning than eight o'clock, and to begin his journey again earlier than five in the evening. This happened to us yesterday, which was the 5th of July. We could find no place to rest at, till noon; and were obliged to set out again at four, to reach our miserable inn by the time night began to fall. Travelling in this manner defeats the intention of one who travels from curiosity; for, beside his being in danger of falling sick, he arrives at the end of his day's journey so fatigued as to be incapable of exertion, and unfit for enquiry. He can scarcely go twenty paces from his inn, to see an object worthy of being visited; and has barely strength to support a languid existence.

Newmarket

Newmarket was the first place where we stopped ; it is eight miles distant from our wretched night-quarters, from which we were not able to set out as soon as we could have wished. The aspect of the country does not offer the least variety of views. On some farms we now and then see barns, better stocked than they generally are in this part of the country ; but the dwellings are all small log-houses, and the culture is bad. Between Frey's inn and Newmarket the two branches of the road join again into one. Newmarket is a more considerable place than Keyffel-Town ; the buildings are much of the same construction, but in a better condition. It is also situated in a more extensive plain than we have seen in our travels between the mountains. As to the price of commodities, the manners of the inhabitants, and the culture of the soil, the difference is so very trifling, as not to deserve any notice.

THE VALLEY AND RIVER SHENANDOAH. PEATON.

After an up and down hill journey of five miles farther on a road filled with loose stones, we entered the valley of Shenandoah, where meadows become more frequent. The heat of the day did not allow us to proceed farther than Peaton's house, where, contrary to what we had been led to expect, we found the best accommodation we have met with since we left Staunton. Peaton kept formerly an inn, but having bought, a twelvemonth since, a pretty considerable estate at the foot of the Blue Mountains, this new acquisition engrosses almost his whole time and attention. His wife and children continue, however, in his ancient habitation, where he has taken down the sign, but continues to receive travellers who choose to stop at his house. The difference between these houses, which are pretty numerous in Virginia, and inns, or *ordinaries* as they are called in this State, is, that in the latter all persons are admitted without distinction, but in the former none are received but travellers. They

are thus exempted from noise, drunken quarrels, bad payment, and the charges for a licence. For such houses, therefore, if they are well known, it is a clear profit to take down the sign. But the inn-keepers look upon them with a jealous eye, and do not point them out to travellers; and but for the heat of the sun, which forced us to seek shelter wherever we hoped we might be able to obtain it, we should not have stopped at Peaton's. We were very well treated there, and if we had not been fortunate enough to have stopped, we should have been obliged to go ten miles farther to find even a bad inn. Besides, it was high time for us to stop; for I felt already the symptoms of a fever, which prevented me from proceeding any farther in the evening air.

Wheat is cultivated in this part of the country, as in all the preceding districts. The harvest has but just begun, although the wheat is over-ripe. It is much infected with the rot, and mowed with the sickle as in Europe. On the other side of the Blue Mountains, prejudices, ignorance, and the habits of the negroes, oppose the introduction of the sickle, although some farmers, who are aware that the usual mode of mowing with the scythe causes a considerable loss of grain, wish to introduce it. But most of them are incapable of observation or reflection. Mowing with the scythe being the usual way, they think, in common with the negroes, that it is the best. But here, where the white people work themselves with the negroes, and where a great number of husbandmen arrive from countries where the sickle is made use of, they find no difficulty in mowing with the sickle. The price of land is here much the same as in Keyssel-Town; it is consequently twice as dear as land of the same quality on the other side of the Blue Mountains.

We meet frequently in the road heavy waggons, covered with strong linen, and sometimes also with bear-skins, drawn by four or six horses. It is in such waggons that the produce of the country of Teneffee, Kentucky, and the back parts of Virginia, as well as skins and

and hides, are conveyed to the ports of Alexandria, but more frequently to those of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and they bring back in return the productions of Europe and the colonies.

JOURNEY TO STRASBURGH.

A quarter of a mile from Peaton's house we cross the river Shenandoah, which is rather narrow, but very clear there, and flows in a deep bed, often obstructed by rocks. The banks of it are, in some instances, covered with fine natural grass. The country we traverse, as far as *Woodstock*, has but few hills, is tolerably inhabited, and is more open than before; but the houses gain nothing either in point of convenience or outward appearance. Woodstock is the capital of the county of Shenandoah. This town chiefly consists of log-houses, and contains from seventy to eighty houses, a court-house, and a bad prison, like all the towns of the county. It was formerly named *Millers-Town*, after the name of the proprietor of the ground on which it was built; but the legislature of Virginia, which several years ago had changed this system of nomenclature, has given it the present name. Some saddlers, carpenters, smiths, hatters, and even watch-makers, have established themselves in this small town, which is inhabited by Germans, as, in fact, are all the other places in this part of Virginia. Negroes are not numerous, and only to be found in large families; there are no more than five hundred of them in this county, and the whole population amounts nearly to 12,000 inhabitants.

Between Woodstock and *Strasburgh*, formerly *Stovers-Town*, the ground is extremely stony, and the habitations are very few. A mile on this side of Strasburgh the species of wood shews that the soil is better; the whole scene is changed, the country opens, the chain of *Peaked Mountains* terminates, and we descend into what may be called the valley of Shenandoah; for it is on this point where it really begins, at least for the traveller. Meadows well furnished with timothy-grass and clover are interspersed with fields of wheat and Indian corn,

corn, and with orchards, which abound with apple-trees in this district. Land costs here from eighteen to twenty-eight dollars the acre, and there is but little to be sold in this town, which is entirely inhabited either by Germans, or children of Germans. The fields are manured, and produce from fifteen to twenty-five bushels of wheat per acre. They plough with horses, none of which can be bought under one hundred and twenty dollars, although the recent fall in the price of flour has also lessened their value, as well as that of all commodities.

The farmers find no difficulty in procuring white labourers, whom they pay at the rate of ten dollars per month, or half a dollar per day, and four shillings during the harvest. The cows are very fine, they are bred in the country, and sold for twenty dollars. Considerable numbers of cattle are reared, and more particularly fattened in the pastures, and then, as well as the sheep and pigs, which are also very numerous, sent to the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia. The wool, not used in families for manufacturing necessary clothing, serves to support some hat-manufactories, which have been established in the country. Some merchants of the town purchase of small farmers the whole produce of their land, but the rich landholders send it themselves to Philadelphia. Flour fetches, at this moment, but seven dollars per barrel at Strasburgh, and meat three pence a pound. Strasburgh contains two churches; an Anglican, which is called the high church in this country, and a Presbyterian-meeting.

Before we reached the town, we found in the woods several snakes near the road; among others, a black serpent, thin, long, and which glides with great swiftness, and the snake known by the name of the glass-snake, from its being as transparent and brittle as glass. They were about two or three feet long, and neither of them venomous.

NEW-TOWN.

The country continues beautiful and open as far as New-Town, but is less inhabited than I expected from what I had read and heard. One or two handsome houses of planters are seen from the road; they are more numerous, it is said, on the banks of the river Shenandoah, from which we constantly removed to a greater distance, after we had passed Peaton's house, fifteen miles distant from New-Town. The land is good, and its culture and produce are much the same as in the vicinity of Strasburgh. New-Town, formerly named *Stevensburg*, is a small town, somewhat less considerable than Strasburgh. It contains five hundred inhabitants, and is peopled, like the whole country, by German families. White labourers are procured there as easily as at Strasburgh, and receive nearly the same wages; yet during the last harvest they refused to work for less than a bushel of wheat per day, which the farmers were obliged to give, lest they should lose their harvest. The market-price at Alexandria, whither all the flour of the country is carried, fixes that of New-Town, with the difference of two dollars and a half, which are deducted for freight. Last year a barrel of flour brought as much as twelve dollars and a half at New-Town; but at this time it costs no more than six dollars. Great planters only have at New-Town, as in every other part of the valley, a considerable number of negroes; small farmers keep only one or two, and work along with them.

There is no church at New-Town; we seldom meet with any in Virginia where divine service is performed; from time to time we see indeed old buildings called meeting-places, but no sermons are delivered there, no prayers read, and they do not of course deserve the name of church.

At New-Town we took leave of Mr. Dandridge, who slept at Peaton's the same night we did, and in whose company we travelled the last two days. Mr. Dandridge was secretary to the President, and left

left him two or three months ago. The circumstance that the President had appointed another secretary in his room was recorded in the *chronique scandaleuse* of Philadelphia, with a variety of comments and speculations on the motives of this separation; in short, this domestic transaction in the house of the President was canvassed with all the curiosity, ignorance, and loquacity, of a large society of idlers; and the newspapers re-echoed this empty noise of supposition and conjecture, which are apparently without any ground. However this may be, Mr. Dandridge was returning from the county of Greenbriar, where he had inspected some estates belonging to the President, and was now going to rejoin him at Mont-Vernon. We found in him a very pleasant companion, and he seemed as much concerned at his parting from us as we were to leave him. He is a man of a very respectable character.

WINCHESTER.

The plantations increase both in number and size, as we approach Winchester, which lies but eight miles from New-Town. It is the capital of Frederick-County, contains upwards of two thousand inhabitants, and is built tolerably well, in the midst of rocks, which circumstance, however, does not prevent many of the inhabitants from building houses of wood. It is very difficult to conceive the motives that led to the construction of a town on this spot, where only as much water is found as is required for the use of the houses, and which is upwards of twenty miles distant from all navigation; it would have been far more advantageously situated on the banks of the Shenandoah. The rivulet which supplies the families of Winchester with water in abundance, is the source of Opeckan-Creek, that empties itself in a north-east direction into the Potowmack. Winchester carries on a considerable trade for its inland position, in the midst of a country which is, as yet, so thinly inhabited. It sends to Alexandria the whole produce of the upper country, and draws

draws from Baltimore, but especially from Philadelphia, all sorts of dry goods: the traffic, both in buying and selling, is carried on with ready money.

The preference which is given here to Philadelphia over Alexandria, in regard to the purchase of dry goods, rests on the same grounds as it does in other places of this upper part of Virginia. From the greater wealth possessed by the merchants of that city, they are able to give longer credit; they receive the goods from the first hands, and consequently can sell them cheaper; their warehouses being plentifully stocked with merchandize, the buyers can also suit themselves better—circumstances, none of which take place at Alexandria, and which being less combined at Baltimore than at Philadelphia, caused the latter to be resorted to in preference to the former, notwithstanding its greater distance: it is by land that all these productions and commodities are conveyed to Alexandria, and arrive from Philadelphia. The carriage from Philadelphia to Winchester costs from four to five dollars per hundred weight; and from Winchester to Alexandria, two dollars and a half, as it does from New-Town. Heavy merchandize, such as grocery, is at times sent by sea from Philadelphia to Alexandria, whence it is conveyed to Winchester in waggons, which, if not obliged to go back empty from want of a load, are paid at the rate of one dollar and a half per hundred weight. The produce sent from Winchester consists chiefly of flour. The environs of this place, as well as the back country, whence it draws the necessary supplies of provisions, abound in wheat; mills are very numerous in that district; hemp, some linseed, hats and hardware, great quantities of which are manufactured in Frederick-County, are also productions of this country. Upwards of thirty well-stocked stores, or shops, have been opened at Winchester; the value of European goods which it yearly draws from Philadelphia, or Baltimore, is estimated at two hundred thousand pounds, or six hundred sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars; they sell at Winchester thirty per cent dearer than in the former places.

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The profession of a lawyer is as lucrative in Winchester as in all the other parts of Virginia. More than twenty of them find constant practice, and are in thriving circumstances. Mechanics are found in abundance; even a coach-maker, and several watch-makers, have settled there. Five churches have been built at Winchester; a Roman Catholic, an Anglican, a Presbyterian, a German Lutheran church, and a Methodist meeting-house, but without any ministers being peculiarly attached to them. The English minister resides on the other side of the Blue Ridge, and only comes from time to time. The Roman Catholic curate, who lives in Maryland, visits this place also when he chooses; and so do the rest. The Methodist meeting-house excepted, divine service is thus performed here by itinerant priests, who are not in the habit of travelling much in Virginia for the purpose of propagating religious truths. But, on the other hand, it is certain that the number of gaming-tables has of late much increased in this town, and they are all of them assiduously frequented. This is a sort of worship, in the observance of which but few Virginians incur the charge of infidelity.

Besides an indifferent prison, and a very decent court-house, Winchester contains a fine building destined for the poor. The expence of this house, which is kept but very carelessly, is raised by a poll-tax on white people and negroes. The poor, however, do not derive all the advantage it might afford if the public money were husbanded with more economy. I have not been able to procure much minute information relative to the management of this house, but I have seen enough of it, to induce me not to wish for further particulars. Besides my opinion on this species of establishments is fixed. They afford in a bad and imperfect manner the assistance which the poor have a right to claim from society. The care of old and infirm people, supported by the public, would be far more usefully entrusted to private families for a reasonable compensation; and thus public charity would be confined to the sole class of the poor who really deserve it. Alms-houses for the indigent are sources of poverty; for they must

must be inhabited, and even filled. The idler considers them as unfailing resources, and is thus encouraged in his idleness; while a wicked son sees in them a certain retreat for his father and mother, which hardens him in his guilty disposition not to assist them in distress, &c. &c.

If in old states, which are extremely populous and gangrened with misery and vice, the establishment of hospitals for the poor should be deemed useful, their number ought at least to be confined within the bounds of indispensable necessity. Now this necessity exists not, nor can it exist, in an infant country like America, which abounds in the means of subsistence, placed within the reach of every body; where every family may easily support such of its members as are reduced to penury by old age or infirmities; where the number of those who have no relations to retreat to in such a situation, if there should exist any, is at least very small; and where private charity is excited by the very scarcity of those who need alms.

It is a painful duty to acknowledge that poor-houses are far more frequently the results of the vanity of cities, and of the indolence of those who ought to attend to the relief of the poor, than the effects of true humanity. The importance of enacting wise laws with respect to mendicants is not yet sufficiently felt: the task is, indeed, difficult; but they are intimately connected with the prosperity of a great nation, and with the happiness of all its members.

Two or three pitiful schools form all the resources of the inhabitants of Winchester for the education of their children.

The town contains ten or twelve inns, large and small, which are often full. It lies in the way of all travellers who proceed to the back parts of Virginia, to Tennessee, or to the mineral springs in the counties of Augusta and Berkley. Many families which are emigrating into the new countries also pass through Winchester. In the course of last year upwards of four thousand persons passed through the place, who were going to settle in Tennessee or Kentucky.

A well-stocked market is held there twice a week. The price of

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meat is five pence a pound; a pair of fowls costs from two to three shillings, and butter eleven pence a pound. Every inhabitant has a garden, which produces the necessary vegetables for his consumption. Board and lodging cost five dollars a week. Negroes are very numerous in Winchester; but white labourers are not easily procured, and receive higher wages than in most places of the neighbouring counties.

The population of the county amounts to above twenty-one thousand souls, four thousand five hundred of whom are negro slaves.

BERKLEY-COUNTY. CHARLESTOWN.

Although dwelling-houses and plantations are tolerably numerous between Winchester and Charlestown, yet the country is still covered with wood to such a degree, that the eye does not enjoy any of the pleasant views which this fine tract of land, bounded on the right and left by the beautiful chains of the Blue and North Mountains, would offer, if it were well cleared. A few miles from the town the road takes a north-east direction towards the Potowmack. Along the first part of this road only small and wretched habitations are to be seen; and it is not until we enter the county of Berkley, eleven miles from Winchester, that the plantations become more considerable, the fields more extensive, and better cultivated, and that the whole landscape assumes an appearance of wealth. The dwelling-houses are, in general, better built, and some which belong to rich planters have a handsome appearance: but woods predominate still too much, and more ground lies uncleared than would suffice to support a population thirty times more numerous than it is at present.

Charlestown is a small place, built within these ten or twelve years, consisting of about forty houses. The inhabitants of this place and its environs are mostly emigrants from the lower parts of Virginia. A few of them came from Pennsylvania, and these are all Germans. This district is inhabited by more opulent planters than any other of the valley we have hitherto traversed. The number of negroes is consequently

frequently considerable ; and white labourers are scarce in proportion : it is with great difficulty that any of the latter can be procured during the harvest at the rate of two dollars per day. The difficulty of finding labourers at that important period obliges the farmer to have his wheat cut with the scythe, although he is fully aware of the inconvenience which attends this operation, and which is more considerable here than elsewhere, for the thickness of the crops obstructs the action of the scythe, and a greater quantity of corn is accordingly shaken out by the additional force required in mowing it down.

Landed property for some miles round Charlestown is more divided, perhaps, than in any other part of Virginia. Very few of the planters possess more than two thousand acres of land, and few even so much. The culture is better, the fields are better ploughed, better husbanded, and are even a little dunged. An acre produces from twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat ; oats are cultivated in abundance ; numbers of cattle are kept in the meadows. The whole produce is disposed of in the same manner as that of the environs of Winchester, Straburgh, &c. &c. But it is from Winchester that the stores or shops of Charlestown receive their supplies : none of the shop-keepers is sufficiently rich to draw merchandize directly from the sea-ports.

Two tolerably good schools, one for English, and another for Latin, are established at Charlestown, to which children are frequently sent from Winchester. The price of instruction for each pupil at these schools amounts to five dollars for English, and seventeen for Latin. The corporation is building a house in which these two schools are to be united, and is desirous that a native of France would fix himself here as teacher of the French language.

A Presbyterian and a Methodist church have also been erected in this small town, and the Episcopalians have built another two miles farther. These three churches have ministers, supported by voluntary contributions ; but their allowance is not sufficient to relieve them from the necessity of being also paid by other congregations, so that divine service is performed at Charlestown every fortnight

only, and it is said that even on these days the churches are but little frequented.

No market having been as yet established in Charlestown, every one supplies himself with provisions as well as he can. Meat costs six pence a pound, butter nine pence, and fowls two shillings a pair.

This town is increasing every year, and many new houses are building. The inhabitants assured us, as in fact they did every-where, that the air is extremely salubrious; and, to judge from the aspect of the country, nothing seems here to contradict the assertion.

The culture of wheat extends five or six miles beyond Charlestown. The fields are all of a vast extent, and the crops of Indian corn are remarkably fine. The meadows are also very rich, but they are few in number.

PASSAGE OF THE POTOWMACK THROUGH THE BLUE MOUNTAINS. HARPER'S FERRY.

Two or three miles from Potowmack you find a ledge of small heights, which always precede and follow the high chains of mountains: they are stony, and but little cleared of wood, and the roads are dreadful.

At last we reach the celebrated point, so much extolled by travellers, and the celebrity of which has been greatly increased by Mr. Jefferson's *Notes*—the point where the Potowmack, on receiving the Shenandoah, seems to have broken through the Blue Ridge, to open for its waters a passage across this grand obstacle, by which nature intended to obstruct its course. The view is beautiful and majestic. The Shenandoah sweeps in a south-east direction along the Blue Mountains, and seems destined thus to prolong its rapid course all along this ridge, when the Potowmack, which flows smooth and still from west to east, encounters it at a right angle, and increasing the impetus and rapidity of the Shenandoah, arrests the natural direction of the latter, and carries it along across these high mountains,

mountains, which seem to open for the sole purpose of letting them pass. The scene is grand; it deserves to be viewed, and is worthy of the admiration of travellers who delight in the magnificent operations of nature. But, however I was pleased with the sight, it did not excite in me those emotions of enthusiasm which I expected, which I have several times experienced in the course of my life, and which last year affected me so strongly at the view of the falls of Niagara. The slight impression made upon my mind by the sudden encounter of the Potowmack and Shenandoah, and by their passage through the Blue-Ridges, is it to be ascribed to the idea I had preconceived, and to the high expectations raised in my mind by the accounts I had heard and read on this subject? But I arrived last year with similar, nay stronger, preconceptions at the stupendous cataract of Niagara, and my astonishment and admiration were not diminished; on the contrary, they grew stronger and stronger every moment, while I was contemplating this wonder of nature, which engaged, as it were, every power of my soul; and the emotions it excited are still present to my mind. Is the want of enthusiastic feeling, perhaps, owing to my actual disposition, which renders me less susceptible of the charms of enchantment? This may be; my soul has since last year undoubtedly sustained some loss in this respect; yet I am not become absolutely cold and insensible to the beauties of nature; and I indulge in a belief, that I shall not stand unsupported in my opinion on this grand and beautiful scene, which I have viewed with admiration and delight, but which appeared to me inferior to the descriptions given of it.

I must here observe, by way of a remark on the climate of America, that a very hot day was succeeded, at *Harper's Ferry*, by an evening so excessively cold, that I was obliged to put on my great coat to be able for some time to remain in the open air, and that I was soon obliged to step into the house and shut some of the windows. This temperature of the air is not, however, common in this place; and the inhabitants were as strangely and disagreeably affected by it as myself.

The beautiful valley of Shenandoah, which has also been more extolled, in my opinion, than it deserves, terminates at this point. It is a
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fine country, inhabited by an industrious and active people ; a country, formed by nature to be rich, and which we do not expect to find between these two chains of mountains, at least not in Virginia, after having travelled through other parts of that State, where so much activity and industry are considered as things utterly impossible ; yet it is but thinly inhabited in proportion to its extent, and to the length of time since it first began to be settled. Scarcely any part of it is cultivated with careful attention and skill ; the price of land is very low, improvements proceed but slowly ; and if we call to recollection the plains on the Mohawk-River in the north of the State of New-York, we must allow, that the valley of Shenandoah deserves the praise of being the finest part of Virginia, but not of all America, as is frequently asserted in written and verbal accounts of this valley. It is from a sort of spirit of justice that I thus express myself, on this part of the country, in a manner different from that of many others, whose opinion may, undoubtedly, have more weight than mine ; but I have, nevertheless, passed through this valley with satisfaction and pleasure ; and I wish, for the happiness of the Virginians, that many other parts of their State resembles this. The want of population would soon be supplied, and none of the present inhabitants would emigrate into other States.

In the valley of Shenandoah are many home-manufactories, which is rarely the case in any other part of Virginia. The richest counties in this plain are those of Shenandoah, Frederick, and Berkley, especially the latter. Pigs are bred here in great numbers ; they run now and then into the woods, as they do in other parts of Virginia, but they return home almost every day, and are fed there. A considerable trade in salt pork is carried on in this valley. The population of Berkley-County amounts nearly to twenty-three thousand inhabitants, three thousand of whom are slaves. In this county, near the Potowmack, is situated the most frequented medicinal spring in the United States. Although it possesses less powerful qualities than the springs in the county of Augusta, and is less hot ; yet the beauty of the country, and its vicinity to the maritime provinces, which are the most populous,

lous, the neighbourhood of some small towns, tolerably inhabited, and the great variety of accommodations which the village that surrounds the spring offers to the guests, induce the majority of patients to prefer it to the other springs.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON VIRGINIA.

On crossing the Potowmack we enter the state of Maryland. But before I bid a last farewell to Virginia, I cannot forbear making some general observations on this State, which is so highly interesting on account of its vast extent, the great number of representatives it sends to Congress, the influence which it is supposed to have over the Union in general, and over the southern States in particular; and, lastly, on account of the difference of opinion entertained by its partisans and foes.

Nature has done much for Virginia, perhaps more than for any other state of the Union. The soil is, in general, good, and extremely varied; the climate, no doubt, is rather hot in summer; the heat, however, is but little troublesome, for the inhabitants are easily accustomed to it; on approaching or passing the mountains it becomes more moderate, and tolerable even in the midst of summer: vegetation is wonderfully powerful in Virginia, and the climate favours the culture of almost all known productions. Virginia, it is true, has no port on the Atlantic; but she possesses a multiplicity of harbours on her numerous and beautiful rivers, the navigation of which admits of sailing up very high to receive the produce of remote districts; and, as has been already observed, the situation of North-Carolina is such, that the overplus of the produce in grain of that extensive State must in a great measure pass through the hands of the merchants of Virginia. The want of sea-ports, which is not attended with any inconvenience for Virginia, is, on the other hand, productive of the great advantage of being secure in time of war from the insults of the enemy, who, in order to burn its towns or plunder the country, would be obliged either
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to land in another State, or to venture into the Chesapeake. These immense advantages are incontrovertibly possessed by Virginia, whose lower parts, although unhealthful, yet are not more so than those of Maryland, of some districts of Pennsylvania, and of the State of New-York, and are certainly more salubrious than the lower parts of the two Carolinas and Georgia. Virginia also enjoys the great additional advantage of being almost entirely free from all dangerous animals. The rattle-snake is uncommon to such a degree, that a great many inhabitants who live in the woods never heard it mentioned. Let us now consider, whether Virginia has improved these great advantages, by her constitution, laws, and civil relations; what is her real strength, her strength in relation to the other states, and what are her resources.

The constitution of Virginia was formed the first of any of the United States; it is likewise the most imperfect. Representation, the first basis of every democratical constitution, is unequal in this state. Each county sends two representatives to the legislature: but these counties vary in point of population so very much, that some furnish only one company of militia, while others raise four battalions. Thus the proportional difference of representation between the counties is as one to sixteen. The organization of the senate is, in this point of view, equally defective. In regard to the election of senators the State is divided into twelve districts, which are composed of an unequal number of counties. Ten of these districts lie between the sea and the Blue-Ridge, and two only are situated beyond the mountains. In this latter part of the State the population is not so great as in that which is called Old Virginia: but it will soon become equal to it, because many of the inhabitants of the old settlements emigrate either into the western districts, or beyond the mountains; at present even, it is more than half that of the other. There is, then, a striking inequality likewise in the representation of the senate, which is not composed, like that of the senate of the Union, and of some other States, of elements different from those of the house of representatives. The governor

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is a mere shadow of authority, he has not the power of performing any act but by the advice of his executive council, composed of eight persons, two only of whom go out every year, according to the choice of the legislature. Thus the possibility that many of the members will hold their seats in the council for life gives them considerable influence, and adds a total want of authority to the impossibility of acting in which the governor is placed by the constitution.

This constitution is also objected to on the ground of its not being the work of a convention appointed *ad hoc*, but having been made by the legislature which existed under the English dominion, and which, after having shaken off the British yoke, modelled the constitution, without having been elected and assembled for that purpose, as in the other states. This reproach might have had some foundation, although the circumstances in which the legislature was placed at that time reduce it almost to nothing; but at this time it is altogether unfair, because the constitution, made by an assembly whether competent or otherwise, has been adopted by the whole state, and followed these twenty years past without the least objection. Whatever, therefore, may be its advantages or inconveniences, its origin should not be now a matter of reproach. Such as it is, it meets with much censure in the state; and the number of those who loudly demand an alteration, although from different motives, is very considerable. The law which places landed property out of the reach of creditors in the recovery of debts would be immoral in any country, and under any government whatever. In countries where aristocracy forms the leading principle of government, and it is intended to have a rich nobility and a succession of opulent families, that principle is supported by fiduciary substitution. For family estates being there considered as permanent property, it is held, that the title of their present occupiers is confined to a mere usufruct. This law, unjust as it is under aristocratic governments as any-where else, is there at least a politic measure, in the sense which under this sort of government is attached to that term, and is moreover confined to the property of some families. But in a

country where democracy forms the basis of government, and whose constitution is preceded by a declaration of the rights of man, this law, destitute even of a pretext, is exposed in all the disgraceful nakedness of its native immorality. The law which goes so strong against gambling is undoubtedly very moral and good: but so far from being duly enforced, it is publicly violated every day; gaming being no-where more practised, or productive of greater disorders, than in Virginia. It would, therefore, be much better for the state were gambling authorized by law; for of all disorders, that of a public contempt of the laws is the most destructive to a civilized state. Another great disorder in the state of Virginia is the habitual want of punctuality in the payment of debts; for, independently of the immorality of this part of the public manners, this bad habit, which enriches not even those who do not pay, deprives the public wealth of many resources, and injures all sorts of improvements. The resources of chicanery afford in Virginia, as they do every-where else, a strong support to this disposition of the Virginian people; since the definitive sentence of payment in regard to the clearest and most incontrovertible debt may be retarded full five years.

As to trade and commerce, Virginia, although very advantageously situated for the most extensive commercial operations, yet carries on but a very inconsiderable trade. The merchants are neither possessed of the same capitals, nor enjoy the same credit, as in the other trading states of North America. So far are they from supplying with provisions the back parts of the state, that the latter draw them directly from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The total value of the exports of the different ports of Virginia amounted in the year 1791 to 3,131,863 dollars; in 1792 to 3,542,823; in 1793 to 2,987,097; in 1794 to 3,320,636; and in 1795 to 3,490,043 dollars.

The population of Virginia should seem very considerable, if we reflect that this state sends twenty-one members to the Congress of the Union, and that the population of each state should regulate the num-

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ber of its representatives at that general council. But this population, which by the census of 1791 amounts to seven hundred and forty-seven thousand six hundred and ten persons, comprizes two hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-seven slaves. The area of the state contains seventy thousand square miles; this makes per square mile about ten two thirds of inhabitants, three sevenths of whom are negro slaves. The population of the whites, which is undoubtedly increased by reproduction, gains nothing by migration; for no Virginian will deny, that the state is losing every year more by the emigration of its inhabitants than it obtains emigrants from other states; so that this population, if well counted, is, perhaps, inferior to that of any other state of the Union. In a great part of Virginia the heat of the climate, and the use of slaves, render that class of men idle and averse to labour, who in the other states, under different circumstances, are spurred on to industry and activity by indigence and want. We find, accordingly, that a less quantity of land is cultivated here, in proportion to the extent and population of the country, than in other states, and that but very few branches of industry have gained ground in Virginia, although the country is fitted for all those which have been established in other parts of the United States. There is no state so entirely destitute of all means of public education as Virginia; and it may be fairly said, that the only college she possesses is the most imperfect in point of instruction, and the worst managed of any of the Union. On a candid consideration of these circumstances, it is impossible to praise with any degree of justice the power of the state of Virginia.

The power of a state is the result of its real strength: Virginia, as has already been observed, is undoubtedly invited by nature to become the most powerful, or one of the most powerful, of the Union. But in order to attain this end, bad laws must be superseded by good ones; the manners must be corrected, industry encouraged, and the bounties of nature turned to advantage. These are the resources of Virginia, which futurity will call forth. As Virginia contains some men of public spirit and extensive information, occupied with the welfare of

the country and desirous of effectuating it, and as the legislature itself seems to pay much attention to this point, the time of improvement may be near; but it is not yet come, and my observations merely apply to the present state of things.

Virginia influences at this moment the political opinion of Georgia and North-Carolina; the similar manner in which these three states vote at the congress, at least warrants this opinion. But Georgia is a feeble state, from her position as well as population; and, were she even more considerable under these points of view than she actually is, yet the state of disorder which prevails there would reduce her strength to nothing. North-Carolina is not in the same state of disorder, but possesses no strength. Men of talents are more scarce there than in any of the other states; and if she should obtain any, she would probably be tired of the state of dependence wherein she is kept by her incapacity.

Virginia does not rely on South-Carolina, which may coincide with her in point of political opinion, yet desires to have an opinion of her own, and scorns to acknowledge the superiority or influence of another state.

She ranks among her friends the state of Kentucky, which was dismembered from Virginia, and Tennessee, whose interests perfectly concur with hers. She fancies also, she may rely on a part of Pennsylvania. But all these calculations are more than doubtful; and were they founded, they have no permanent grounds: they may be useful to carry a motion in Congress; but they do not increase the real strength of Virginia, nor the resources of a political body acting, or desiring to act, independently of the Union.

The reproach frequently preferred against Virginia, that she designs to induce the Southern States to withdraw from the Union, is certainly unfounded. Not one of the other states is, perhaps, more attached to the federal government, than Virginia. The Virginians are unanimous in this opinion, and even reproach the Northern States with an intention of operating this division; yet they hope, that Pennsylvan-

vania, or at least that part which is situated on the left of the Susquehanna, would assist them in defeating any attempt, in Congress, to bring on such a rupture.

The Virginians generally enjoy a character for hospitality, which they truly deserve; they are fond of company; their hospitality is sincere, and may, perhaps, be the reason of their spending more than they should do; for, in general, they are not rich, especially in clear income. You find, therefore, very frequently a table well served, and covered with plate, in a room where half the windows have been broken for ten years past, and will probably remain so ten years longer. But few houses are in a tolerable state of repair, and no part of their buildings is better kept than the stables, because the Virginians are fond of races, hunting, in short, of all pleasures and amusements which render it necessary to take peculiar care of horses, as they are the fashion of the day.

The Virginians are good husbands, and good fathers; but, from a love of dissipation, they keep less at home than the inhabitants of many other states. I have heard ladies reproach them with being subject to jealousy. This may be the case: in every country under the sun dissipated husbands are jealous. The women are amiable, and enjoy the reputation of fulfilling their duty with the same exactness as in other parts of America, where the husbands pass more time with their wives. They are more sprightly and agreeable than in the Eastern States, but not so much so as in South-Carolina; nor are they so pretty as in Philadelphia. I have, however, seen Virginian ladies who are inferior to none in personal charms and graceful manners.

Virginia has, since the revolution, produced more men of distinguished talents than, perhaps, any other state of the Union. Fond as the inhabitants are of dissipation, a taste for reading is more prevalent among the gentlemen of the first class than in any other part of America; but the common people are, perhaps, more ignorant than elsewhere. During the war of the revolution, the Virginian troops were equally distinguished for their valour and love of liberty; and the latter sentiment is yet tremblingly

tremblingly alive among all classes of the people. The contrast it forms with the maintenance of slavery is truly striking; and speeches on liberty and independence sound rather strangely from the lips of masters of slaves. The Virginians are most of them aware of the inconveniences resulting from slavery, even with respect to their own interests; but the means of abolishing it are liable to numberless difficulties in a country where the number of slaves is so considerable as in Virginia. Yet, on the other hand, it must be allowed that there are means, the execution of which, if undertaken with unanimity and spirit, would be less dangerous than many Virginians seem to apprehend. I shall speak more fully on this subject after my visit to Maryland. The Virginians are, in general, good masters; the sentiments of philanthropy, which have not yet gained sufficient ground in Virginia to prepare the emancipation of slaves, have however had influence enough to cause them to be better treated and fed. It is generally felt in Virginia, that absolute slavery cannot continue long; men of sense, at least, are convinced of the truth of this remark. Let us indulge in the hope, that this conviction will insensibly lead to some generous resolution, which will prove as beneficial to the masters as the slaves.

MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The depth of the layer of sand prevents any stone from being perceived in the vicinity of Norfolk, yet at a short distance from that place quarries are found and worked. The stones employed in building are quartz, feldspar, and steatites. On the sea-shore the ground consists of a fine sand, dry and light, but is in several instances pierced by rocks of granite. In *Dismal Swamp* the same fragments of trees are found buried and preserved under the vegetable earth, in different degrees of depth, as in the plains which rise in the form of a terrace near the bed of the river Connecticut. These fragments are still more abundant there: when dug out of the ground they are also in a
soft

soft state, but grow hard when exposed to the air. From the mouth of James-River, as far as the Blue Mountains, the same minerals are found as in the rest of America. Near Chesapeak-Bay you meet with irregular masses of granite, which farther on are replaced by regular layers of quartz, feldspars, schoerl, and an argillaceous shistus. This succession of minerals is found two or three times in the tract of country which is washed by James-River. Near York and Williamsburg you find large beds of oyster-shells, four or five feet in depth, which sometimes appear above the surface of the ground; you also see stones composed of conglomerations of granite, and which seem to be a species of imperfect pudding-stone. The stones washed by the rapids of James-River at Richmond are a species of granite. On making an excavation at *Roquette*, large quantities of copperas-stone, enveloped in a bluish and very tender earth, were found. These stones contain much copper; they are also said to include a tolerable quantity of silver, but the presence of this metal has not yet been ascertained by any proper experiment, and much less its proportion.

At Dover, where the coal-mines which we visited are situated, the soil consists chiefly of a sand-stone, interspersed with fragments of granite, which when broken preserve the original texture of the stone. It is in these layers that the coal is found in immediate contact with stone of a sandy or argillaceous composition, and with a blue clay. That part of the country which contains the coal-mines is about ten miles in breadth, but its length is not yet ascertained; it crosses James-River. The strata of coal are in general thicker at the extremities and where they lie nearest to the surface of the ground; their direction, which is from west to east, forms with the horizon a very obtuse angle. As soon as you leave this district, you meet again with granite, which now lies in layers, is interspersed with mica, and seems in several instances to be a real crystallization. The soil is a hard clay. Some miles from Milton, at the foot of the South Mountains, there is a vein of lime-stone, formed like shistus, and placed between layers of perfect slate. When calcined, it yields excellent lime.

This

This vein runs in a south-west direction as far as the river Roanoke in North-Carolina, that is, one hundred and forty miles, and upwards of sixty miles towards the north-east. It is in no instances more than ten feet thick, and frequently less. In all the surrounding fields are found large detached masses of white quartz, resting on layers of blue shistus; and likewise strata of a greenish grey colour. Masses of granite are likewise very common in the vicinity of the South Mountains. There is also to be found a grey undulated rock, which easily separates into sheets, that contain a considerable quantity of magnesia. The soil which covers this small chain of mountains (East, Green, and South Mountains) is of a reddish colour, and extremely fruitful. Between this ridge and the Blue Mountains the ground contains much ochre, and sulphureous mudick is found there in great quantities. The valley between the Blue and North Mountains abounds with layers of lime-stone, several of which form an angle with the horizon. Near Keyssel-Town, twenty-five miles from Staunton, they drop nearly perpendicularly, and are generally covered with a reddish earth, and sometimes with granite of a yellow colour. Lime-stone is also found near Winchester; but further on it soon disappears, and is replaced by a shistous and quartzous slate. Granite is only seen in a few detached masses on the road from Winchester to Harper's Ferry; and in progressive succession we meet with layers of yellow shist, which easily separates into thin sheets, and is interspersed with brilliant particles, resembling mica, of a yellow slate and of lime-stone. The rocks in the Blue Mountains consist near Harper's Ferry, as they do throughout this whole chain, chiefly of granite; but we also meet with free-stone and feldspar. Near Frederick-Town, lime-stone is again seen; but free-stone, shist, and a species of micaceous sand in the road to *Ellicot's-Mill*, are also found. The rocks which bound in this place the river *Potapsc* are calcareous stones.

TREES.

TREES.

Among the numberless species of trees which grow in Virginia, are distinguished the silver-leaved maple, the ash-leaved maple, the climbing trumpet flower, the catalpa tree, the Carolinian allspice, the iudas tree, the Virginian mespilus (of which I have seen some twenty-five feet in height); cornel trees of different sorts; the persimon, the nickar tree, the triancanthus, walnut, various species of cedars, sweet bay, benjamin tree, and another laurel of which I do not know the name; the maple-leaved liquidambar, the evergreen laurel-leaved tulip tree, the swamp pine, and many others; the black and Carolina poplar, various species of oak, the smooth sumach, pseudo-acacia, fringe-tree, &c.: but many of them, the tulip tree for instance, do not attain the same height in Virginia as in South-Carolina and Georgia. Although Virginia does not produce some trees, which grow only under a higher degree of latitude, yet it contains in my opinion a greater variety of species than any other state. There is also a great multiplicity of plants, but they are less fragrant than in South-Carolina.

ROADS AND CANALS.

The Virginian legislature applies itself with peculiar care to the improvement of inland navigation. Several canals are either made, commenced, or projected, in places where the river navigation is intercepted by rapids; but, as in the rest of the United States, art is not sufficiently attended to in their construction. Works of this kind are carried on without previously considering the best means of completing them; whence it is that they are often more imperfect, and always more expensive, than they otherwise might be.

The roads are in general good throughout this state; and although the inns are sometimes bad, yet upon the whole they are better than

in the other states. Those in the back country, where I have travelled, are preferable to the inns in many of the most inhabited parts of New-England.

JOURNEY TO FREDERICK-TOWN.

A boat takes up the travellers in Virginia, and lands them in Maryland. The Potowmack forms the limit of the two states. You cross it twenty toises from its confluence with the Shenandoah, and on crossing over you enjoy this grand spectacle as well as from any other point. The mountains through which the Potowmack passes lose in Maryland the name of the Blue-Ridge, and assume that of the South Mountains. The narrow road which leads to Baltimore, and which for four or five miles is an uninterrupted series of solid or shifting stones, runs along the basis of those mountains, and the Potowmack, the bed of which is not grown wider from having received the Shenandoah. It flows amidst fragments of rocks, which render its course uneven and noisy. Six miles farther on you leave the Potowmack to ascend the *Coosooky Mountains*, a chain of small extent, from which the view of the Blue-Ridge, of the North Mountains, and the preceding small heights, a part of which is cultivated, especially in Maryland, and lastly of the Potowmack, which you see a mile beyond the Blue-Ridge, forms a grand and delightful prospect.

The South Mountains separate the counties of Washington and Frederick. On pursuing the road which I travelled, you only touch Washington-County, one of the most healthy and fruitful parts of Maryland. It furnishes all species of grain for the export trade of Baltimore, and also wrought-iron: it abounds with iron mines. The population of the county amounts to about fifteen thousand souls, eighteen hundred of whom are negro slaves. West of Washington-County is that of Alleghany, the last of the states of Maryland in this direction.

The settlement of the country between Harper's Ferry and the
Coosooky

Coofoosky Mountains is just beginning. You meet with a few small habitations, most of which have been built within these three years; they are miserable log-houses, with about twenty acres of cleared ground. The new settlers arrive mostly from the environs of Lancaster, and the county of Dauphin in Pennsylvania; many come also from the lower parts of Maryland, and some from Ireland. These families appear to be an active and industrious kind of people. In this part of the country land fetches from eight to ten dollars the acre, and yet it is not better than on the other side of the river in Virginia, where it is sold for four or five, and where the habitations are very scarce; yet the disease of the grain, called *widle*, is here unknown. The Potowmack forms on the north side the limit of this scourge, as the Blue Mountains do on the east. No Hessian flies are seen here, and the rot occurs but very seldom.

The harvest is this year very plentiful, as in fact it is in all other parts; and those farmers in Maryland who do not speculate in grain, rejoice at the fall of its price. But many others, who have plunged into speculations of this nature, will sustain considerable losses from this sudden fall. May this disastrous experience render them more cautious and prudent for the future! A spirit of commercial speculation in a farmer is the ruin of agriculture; his means are far inferior in extent to those of a merchant in town, who makes up the loss of one speculation by the success of another. But the farmer who loses the value of his commodities, or is badly paid for them, contracts debts, cultivates his land with less care, is obliged to sell his cattle, his crops are less plentiful, and the whole of society thus shares his loss; for the prosperity of cultivators is more intimately connected with the general welfare than that of any other industrious class of the people.

The Coofoosky Mountains are tolerably cultivated; some of them are so up to their very summits. Farther on in the country habitations increase in number, culture expands, and the corn-fields grow larger: land fetches in these mountains from twelve to fifteen dollars the acre,

and this price continues much the same until we reach the environs of Frederick-Town. Meadows are there more frequent, and the abundance of water enables the farmers to water their grass-lands, which is executed by some of them with a considerable share of skill. The water is conducted through wooden pipes, which communicating from one height to another, frequently distant several hundred toises, traverse the small dale which separates them. Timothy grass and red clover form the artificial meadows of the country. White clover grows naturally pretty thick and fine.

Culture increases, the land grows better, and the meadows augment in number, in the vicinity of Frederick-Town. Land is sold there for from twenty-five to thirty dollars the acre, and grass-land for fifty.

FREDERICK-TOWN, THE CAPITAL OF FREDERICK-COUNTY.

This town, situated on the creek *Carolla*, a branch of the river *Monacasy*, is very well built. The greater number of houses are stone buildings; the town-hall, poor-house, and court-house, are very fine structures. The population of Frederick-Town amounts to about two thousand souls, a fourth of whom are negroes. It carries on a considerable trade with the back country, which it supplies with merchandize drawn from Baltimore, and transmits to the latter place in return the produce of the back country, which is rich, fruitful, and thickly settled; in general, industry is beyond comparison more active there than in Virginia.

A glass manufactory had been established some miles from Frederick-Town. But, whether through the misconduct or the misfortunes of the proprietors, who came from Bremen in Germany, from want of money, or perhaps from a coincidence of all these causes, this manufacture has shared the fate of almost all first establishments of this nature, and is so near its destruction, that the latter may be considered as complete. The raw materials, I have been assured, are in great abundance near the spot where it is situated. If this be actually the case,

case, it will be relieved either by the present managers or others, which is immaterial in a public point of view; but it is of great importance for the country to possess a glass-manufactory, that may lessen the quantity of this sort of imports from England, which their fragility renders so profitable to the vender, and so indispensibly necessary to the buyer. Maryland abounds in iron, and iron works are very numerous throughout the state, which carries on a considerable trade in wrought-iron. Many of them are established in the environs of Frederick-Town.

Frederick-County contains about thirty-one thousand inhabitants, four thousand of whom are negroes. Since 1791, the year when the census was taken, the population of Frederick-County has been considerably increased by the emigration of families from other parts. The land is, in general, good, and produces wheat, rye, barley, and Indian corn, in considerable quantities for the export trade of Baltimore, and also some hemp and flax. Much flour is likewise sent to Baltimore out of the county, where the number of mills is very considerable. The country between Frederick-Town and Baltimore consists of a continual succession of small hills, and the road is very seldom even for a mile together. Although the country be upon the whole tolerably settled, yet there are many parts which are but thinly inhabited, and these are even more extensive than the rest. The nature of the wood indicates a fruitful soil. Tobacco was formerly cultivated in great quantities; but this species of culture, which has as much decreased in Maryland as in all the other Southern States, is here almost reduced to nothing. It has been superseded every-where by the culture of wheat, although the latter labours here under the same imperfections as in other places. They plough two or three inches deep: the fields are but seldom manured; and what little dung they gather is allotted to the grass land. From this careless conduct in regard to the preservation and augmentation of manure, it should seem that they are not sensible of its value.

POPLAR-

POPLAR-SPRING.

On the 12th of July I spent the hottest part of the day at *Poplar-Spring*. Although this part of the country has been long settled, yet the number of new colonists far exceeds that of the ancient inhabitants. The price of land in the neighbourhood is from ten to twelve dollars the acre. The process of clearing is much the same there as in all the other parts of America. Indian corn is sown the first year, then follows wheat, frequently from six to seven years without interruption, or as long as the soil will bear any; afterwards it lies fallow until another part of the ground, which in the mean time has been cleared, is also exhausted in its turn. As it demands more labour and care to convert woodland into meadows, much ground is left uncleared, which would make excellent grass-land. Its turn will doubtless come, for the country is in an improving state; but so much land is yet covered with wood, that many years will elapse before a skilful and extensive state of cultivation can be established.

The ground is throughout the whole country tilled with horses, which cost from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty dollars. The cows are fine, and worth from twenty-five to thirty dollars. Wheat is cut with the sickle, but oats and rye with the scythe; labourers are easily procured, and paid at the rate of one dollar a day during the harvest; at other times they receive three shillings a day (money of Maryland, which is of the same value as that of Pennsylvania), or eight dollars a month. Cattle fattened either in the fine meadows near Frederick-Town, or in other less rich pastures, are sent to Baltimore or Philadelphia. The inhabitants buy flour of the waggoners, who convey it to Baltimore, and pay nearly the same price as in this town. It fetches at this time eight dollars per barrel; but in the course of last January it was sold for fourteen. During my stay at the inn I heard several farmers express their satisfaction at the fall of the price of grain, on account of its being likely to occasion failures among

among the merchants of Baltimore. "These people," said they, "have gained from us all they could, and carried it to France; and now they carry both our money and that of France to England: if they fail, it is what they deserve."

They who doubt the disposition of the American people in favour of France, if not wedded to their erroneous opinions, have but to travel among the country people, and they will find them full of mistrust, animosity, and hatred against England, and well-disposed in favour of the French nation. They will find the death of Louis XVI. and the crimes which succeeded it, as much detested as they are in England; but they will also meet with as many zealous partizans of the cause of France, and of that of true liberty, as persons to converse with on these topics: to cherish and commiserate Fayette seems a sort of religious duty in this country. They will also find, that the President is universally respected, and that nobody is inclined to impute to him the injurious stipulation of the treaty of commerce, which is generally disliked. Let me repeat it once more, that I wish to be understood as alluding to such people only as from principle, and a sense of their own interest, disdain all connection with England, and who may be justly called the true and real American people. I have divested myself to such a degree of national prejudices and preconceived personal opinions on this subject, that I am sure my observations on this head are founded in truth. They who are determined to differ from me in opinion may yet assert, that my prejudices have deceived me in spite of myself, or that the country people are a set of ignorant, stupid, and deluded persons, and that the faculties of fair and candid discussion are concentrated in the cities. To assertions so strange and illiberal I shall not reply; for why should I argue with those who are determined not to change their opinion?

ELLCOT'S-MILL.

From Poplar-Spring a road has been cut within a few years, which abridges by some miles the road to Baltimore. It is bad, and being quite

quite new it passes but by very few habitations: about fifteen miles from Baltimore you perceive the mansion of Mr. Carrol, about a mile distant from the road. From the multiplicity of buildings united in his settlement, it has rather the appearance of a village, than of the habitation of a private gentleman. Mr. Carrol has united several establishments on this spot; he possesses an extensive farm, and a great number of negroes, but not having been in his plantation, I am not able to give a detailed account of it.

Ellicot's-Mill is a small village, the principal establishment of which is a large grist-mill belonging to Mr. Ellicot, and named after him. This mill has six pair of mill-stones, and is constructed as well as any of the mills of Brandywine, of which it possesses all the perfections. The situation of this place, encircled by mountains, is truly romantic. The water is clear, the rocks are high and majestic; and I could have wished to enjoy one day longer this view, which, being rather gloomy, was well adapted to my present frame of mind; but the scorching heat forced me to proceed to a more temperate part of the country.

I shall relate here, with all humility, what happened to me with three Frenchmen of the West-India Islands, whom I found at the inn, and one of whom I understood afterwards was Mr. Thomas, late French Consul at Baltimore, and another his physician, who attended him to the Berkley waters. Although I addressed them in our native speech, they conceived, from my modest way of travelling, so mean an opinion of me, that they resolved to sleep all three rather in a room which contained only two beds, than to suffer "*a poor devil of so mean an appearance*" to repose in the same room with one of them. This declaration, which was not made with the intention that I should hear it, was overheard by me in a corner of the garden, where I was smoking my segar. As the observation concerned only my outward appearance, I did not think myself bound to take it up. I supped alone, and laid down on the floor on a mattress, which the mistress of the house had placed in the second room, where the coachman of these gentlemen had taken possession of a good bed. I laughed on looking back to the time

time when the haughty Mr. Thomas would not have dreaded my company quite so much; and my sleep was as sound as if I had been called to the honour of sleeping in the same room with Mr. Thomas himself.

BALTIMORE.

The road continues as mountainous, difficult, and covered with sand and fragments of rocks, as before, until four or five miles from Baltimore. During the whole of this journey you see neither good nor numerous habitations; the land is but of a middling quality, in a great measure uncultivated, and the rest in a very indifferent state of improvement. Four or five miles from Baltimore the ground grows even, the habitations become more numerous, and assume a better appearance. In proportion as you draw nearer the town, the dwelling-houses bespeak more and more the wealth of its inhabitants, and the prosperity of its commerce.

The criminal jurisprudence of Maryland has not yet experienced any alteration in its ancient form, proceedings, or practice. The convicts work at the roads, loaded with irons.—What little work they perform is badly done, and they frequently effect their escape. This system is not by any means productive of more beneficial results in Maryland than it was in Pennsylvania, where it has been abolished. It will undoubtedly undergo a change.—But at what time?—And why has it not been yet suppressed?

Baltimore is, after Philadelphia and New-York, the most important trading port in America; at least, it disputes this rank with Charlestown and Boston. Being situated nearer to the rivers Youghiogeny and Mocomgahel, which empty themselves into the Ohio by Pittsburg and Philadelphia, Baltimore possesses a part of the trade of the back country of Pennsylvania, supplies most of the stores which furnish the western territories with merchandize, and receives in return a part of their produce. It contains at present from four to five

thousand houses, and has been almost entirely built since the peace of 1763. It has still more rapidly increased since 1783, and especially since the beginning of the present war. The inn-keeper at Poplar-Spring told me, that in 1740, when he landed at Baltimore on his arrival from Germany, the whole place consisted of nine miserable log-houses, and now it is one of the finest towns on the Continent, as it contains no old houses, and most of the present have been constructed of late years; they are all built on good principles, and mostly of bricks. The numerous churches of all religious persuasions, as well as the public buildings, are constructed in a simple and elegant style. The town, which increases in every direction, gains in extent, particularly on the bay, where streets are paved and formed on a ground wrested from the sea, and where a few years since vessels were afloat. This sort of work, to which the inspectors of the town have assigned certain limits, extends daily. Ships of burthen cannot proceed higher up the river than *Fell's-Point*, at which place they load and unload. No business, however, is transacted at *Fell's-Point*; every thing being done at Baltimore, which is separated from it by a flat and open space of ground about a mile in extent. The merchants' counting-houses and principal warehouses are at Baltimore; there being at *Fell's-Point* only a few inconsiderable warehouses, which some of the merchants have for temporary purposes. If the trade of this city continues to increase as hitherto, the space of ground lying between Baltimore and *Fell's-Point* will be covered with buildings, and the two places will form but one town. At present new houses are building in every street; and the town spreads every day towards the harbour, and on the west side upon the grounds belonging to *Colonel Howard*, the value of which from this circumstance increases continually.

The lands of this wealthy proprietor are, for the most part, let upon building-leases, which I imagine to be owing to scarcity of money among the speculators in these buildings; for otherwise it is to be supposed he would prefer the selling of the grounds, which would enable him to dispose of his property as circumstances and his own judgement

judgement might point out. He never fails to sell parcels of the ground, where he has an opportunity; and several of them having been bought and sold again, have made the fortunes of two or three speculators.

About a mile from the town, at the extremity of his lands, Colonel Howard has a handsome house, surrounded with lofty and venerable trees. The ground, indeed, is a kind of park formed by nature. The house is delightfully situated upon an eminence, commanding a view of the city and the bay as far as the Chesapeake, and on the right and left a great extent of highly-cultivated ground. This place (which is called *Belvedere*) is the usual residence of Colonel Howard, who is universally esteemed for his courage and military talents, and beloved for his private virtues. He was formerly governor of the state of Maryland. He married *Miss Chew*, daughter of my valuable friend Mr. Chew, of Philadelphia, whose talents and accomplishments render her deserving of the honour of belonging to that amiable family.

I made but a short stay at Baltimore; and the greater part of the time I passed at Colonel Howard's. I had not, therefore, sufficient opportunity to gain all the information I desired respecting this town and the State of Maryland; but I hope to procure it in my next Journey.

ANNAPOLIS.

Annapolis, the seat of the government of Maryland, is the usual residence of the great officers of state; and, the supreme court of justice holding its sittings there, it is the residence also of most of the principal lawyers. The first class of inhabitants at Baltimore is, of course, chiefly composed of merchants; more so, indeed, than at Philadelphia. Many mercantile houses in this country are likely to be affected by the fall in the price of provisions in Europe. At present, however, they keep up the price of flour at ten dollars; but this is mere speculation, as there is no foreign demand for it, nor would there be at a much lower price, the plenty or apparent plenty of corn is so great in Europe.

The public buildings are by no means magnificent. They are, however, tolerable. The town has twelve churches belonging to the different sects.

JOURNEY TO PHILADELPHIA.

My horse being lame, I resolved to go in the stage to Philadelphia. The stage is a miserable mode of conveyance in America; the roads being very rough, and the carriages in a wretched condition. The coaches set out in the middle of the night, and no time is given to recover a little by repose from the terrible state into which one is put by the jolting of the carriage, by too many passengers being crowded together, and the trunks and parcels which are thrust into the inside of these vehicles bruising one's legs, that have not room to be stretched out if these packages were not in the way. But I had no other means of proceeding to Philadelphia, at least for some time; and I contrived to make this journey as little inconvenient as could be for a stage-coach, by going in that which carries the mail, and which, being obliged to proceed more quickly, takes only six passengers, is provided with better horses, and is, in all respects, better conducted. I had fortunately no fellow-travellers but the family of Mr. *James Barré*, a merchant of Baltimore, from whom I had received many civilities during my short stay in that town; and although we were seven, instead of six, I had no reason to complain. But it is not in a stage that the traveller can pursue his enquiries; he scarcely sees any thing of the country, and frequently cannot even learn the names of the villages and creeks he passes. As I hope to make this journey on horseback, I shall, till then, postpone the greater part of what I have to say respecting this road.

At *Havre de Grace* we crossed the Susquehannah, near the place where it falls into the Chesapeake. The country, which rises on each side of the river, is not ill cultivated; and has a sufficient number of dwellings to form a very pleasing prospect. The Susquehannah in this place is above a mile and a quarter in breadth. Three or four small

small islands, both above and below the ferry, have a good effect; and this view, although not grand, is one of the most beautiful I have seen in America.

The Susquehannah cuts Maryland into two parts; one of which is called the *Western Shore*, and the other the *Eastern Shore*. The latter extends along the Chesapeake, to the two counties of Virginia; and is separated from Delaware-Bay by the State of Delaware. We passed through several small and neat towns, belonging to the State of Maryland; such as *Charles-Town*, *Elk-Town*, &c. After which, we entered the State of Delaware, and crossed the towns of *Christiana* and *Wilmington*; the latter of which is only twenty miles from Philadelphia.

RESIDENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

We set out from Baltimore at four o'clock on Monday morning, and arrived at Philadelphia on Tuesday, July 20th, at eight in the morning, having stopped five or six hours at Wilmington, which time was destined to sleep, but was entirely given to the bugs and fleas that swarm there.

The heat of this summer being by no means so intense as is usual here, I was not so much incommoded by it as I expected. Having got my letters, and informed myself of the state of Europe, I was in haste to quit Philadelphia.

The price of flour in Philadelphia has not fallen so much as might be expected. The merchants keep it up at twelve dollars; but they can sell only to bakers who wanted money or foresight to lay in a stock or purchase it in the country. The warehouses are filled with this article; and a fall in the price must be hastened by the great plenty of the present harvest.

I must not omit to mention a very great natural curiosity, that I saw on my journey to Philadelphia—a negro of Virginia, whose parents were both negroes; and who, gradually changing his native hue, became white. This man continued black till he was forty years of age, when the skin of his fingers, near the nails, began at first to assume a lighter

lighter colour, and continued to grow lighter and lighter till it was perfectly white. The process was the same in almost all the different parts of his body. His legs, thighs, arms, and hands, are white, with the exception of a few spots of different sizes, which are brown, some of a deeper shade than others, but all being lighter towards the edges. His neck and shoulders are of the same complexion as the skin of people with red hair; and is freckled in the same manner. Straight and smooth hair is partially substituted for his natural wool. On his breast there remain tufts of the wool; but they fall off daily, and are succeeded by black or grey hairs. His face is white from the hair to the lowest extremity of his forehead; his nose is black; the rest of his face a kind of brown, deepest toward the nose, and gradually growing light as it approaches the white part. His head, all of which is black, is still covered with wool; except at the crown, where hair has displaced the wool. His private parts, he says, are less advanced in this progress, although the change is begun in them. By his own account, a sensible progress has been made in this metamorphosis of his person during the time he has been travelling, which has been for the last three months; and there is no doubt but in a short time he will become entirely white. He is, at present, one and forty years of age.

To form a distinct idea of this metamorphosis, the white colour of the skin is not to be understood to resemble that of an *Albino*, but to be the real complexion of white people, or, to speak more particularly still, of white people with red hair.

There is no reason to question the extraction of this negro; he having served the whole of last war in a corps of pioneers, and is besides well known in Virginia, where he has generally resided, and furnished with certificates sufficient to satisfy persons disposed to question the fact. The change has not been attended with any sickness. This man travels about the country to shew himself for money. It is to be observed, that there have been several instances in America of negroes, either Mulattos or Indians, changing their colour; some after illness, and others in a perfect state of health; but there is no instance of the change being as complete as this.

SECOND

SECOND TOUR TO THE NORTH.

JOURNEY FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW-YORK.

HAVING determined to employ the remainder of the year in a second journey to the North, I set out in a stage from Philadelphia for New-York; I was desirous of losing no time on the road, and the heat of the weather made it very fatiguing and inconvenient to travel on horseback.

I had an opportunity of seeing several of my friends during a stay of twenty-four hours at *Trenton*. What information I could procure there I propose to blend with the result of the enquiries I shall make in a longer visit to Jersey. What I collected at New-York, during the short time I staid there, shall also be hereafter noticed; but I had too little opportunity to make my account as copious and perfect as I could wish. Letters from Europe, to which I was compelled to pay great attention, engaged much of my time; and not without reason. The fatigue of four successive months employed in collecting information had, I confess, inclined me to take my ease; with which temper I was unwilling to quarrel, having determined to set aside several weeks before my departure from America to acquire a competent knowledge of that interesting city. I learned, however, that speculations in corn and flour have greatly deranged the affairs of several mercantile houses at New-York; that one of the first houses has failed from the same cause; and that others are on the eve of following it. The merchants of that city, either less wealthy or less adventurous than those of Philadelphia, have lowered the price of flour to ten dollars, which is a third less than it was six months since; but even this price is greatly higher than it ought to be, from the demand for American flour in Europe.

PASSAGE

PASSAGE FROM NEW-YORK TO PROVIDENCE.

As I was already well acquainted with the Boston road by land, I embarked on board the *Clementina*, one of the packets that sail constantly to Providence. Mr. Guillemar, whom I had met at Trenton, had lost his way ; and having joined me again at New-York, he took his passage with me in the same packet.

For the first eighteen hours the wind was very favourable ; but then suddenly changed, and being in our teeth, and there being every appearance of an approaching storm, the captain judged it prudent to make for a secure harbour. We therefore quitted our track, and landed at *Stonning-Town*, where we remained thirty-six hours.

STONNING-TOWN ; ITS TRADE ; AGRICULTURE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD ; AND PRICES OF ITS PRODUCTIONS.

Stonning-Town is a small sea-port of Connecticut. It takes its name from the first proprietor of the lands which form the township. The name, however, is corrupted to *Stones-Town* ; which seems to be natural enough, for the rocks project into the streets in every quarter. The principal street is cleared with great expence and labour ; but the rest are so encumbered, that it is with difficulty, and not without danger, a person walks along them at night. The township is fifteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. The town contains from twelve to thirteen hundred souls. The land is chiefly employed in pasturage ; on which a considerable quantity of cattle is reared ; but the chief produce is cheese, which is made in great abundance, and is in great request throughout America. Four hundred thousand pounds of cheese are yearly exported from Stonning-Town to the different ports of the United States ; but chiefly to Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The price at these places is about eight pence half-penny per pound. This commerce is carried on partly by vessels that come purposely
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to purchase cheese at Stonning-Town; and partly by small sloops belonging to the port which sail for the different ports of the States, as the wind happens to serve.

I visited a farm belonging to an old Quaker, named *John Frish*, where from fourteen to fifteen thousand pounds of cheese are made annually. This farmer keeps from forty to fifty cows. The price he gets from the merchants for his cheese is about five pence half-penny per pound. He also fattens from twelve to fifteen oxen yearly; and raises rye, oats, Indian corn, flax, and potatoes; and might, with a little more knowledge of his business, considerably increase the produce of his farm. His cows and oxen wander at pleasure over the land; which although manured by this means, does not receive the benefit it would if the manure were distributed more skilfully. He mows his meadows but once a year; and they produce about forty hundred weight of hay per acre.

This system of farming is general here; and the produce is nearly the same throughout. Meadows properly manured, and mowed three times, yield eighty hundred weight of hay per acre. John Frish has one hundred acres in cultivation.

The land in the township of Stonning-Town is tolerably good; it yields thirty bushels of Indian corn per acre; eighteen of rye or oats; and often double this quantity when the fields are manured. Upon the whole, little wheat is produced in this township, or the adjoining one of Connecticut. Some fields are sown with it on the frontiers, and land which is properly manured, yields forty bushels per acre. Labourers are easily procured in the neighbourhood of Stonning-Town; their ordinary wages are three fourths of a dollar per day, or nine dollars per month, but they are as much again during the harvest.

The price of land here is from ten to forty dollars per acre. It has not risen of late years, in the same degree as in many other parts of America. Thirty-three years ago John Frish purchased his land at the rate of sixteen dollars per acre, and could not now get more than

thirty-two for it. Most of the inhabitants of Stonning-Town, as well as those of the rest of Connecticut, and of Massachusetts, possess lands in the back parts of the States of Vermont and New-Hampshire, which they purchased very cheap, and where they establish their children as they grow up, unless they meet with an opportunity of settling them more advantageously at home.

A few vessels belonging to Stonning-Town are employed in the cod-fishery on the coast of Connecticut and Rhode-Island: but as this fish appears in abundance only in the spring, the fishery here forms but a very inconsiderable branch of trade. The fish are cured in Stonning-Town, and sold at the rate of five dollars for one hundred and twenty-eight pounds. A small number of ships are also employed in the fishery at the Great Bank; but they cure their fish at Newfoundland, and frequently carry them to Boston, or other ports. Black-fish, bass, and crab, being in great abundance on this coast, a considerable number of small craft is engaged in that fishery. The fish are kept in ponds along the shore, and are generally carried to New-York. At Stonning-Town they sell for two pence half-penny per pound.

Forty vessels of different burthen, but mostly small, belong to this place, which are principally employed in the coasting-trade. Instead of sixteen ships, formerly engaged in the fishery, at present four only carry on that trade. Some sail to the West-Indies, and even to Europe. The only three-masted ship belonging to Stonning-Town is at this time in France. She is the property of Mr. Smith, who keeps a store in this town, and of a merchant of New-York, who owns half of the vessel. The ships which trade to the West-Indies carry thither the produce of the township and the country in its vicinity, and bring commonly in return the commodities of the islands; which are afterwards conveyed from Stonning-Town to New-York, where most of the ships that sail for Europe take in their cargoes. They proceed chiefly to France, whence they bring in return brandy and wine. The produce of Stonning-Town, like that of the whole State of Connecticut,

necticut, consists of salt beef and pork, pot and pearl ashes, neat cattle and flax-seed.

As the port of Stonning-Town, with respect to the customs, is comprized in the district of New-London, its exports are not exactly known.

Although Stonning-Town is situated in Connecticut, yet it has no public schools, that is to say, no tax is levied in the township appropriated to the support of free-schools. But as this township pays to the state a tax of two and a half per cent for these schools, it follows that the expence of schooling amounts for such inhabitants as send their children to the public schools to a fourth only of what they would have to pay without that general tax. Nine pence a week is paid for a child.

Every person I have had an opportunity of conversing with in Stonning-Town speaks with enthusiasm of the gallantry displayed by the French troops, whose valour and success have gained France numerous friends in America. The atrocious deeds, at the remembrance of which posterity will stand aghast, are, notwithstanding, detested by them: but you meet with many people who either forbear mentioning them at all, or considering them as the results of a transient phrensy, impute their guilt chiefly to Robespierre, whom they hold in execration, and acquit the French nation at large. They generally conclude by saying—"But how the French fight! they are lions!" It is especially among country-people, and persons of the second rank, I hear this language; and these form the bulk of the nation; who, as I have already frequently observed, being less influenced by political views, and less swayed by the spirit of party, than the higher classes of society, are more strenuously attached to France, their interests not being interwoven with the successes of Great Britain.

NEWPORT.

Impatience, rather than a favourable change of wind, having induced our captain to set sail from Stonning-Town, we arrived at Newport on the 15th of August, after a passage of ten hours. We should have had as favourable an opportunity the preceding day.

Mr. Guillemard proceeded to Providence by land.

A bar of rocks, about half a mile in extent, lies at the mouth of the small bay at the bottom of which Stonning-Town is situated. Great care is therefore required to steer clear of it, especially in stormy weather; having cleared it, we sailed in the course generally pursued by ships bound from New-York to Newport. We passed between the shore and *Block-Island*, an island famous, like Stonning-Town, for its cheese, yet still more so for its fishery, and the husbandry of its inhabitants. It forms a part of the State of Rhode-Island.

The Providence packets have generally parcels and letters for Newport. We stopped there from nine at night to nine in the morning. It gave me pleasure to see once more, not this dull low town, but its environs, which form a charming landscape, and are, as well as the whole island, one of the most healthy parts of America. Several families of Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, come to reside here every year to avoid the dreadful heat and insalubrity of their own country. Newport also unites the advantage of a low price for all the necessaries of life with that of not offering any means, nor holding out any temptation, for expences foreign to the necessities of existence.

The salubrity of the town of Newport is, no doubt, produced by the keenness of the air; yet this often proves hurtful to the inhabitants in their youth, and the number of young people, especially girls, who die of complaints in the lungs, is very considerable. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that the inscription on the tomb-stones mention only childhood, youth, or old age; they record the deaths of
few

few persons between twenty and seventy years old, but a considerable number beyond the latter age.

PROVIDENCE.—STATE OF RHODE-ISLAND.

The religious persecutions in England gave rise to the different colonies which by their union composed the state of Massachusetts. Religious persecution in Massachusetts gave birth to the state of Rhode-Island.

Roger Williams, a minister of the gospel at Plymouth, was first banished thence to Salem on account of certain opinions which his brethren of Plymouth would not tolerate in him. Although much beloved by the inhabitants of this new place of residence, yet, as his principles did not accord with those of the church of Boston, the influence of the Bostonian ministers prevailed against him even in his retreat.

Among the various articles of his doctrine which the synod of Boston considered as erroneous and dangerous, that which, above all the others, most violently clashed with the maxims and interests of the synod, was his declaration "that punishment inflicted for matters of conscience was persecution."

The intrigues of the priests prevailed over the attachment of his fellow-inhabitants, and he was a second time banished. This event took place in 1636; and he retired to the southern part of the state to live among the Nawangara savages, at a place by them called Moshawick, but to which he gave the appellation of *Providence*, in grateful acknowledgement of the asylum he found there after all the persecutions to which he had been exposed. A few friends followed him, and together with him founded that part of the state of Rhode-Island known by the name of *Providence-Plantation*.

The same or a similar cause gave rise to the other settlements of Rhode-Island. A Doctor Coddington, a native of Lancashire, and one of the first settlers in the colony of Salem, was, in 1636, called to account

count for his religious principles. The accusation brought against him was only a pretext to cloke the jealousy entertained of his influence by Governor Winthrop and others: but that pretext was an effectual mean of accomplishing their views; and Coddington, being banished from Boston, retired with a few friends to the island called by the Indians Aquidneck, and since known by the name of Rhode-Island. From a tribe dependent on the Indians of Nawangara he purchased this isle, and all the others which, with the part of the continent bounded by Connecticut, now form the Rhode-Island Plantation.

The Quakers and Anabaptists who were persecuted in New-England, flocked to Rhode-Island, and raised the colony to a flourishing state, notwithstanding the wars with the Indians. The need in which the inhabitants stood of protection inspired them with a wish to unite with the other colonies of New-England: but the latter refused to accede to the proposed union; and, in 1662, Charles the Second, at the request of the former, granted them a charter which united the two plantations into one state, and conferred on them the privileges and the constitution which they, like the state of Connecticut, have still preserved notwithstanding the revolution.

That which is peculiar to the state of Rhode Island is composed of the same elements as all the others. The legislative assembly consists of an upper and a lower house. The former is composed of the governor (who is president), a deputy-governor, and ten assistants, who are chosen by annual election. The governor possesses but a single vote in the enactment of laws. The treasurer and the secretary of state are also annually appointed.—The lower house consists of the representatives of the different townships. Newport sends six; Providence, Portsmouth on the island, and Warwick, each four; and two are sent by each of the other towns in the state. These delegates are elected twice in the year, and thus have two sessions.—The judges and the executive officers are elected once a-year by the legislative body, who also nominate the military officers, but for an indefinite term.—

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The judicial power in this little state is vested in a supreme court, consisting of five judges, and sitting twice in the year, at Providence and Newport alternately. The inferior courts are held twice a-year in each county. The supreme court is their court of appeal.

The trade of Providence employs a hundred and forty-two vessels belonging to that port; and very little of it is shared by foreign ships, even by those of the other states. That trade, as I think I remarked last year, consists in the exportation of oxen, live hogs, salt pork, butter and cheese, barley, timber, onions, rum, whiskey, gin, flax-seed, wrought iron, and the commodities imported from the East and West Indies. The greater part of the cheese, however, is consumed in the United States, to which the port of Providence also sends great quantities of lime-stone, and some iron. All the native articles above enumerated are principally derived from those parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts which lie within the distance of twenty or thirty miles from Rhode-Island. The iron is forged within the state, at the falls of Potosky, round which lies a very rich mine. Cannons and anchors are there fabricated; of the latter of which a pretty considerable number are exported to the Indies. The value of the exports from Providence was—in 1790, from the month of June, one hundred and thirteen thousand, two hundred and thirty-one dollars—in 1791, three hundred and seventy-nine thousand, four hundred and thirty—in 1792, three hundred and sixty-seven thousand, nine hundred and nine—in 1793, four hundred and thirty-one thousand, five hundred and eighteen—in 1794, six hundred and twenty-three thousand, two hundred and sixty-one—in 1795, one million forty thousand and five—and, for the first six months of 1796, four hundred and thirteen thousand, nine hundred and twenty-four.

This great increase in the value of the exports is not here, any more than elsewhere, a true criterion of their quantities; for, although I have not had time to take from the custom-house books an abstract of the different articles year by year, and to compare their estimated values,

values, I know that the tonnage of the port of Providence has increased only in a very small proportion; since it amounted in 1792 to eleven thousand two hundred tons, and does not at present exceed fourteen thousand five hundred. It is true, that, during the last year, the shipping of that port suffered losses to the amount of eleven or twelve hundred tons by shipwreck, captures, &c.

The commerce of Providence is carried on with the East and West Indies, Denmark, the north of Germany, and the coasts of Africa. Some of her vessels trade to France; but the number of these is very small. They usually carry thither tobacco and train-oil: during the two last years they carried rice, meal, salt beef, raw hides, and shoes for the army.—Providence and Newport carry on no trade with England: whatever British commodities they want, they purchase at New-York and Boston.

To the value of the exports from Providence may be added about eight hundred thousand dollars in specie which are annually sent out for the trade with India and China; since that money may truly be called the produce, inasmuch as it is the fruit of the produce, of the state.

The laws of Rhode-Island are not collected into a regular code. But I understand that a law was enacted some years since, prohibiting the importation of negro slaves into the state—declaring free all such as should be brought into it by persons coming from other parts, together with the children who might thereafter be born, as well as those already born, when they should have attained the age of twenty-one years—but at the same time confirming the slavery of such negroes as were slaves at the time of the promulgation of the law.

The principles on which are grounded the assessment and levying of the taxes in the state of Rhode-Island are essentially the same as they were at the period of the first settlement of the colony. The changes which have since been introduced in the mode of collection, are slight. Those taxes are a capitation, a tax on real and personal property, from which a law of 1795 excepts, as untaxable articles, all furniture (not including plate), implements of agriculture, workmen's tools, and a quarter

quarter of the capital employed in trade on sea. The raising of the taxes rests with each town or township, which is responsible to the state-treasurer for the proportion of the taxes assigned to it by the legislature. The ratio is regulated by a general valuation made from time to time, at those periods when the wealth of the state is supposed to have been augmented to a certain degree, either by an increase in the population, or by improvements in agriculture, or by the profits of successful commerce. The last three valuations took place in 1767, 1778, and 1795. On the first of those occasions the taxable property was valued at seven millions three hundred and seventy-one thousand one hundred and eighty-six dollars; on the second, at ten millions nine hundred and sixty-seven thousand nine hundred and nine dollars; and, in 1795, at fifteen millions five hundred thousand dollars. It appears that this augmentation in the quantum of taxable property is attributable to the increase of the capitals employed in trade, more than to any other cause.

Each town or township nominates three or five commissioners, whose duty it is to make the estimate of the property therein contained, after having received the declarations of the inhabitants. The legislature nominates ten superior commissioners, who are to visit the towns and townships, to receive and examine the estimates of those first-mentioned officers, and, after such examination, to determine the portion of the general tax imposed by the state, which is to be paid by each place.

The law provides precautions against false declarations or the refusal to make any, and also against such towns as may either refuse or delay the payment.

The capitation-tax is settled in the proportion of six-pence for every thousand pounds rated to the state. The towns may nevertheless set aside this tax, provided they contribute their quota toward satisfying the public demand in some other mode. The town of Providence, for instance, levies her proportion of it only on movable and immovable estates.

Assessors, chosen by the inhabitants, afterward determine the par-

ticular sum to be paid by each individual who is liable to the tax; which is collected by an officer chosen in the same manner. The towns defray the charges of assessment and collection. The assessor receives one and three fourths per cent on the sums assessed: the collector heretofore received five per cent: but some towns contract with the latter on lower terms; and there are instances in which he is paid no more than two and a half per cent.

The taxes of the state of Rhode-Island, as I have already observed, amount only to six thousand pounds, or twenty-thousand dollars, and are regularly paid. The expence of the civil list is but five thousand dollars. For several successive years an annual sum of eight thousand five hundred dollars has been expended on the erection of a prison and a house for the sittings of the legislative body. The state owes about ninety-eight thousand dollars, and has, for the discharge of that sum, no other resource than taxation. By the decision of the commissioners appointed to settle the accounts between the United States and the individual states, Rhode-Island is creditor to the Union to the amount of two hundred and eighty-nine thousand six hundred and eleven dollars.

PROVIDENCE.

The town of Providence, though in general healthy, is not however exempt from bilious fevers toward the end of summer and in autumn; but these complaints are usually unattended with danger. Consumptions in youthful habits are as common here as at Newport; and many individuals fall victims to them before the age of thirty.

We—for I have again joined company with Monsieur Guillemard—we have passed the chief part of the time that we spent in Providence, at the house of Mr. Thayer, a merchant of this town, with whom I had been acquainted at Charleston, where he has long resided, and carried on with prodigious success a very extensive and rich trade. He conducted his great commercial enterprizes with a sufficient degree

degree of prudence to avoid those speculations so common among the merchants of America ; yet that caution has not saved him from experiencing the greatest reverses in his fortune. He had indorsed to a considerable amount the notes of a house at New-York, one of the most opulent and respectable in that city. But the house in question had so deeply speculated on the high prices of flour and rice in Europe, that it has stopped payment, and the responsibility falls on Mr. Thayer. He will not be ruined by this event : in all probability even his affairs will be settled ; for the house at New-York will again carry on business, and he himself, by his own single exertions, would, at his present stage of life, be capable of retrieving his fortune if it were totally ruined. But his credit and his delicacy suffer severely on the occasion. He nevertheless supports his disaster with a calm fortitude, and a confidence in the return of fortune, which at once furnish his friends with a ground of hope, and himself with the means of success. His name is so implicated in this unfortunate business, that he has made, to those who hold the notes of that house endorsed by him, an offer of forty thousand pounds sterling on condition of their cancelling his name. Mr. Thayer is otherwise rich, being heir to a considerable family estate which is in the hands of his mother. He is descended in a direct line from Roger Williams, the founder of Providence Plantation. Mr. Thayer's house is built on the same spot where that founder, his progenitor, cut down the first tree, and erected the first hut.

I have learned here that the bridge which had been erected last year over the East-Passage to open a way into Rhode-Island, and of which the solidity appeared doubtful, was carried away last winter by the floods. It has since been rebuilt ; and hopes are now entertained that this new construction is on a better plan than the former.

ROUTE TO BOSTON.—PATUXENT.

Again the stage from Providence to Boston! The journey is only forty-five miles: yet, with the single exception of Mr. Robram, a native of Prussia, but since become more than half a Frenchman by a residence of six and twenty years at Bordeaux as a merchant, the company was such as strongly confirmed me in my aversion to stage-coaches.

Patuxent bridge, at the distance of five miles from Providence, is the boundary of the state of Rhode-Island. Here are established cotton-works which seem to succeed better than any other manufacture hitherto established in America—anchor-forges—founderies for cannon and other heavy articles in iron. The river Patuxent, also called Blackstone, gives motion to all the machines used in these various works. It takes its rise in the state of Massachusetts, and falls into Narraganset-Bay near Providence. From Patuxent to its mouth it is navigable for vessels of the largest size.

On his way to Boston, the traveller passes through Bristol-County, containing a population of thirty-four thousand souls in an extent of thirteen hundred and forty-four square miles. — Norfolk-County, whose superficial extent is nine hundred and sixteen square miles, containing twenty-five thousand inhabitants—and the towns of Taunton and *Durham*, each the capital of a county of similar name. *Durham* is the place of residence of Mr. Ames, a well-informed member of Congress, a warm federalist, a voluble and copious speaker, an honest man moreover, but whose talents and political merit are exaggerated by party-zeal perhaps beyond their just value, and sufficiently so to call forth a severity of judgement on him even from impartial persons who, but for that exaggeration, might have been disposed to feel a propoession in his favour. He stands at this moment in great celebrity for a speech that he delivered at the close of the last session of Congress, recommending to the house of representatives to

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vote the necessary sums for carrying into execution the commercial treaty with England: and that speech is, by the men of his party from one end of the continent to the other, extolled as a piece of eloquence which Demosthenes or Cicero would have found it difficult to equal. Now the discourse in question, which the feeble health of the speaker did not allow him to extend to such length as would have been necessary for the discussion of the principles and their application to the subject in debate, is addressed rather to the passions than to the understanding. At the moment when it was pronounced, that was perhaps the best direction that it could possibly take, especially as coming from the mouth of Mr. Ames, an esteemed and estimable man, who, labouring as he then did under indisposition, seemed to endanger his health in support of what his party termed the salvation of the commonwealth, and derived an additional degree of interest from the very circumstance of that indisposition. Those people, therefore, who would have wished to find in that discourse greater depth and solidity, and even a greater portion of reasoning, cannot deny him the merit—which is no inconsiderable one—of having well understood the temper of men's minds, together with the influence of existing circumstances, and taken a dextrous advantage of both. This is, no doubt, a very material part of the art of oratory, though it is the most delusive.

That affair of the treaty is now at end. The British and American commissioners have met for the purpose of carrying it into execution: but it is now hardly any longer the topic of conversation. The partisans of the treaty, however, affect to extol the strict punctuality with which the English have given up the posts; as if that evacuation of posts, which was an article of the treaty of 1783, and renewed in this latter treaty as a fundamental article and independent of every other, had been considered, even by its supporters, as a doubtful event; and as if England conferred an extraordinary honour on America in observing any one of her engagements to the latter.

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It is not uncommon for weak people lightly to impute to the more powerful certain motives of affection and regard: and this disposition will not be mistaken by any one for a refinement in gratitude, but will certainly be deemed a refinement in vanity.

That surrender of the posts was no doubt a matter of importance to the United States. The possession of them places the American navigation on the lakes beyond the control of Great Britain; it frees the country from the presence of English troops, and leaves the Americans masters of one or two great establishments; but those who have sufficient prudence to see that peace is the greatest blessing which America can desire, cannot consider the surrender of the posts as wholly unattended with danger. When one is acquainted with the active disposition of the English commandants—the spirit of resentment too generally harboured by their nation against the United States of America—the opinion with which long and sole possession has inspired the English that they had an exclusive right to the navigation of the lakes—and when, on the other hand, one is acquainted with the enterprising spirit of the Americans in commerce, particularly in a new branch of commerce—their jealousy, their indisposition toward the English (I speak of that class of men who are to dwell on the borders of these lakes, and of the officers and soldiers who are to garrison the forts)—one cannot but apprehend that this vicinity, this continual clashing of the interests of the two states, will furnish new subjects of dispute in addition to those which arise in every country from the too near approximation of the troops of different powers. To guard against such consequences as may reasonably be anticipated, would require such prudence and conciliatory dispositions in the commanding officers on both sides, such constant vigilance on the part of both governments, so eminent a spirit of justice and pacification, that one cannot venture to hope for so extraordinary a combination of fortunate circumstances. But, whether hostilities break out between England and America in that or in any other quarter, it is at all events
more

more than probable that a war will be the result of that treaty at some future period, more or less distant, according as England shall feel more or less confidence in her own strength.

I find the minds of the people here changed in favour of France. Success has ever great influence on popular opinion, and for more than one reason. But let us quit politics, a subject to which I am frequently induced to return by that unvarying regard for the interests of France, which pursues me as it were in spite of me. May that nation be as happy and well-regulated as it is great! may it make a prudent and moderate use of its immense and astonishing successes! may good laws, genuine public spirit, and a sincere abjuration of party-animosities, cement its constitution, restore industry within its boundaries, and kindle in every bosom the love of liberty! These are the most desirable of its conquests.

HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, LAWS, AND COMMERCE, OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The foundation of the state of Massachusetts was the consequence of religious persecution. The Presbyterians being persecuted in England about the year 1608, a Mr. Robinson, minister of one of their churches, went over to Holland—to Amsterdam in the first instance, afterward to Leiden—to enjoy the liberty of professing the religion of his sect. Several families followed him thither; but after a residence of six years in that country, being dissatisfied with the manners of the inhabitants, and abandoned by their children who engaged as soldiers or sailors in the Dutch service—at the same time receiving from navigators an advantageous description of the coasts of North-America—those emigrants determined to seek in the western world an asylum where they might rest secure from all persecution. After fruitless endeavours to obtain grants of land from the Virginia company, who, by patent from the king of England, were proprietors of almost the entire coast of North-America—and after equally unsuccessful

successful applications to king James the First to give his consent to their intended settlement—they would have been at length compelled to relinquish their project, if Mr. Werton, a rich London merchant, had not facilitated to them the means of carrying it into execution, by forming a company for the purpose.

It was in July 1620 that the little colony embarked at Southampton in England. Untoward accidents reduced to a single vessel the armament which was to have consisted of two: and the emigrants, instead of reaching the vicinity of Hudson's-River according to their original plan, were driven to Cape-Cod-Harbour, where they landed first on one of the islands near the cape, and afterward on the continent, at the place to which they gave the name of Plymouth.

This first expedition inspired numerous other mal-contented in England with a wish to emigrate to America. Accordingly, in 1622, another colony passed over, and settled at the place now called Hingham. In 1624 a third, under the conduct of Captain Wollaston, established themselves at Braintree. Among the names of these first settlers is found that of Thomas Adams, ancestor of the present Vice-President of the United States, who still possesses the same lands which were at that time granted to his family. In 1624, a fourth settlement was formed at Cape-Ann. Finally, in 1629, a numerous colony came to Salem, under the conduct of John Winthrop. Courage seldom forsakes those who flee from persecution; and its aid was highly necessary to these first settlers, to enable them to endure the privations and difficulties and obstacles of every kind, which they had to encounter. They overcame them all.

But soon these new-comers, who had themselves been the objects of persecution, became persecutors in turn. The Indians had given them a friendly reception, had aided them with their means, had voluntarily granted them lands. The colonists were not content with this: the newly-arrived white man fancied himself entitled to the superiority of a master over the native Indian: and oppression soon began to be exercised by the European settlers.

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The Indians, naturally kind, are also naturally vindictive. Reprials were made on their part: and in Massachusetts, as in the islands of the gulf of Florida, the white people, defending in a body the crimes of some individuals of their number, saw themselves involved in open war with their benefactors, drove them to as great a distance as they could, and thus commenced that series of encroachments which has never since been discontinued, and of which it is impossible to foresee the end.

Their quarrels with the Indians were not the only disputes that disturbed the peace of these infant colonies. Driven, as they had been, from England by the spirit of intolerance and religious persecution, they suffered the same spirit of intolerance and religious persecution to grow up among themselves. Liberty of conscience was the fundamental condition of the new settlements; but the Presbyterians, finding themselves more numerous than the other sects, violated that principle; thereby proving to the world, that, like many others before and since their time, they wished to reserve the liberty entirely to themselves—and that, although they were enemies to all power which oppressed them, they were not equally averse to that which enabled them to exercise oppression over others. The Quakers and Anabaptists were persecuted, imprisoned, banished, put to death. Some members of the community were found to profess the tenets of the church of England: they also were persecuted. A schism took place among the Presbyterians, and gave birth to violent quarrels.

The events which disgraced the early period of these colonies furnish an additional proof of that incontestable axiom in politics, that—although a religion be necessary in every government, not only for the internal comfort of the individuals, but also the more strongly to attach them to their duty as citizens—the worst of all governments is that in which a system of religion is the main spring, and which is either conducted or influenced by the ministers of that religion.

The history of Massachusetts also presents multiplied instances of that barbarous ignorance, which, united with the same superstitious

notions, has in every part of Europe, and particularly in England, put to death so many pretended forcerers, men, women, and children. Hutchinson relates, that in 1692, the governor and judges of Salem, being highly exasperated against forcerers, and finding no law against them in their new code, but wishing to have their disposition to severity sanctioned by the opinion of the priesthood, applied to the principal ministers of Boston for their advice respecting the steps to be taken in those cases. He adds that the ministers concluded their tedious and diffuse answer by the following sentence—"We cannot but recommend to the government to adopt the most summary and vigorous modes of proceeding, and such as have been found the most efficacious, pursuant to the directions found in the laws of God, and in the wholesome statutes of the English nation, for the abolition of witchcraft."

The new colonies, thus retarded in their growth by those religious persecutions which kept at a distance or drove from among them often the most active and useful citizens, had moreover some wars to sustain against the little French colonies to the north of Penobscot. At length, the Indians being driven to Canada, king William the Third incorporated by charter, under the name of the Province of the Colonies or Massachusetts, all the countries extending from Acadia and Nova-Scotia to the spot now occupied by New-Bedford, including the isle of Nantucket and all other islands within ten leagues of the coast. By this patent the king reserved to himself the nomination of the governor, deputy-governor, and secretary. The general-assembly, which was authorized to frame laws provided they were not contrary to those of England, was composed of the governor, the council, and the representatives, whose number could not exceed two for each town or village, and who were required to possess an annual income of twenty shillings, or personal property to the amount of fifty pounds sterling. The general assembly was empowered to elect twenty counsellors, viz. ten for the province of Massachusetts, six for that of Plymouth, three for that of Maine, one for Sagadahock, and two at its own option. The governor had a negative over their proceedings. The general assembly nominated the judges

judges in civil and criminal causes; such of the former as exceeded the sum of three hundred pounds sterling were removable by appeal to England. All trees measuring above twenty-four inches in diameter, which were growing on the lands yet unfold, were to be reserved for the use of the royal navy, and all gold and silver mines for the treasury. Such nearly was the system of government given to the state of Massachusetts by William III. and which continued till the revolution.

The new constitution of Massachusetts was framed in 1780. The government, under the name of Commonwealth or Republic of Massachusetts, exhibits the same general distribution that prevails in the other states. The senate is composed of thirty-one members elected for twelve months by the freeholders. The state is divided, for the election of senators, into districts, each of which, in proportion to the quota it pays of the general contribution, elects a greater or lesser number of members, but can in no case nominate more than six. With a view to this limitation, the legislature has a power to change the boundaries of the districts, and to increase their number, in proportion as any considerable augmentation may have taken place in the property of their inhabitants. The districts must never be fewer than thirteen. —Exclusive of the thirty-one senators who sit in the house, there are nine others selected by the senate itself to constitute the governor's council; wherefore the election of senators in the districts must furnish forty members. A new election is held every year, on the first of August.

The qualifications requisite for a senator are—to possess, within the state, an estate of at least three hundred pounds' * value, or personal property to the amount of not less than six hundred—to have been an inhabitant of the state during five years previous to the election—and to be an actual resident in the district for which he is chosen. The

* The dollar in New-England passes for six shillings; consequently the pound is equivalent to three dollars and one third.

Select-Men of each town (a kind of municipal magistrates, of whom I shall elsewhere have occasion to speak) preside at these elections, count the votes, which are given in writing, and send them to the secretary of state, who with the governor and five counsellors examine them, and convoke the senators elect for the day of their meeting.

The house of representatives consists of one member from each town or township containing a hundred and fifty inhabitants who pay taxes—of two for three hundred—three for six hundred—and thus in the progression of an additional member for each surplus of two hundred and twenty-five taxable inhabitants. The conditions required to qualify for a seat in the house of representatives are—that the candidate have lived in the township for one year immediately preceding the time of election, and that he possess an estate of a hundred pounds' value, or property of another description to the amount of two hundred.

The governor is annually elected in the beginning of April, in the same manner as the senators. The votes are sent by the Select-Men to the sheriff of the county, and by him forwarded to the two branches of the legislature in conjunction, who declare as governor the candidate who has the majority of votes. If none of the candidates has a majority, the house of representatives choose two by ballot from the four who have the greatest numbers; and the senate, in the same mode, elect one of the two voted by the representatives. The qualifications for governor and deputy-governor are the same, viz. a residence of at least seven years in the state, and property to the amount of four thousand pounds, or thirteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars.

An indispensable qualification for all public functions in the state of Massachusetts is the profession of the Christian religion.

The nine members who compose the governor's council are chosen from among the senators by the joint votes of both houses given by ballot.

The secretary of state, the treasurer, the receiver-general, the commissary-general, the public notaries, and the officers of the port, are annually

annually chosen by the two houses in conjunction. The treasurer and the receiver-general cannot be continued in office above five years.

The qualifications for an elector are confined to residence in the state, and an income of ten dollars, or a real property of the value of two hundred.

The governor is commander in chief of the sea and land forces: and the constitution arms him with sufficient authority in case of hostile attack or domestic disturbance. He nominates all the officers of justice, the attorney-general of the state, all the sheriffs, and coroners: and he can, with the advice of his council, pardon a condemned criminal, except in cases of impeachment or treason.

His refusal (accompanied by his reasons for refusing) to sanction a law passed by the two houses, renders it necessary to re-consider such law, which, to do away this kind of suspensive negative, must now be supported by a majority of two thirds in each house.

The officers of militia are elected either by the privates or by the officers, according to the importance of their grade.

All the powers of the officers of justice, of what kind soever, are confined in duration to seven years.

This constitution is preceded by a long declaration of rights, which discovers neither that precision nor that generality of principles which seem to be required in an act of this nature. It speaks, for instance, of the right possessed by the people of the republic to lay taxes for the support of public worship and schools, to inspect those schools, &c. particulars very proper indeed to be inserted in a law, but which cannot be thrust into a declaration of rights except by clerical influence.

By virtue of this article, every citizen of the state of Massachusetts is subject to the payment of a tax for the support of a religion of some kind. He is perfectly unrestrained in his choice: but when the number of those in a township who wish to practise the same religion is not sufficient for the maintenance of a minister of their sect, or there is no worship of the same kind in the neighbouring townships, the tax

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is nevertheless demanded: the inhabitant, however, has the liberty of choosing to which of the religions followed in his neighbourhood he will prefer that his payment be applied. This tax is generally very moderate. It is regulated on the same principles as all those payable to the state. In the great towns it is commonly not demanded; and the income of the clergy in those places arises chiefly from the letting of the seats in the churches. No person is compelled to hire a seat: but the spirit of devotion which is pretty general through the state, a respect for religion, and a deference to the law which makes it a point of the constitution, disposes each person to hire them: and no sooner is a pew resigned by one family, than it is engaged by another.

The nomination of the electors who are to choose the president and vice-president of the United States is made in Massachusetts by the same electors who nominate the representatives to sit in congress; and each district furnishes one. The two, who are to be named in addition, to complete the number of sixteen, which constitutes the representation of the state in Congress (viz. fourteen representatives and two senators), are nominated by the legislature.

The Select-Men of each township preside at these elections, as at all others. These are men chosen by each township, to conduct its public business. They have the management of the property of the township when it possesses any: they are overseers of the poor, of the schools, of the roads: they summon meetings of the inhabitants when they think them necessary. They receive no salary except for the days when they are employed abroad in transacting the affairs of the township; and then the remuneration is a dollar and half per day. They are elected only for one year, but are often continued during life. The choice for Select-Men generally falls on persons of the best reputation, and best qualified for the management of business; and the office confers on its possessor a considerable share of respectability and influence. This kind of patriarchal magistracy, which is common to all New-England, was established by the first colonists who arrived from Old England, and has been since continued in uninterrupted succession.

EXPORTS,

EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND NAVIGATION, OF THE PORT OF BOSTON.

In speaking last year of the tonnage of the port of Boston, I omitted, for want of sufficient information, to state the amount of the exports. In the year 1791, they amounted to one million one hundred and fifty-nine thousand and four dollars—in 1792, to one million three hundred and fifty-five thousand and thirty-eight—in 1793, to one million eight hundred and thirty-four thousand five hundred and forty—in 1794, to two millions five hundred and thirty-four thousand two hundred and three—in 1795, to four millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-eight—and, for the first quarter of the present year 1796, to one million two hundred and twenty-six thousand six hundred and twenty-five. The increase in the value of the exports is less attributable at Boston than elsewhere to the rise in the price of produce: for, if we except salt fish, which Boston exports in abundance, and of which the price has considerably increased within the last three years, no rise has taken place on the produce of the country, such as beef, salt pork, pot-ash, timber; and the commodities from the West-Indies, which the trade of Boston re-exports in large quantities, have risen very little within the last three or four years.

With respect to the flour which the Boston vessels export, very little of it is furnished by Boston itself; it is derived from the southern states: and whatever quantity of it is brought to Boston for re-exportation, is never taken except to complete the assortment of a cargo, and consequently is not very considerable.

The duties on imports paid at the port of Boston were, in 1793, six hundred and ninety-six thousand nine hundred and forty dollars—in 1794, one million five thousand four hundred and seven—in 1795, one million four hundred and eighty thousand six hundred and five—and, in the first two quarters of 1796, seven hundred and eighty-seven thousand six hundred and forty-eight. The facility with which these

general

general statements are procured from the custom-house books induced me to copy them here, although I am aware that no conclusion can be drawn from them respecting the importations of the different articles, since each is subject to its own particular duty, some paying five per cent, others ten, fifteen, &c.—and that the draw-backs are not deducted from these sums total of the receipts.

I have learned also, that, in 1749, the number of vessels that made their entry in the port was four hundred and eighty-nine: in 1773, it was five hundred and seventeen: in 1793, the number of those from foreign parts alone amounted to four hundred and four, of which forty were three-masted vessels—in 1794, to four hundred and sixty-four, of which seventy-eight were three-masted—and in 1795, to eight hundred and twenty-five, of which ninety-six were three-masted. Six hundred and seven vessels, of which seventy-five were three-masted, sailed from this port during the same year 1795, on the foreign trade alone.

The produce of a part of Connecticut, of New-Hampshire, of Vermont, supplies the trade of Boston, together with the exchange of the European articles necessary to those countries. These advantages are in a greater or a lesser degree participated by the other sea-ports of the state of Massachusetts. No other part of the Union can produce a set of men so active, so industrious, so enterprising in navigation, as the people of this state. During my stay at Boston, two vessels, a ship and a large brig, sailed for Nootka-Sound and China, and two others are preparing to sail on a similar voyage.

BANKS.

There are at present in this state three banks at Boston, one at Salem, and one at Newbury-Port. These banks, established on the same principles as every other in America, are all, except that of Salem, incorporated by acts of the legislature. They discount notes endorsed with two good names, at one half per cent per month. The facility shown in
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this particular by the directors of those banks has great influence on the commercial transactions carried on in the state.

The bank of Massachusetts has existed at Boston since the year 1784. Its charter prescribes no limited term for its duration. Eight hundred shares, at five hundred dollars each, constitute for it a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, which has greatly increased since its first establishment. The dividends on those shares are from eight to nine per cent, and the price of its stock is only one fifth more than the original value.

The bank of the United States has a branch at Boston, established in 1792. The public is unacquainted with its capital, which is regulated at discretion by the bank established in Philadelphia: but it is thought to be five hundred thousand dollars. As it is a dependency of the bank of the United States, it might receive assistance from that quarter in case of need. It yields the same dividends as the bank of Massachusetts; and the price of its shares, which, as in all the other branches, was originally four hundred dollars, is now five hundred.

The bank known by the name of the Union Bank is the third of those established in Boston. It was erected in 1793, and its charter is for ten years. A hundred thousand shares, at eight dollars each, form for it a capital of eight hundred thousand dollars. It also yields a dividend of eight or nine per cent, and the price of its shares has risen to nine dollars and half. This bank is bound to accommodate the state with a loan of a hundred thousand dollars at five per cent, whenever called upon for that purpose: but its loans are never to exceed that sum.

The bank of Salem, which bears the appellation of the Essex Bank, not being incorporated, the amount of its capital is a secret: but it is known to be in a flourishing state.

The banks of Nantucket and of Merrimack, or of Newbury-Port, incorporated in 1795, are established for the private convenience of the trade of those places. The capital of the former is forty thousand dollars—that of the latter, seventy-five thousand. They do not yet

yield any dividend. The price of their stock has not varied : the shares are a hundred dollars each.

An examination of this sketch of the state of the banks in Massachusetts discovers a capital of above two millions of dollars among them all : and, as the interest on discounts is six per cent, and the dividends only eight or nine, the result must be a circulation of cash or credit to the amount of at least three millions of dollars, which extends to the neighbouring states in a proportion depending on their trade, and which it is difficult to ascertain, but which is estimated at between six and seven hundred thousand dollars.

Several other banks are about to be established in this state, where the avidity and enterprising spirit of commercial men, and the general eagerness to embark in trade, make people overlook the danger of being driven by the excessive number of such institutions to an extension of commerce disproportioned to the capitals employed.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

One of the most remarkable laws of the state of Massachusetts is that which ordains the establishment of schools for gratuitous instruction. It was enacted in June 1789. I slightly mentioned it in my journal of last year : but it deserves to be more particularly noticed in detail. Its principal articles are as follow—

1°. Each town or township containing fifty families or houses is bound to provide a school-master of good character to instruct the children in the English language, reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, and the principles of good moral conduct. This school is to be open six months in the year.

The towns or townships of a hundred families are to have schools of the same kind, which are to be open during the whole year.

Those of a hundred and fifty families are to have two schools, one for twelve months and one for six.

Those of two hundred families or more are bound, in addition to these

these schools, to support one, under the name of a grammar-school, in which the Greek, Latin, and English languages are to be taught grammatically. Children who cannot read are not to be sent to the grammar-school.—The houses being often widely scattered over the country, the inhabitants of the towns, in public assembly, have the power of determining the bounds of the school-districts.

2°. An injunction is laid on the instructors of youth, from those in the university at Cambridge down to those in the lowest schools, to impress the minds of their pupils with "the principles of piety, justice, sincerity, love of their country, frugality, industry, attachment to the federal constitution and that of the state," &c. The ministers of religion and the Select-Men are bound to do every thing in their power to induce the children to attend the schools.

3°. No applicant for the office of teacher in the grammar-schools, can be admitted to enter his name on the list of candidates, unless provided with a certificate signed by two clergymen attesting that he is capable of teaching the Greek and Latin, and that he is a man of good morals. This latter part of the certificate may be given by the Select-Men.

The masters of the first-mentioned schools cannot be chosen without producing a certificate from the Select-Men, or from the committee appointed for the inspection of the schools, or from a clergyman.

Whoever should keep a school without complying with these conditions, would be condemned to pay a fine of twenty pounds, or sixty-six dollars and two-thirds—one half for the benefit of the school, the other to be given to the poor.

4°. The schools are to be supported by a rate levied on the inhabitants of the districts where they are established. These rates are imposed by the annual town-meetings on the taxable property within their territory.

5°. Such towns as should neglect to support schools in conformity to the conditions prescribed by the first articles of this law, would be subjected to the following fines, viz. those of fifty families would be

condemned to pay thirty-three dollars—those of a hundred families, sixty-six dollars—those of a hundred and fifty families, a hundred dollars. These fines are ordered by the supreme court of the state, or by the general court, on complaint laid before them. They are to be paid into the state-treasury, to be applied to the relief of those schools in the same county which may stand in need of such aid. The grand juries are to enforce the payment.

This law is tolerably well executed, and the masters are in general qualified to give the instruction expected of them. In some townships, however, symptoms of negligence are discoverable; instead of masters, indifferent mistresses are employed; in some places, masters wholly unqualified; in others, none at all: but these instances are rare. The fault lies with the Select-Men, who do not exert themselves to enforce the law, to which moreover every inhabitant has a right to appeal. The salaries of the masters in the lower schools are from twelve to eighteen dollars per month: in the grammar-schools, the teachers receive from twenty-five to thirty-five.

It is painful to observe that in none of these schools is the history of the late revolution taught; that the youth are not informed either of its causes, or of the important events which have been its consequences; that they are not made acquainted with the names of those who, by their counsels, their services, their blood, have, in the midst of so many dangers and especially so many obstacles, erected or supported that independence which the country now enjoys. This, nevertheless, would be the most effectual mode of perpetuating in the breasts of the rising generation the love of liberty, which, among a free people and particularly a people recently become free, is the grand basis of public, and one of the principal bases of private, morality. But the love of liberty is feebly felt in the towns: and it is the inhabitants of the towns, or those whose chief concerns are centred in the towns, who compose the legislatures, hold all the public offices, and have a general influence over the government. The love of gain is the passion which predominates over every other; it prevents the
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mind from indulging in more liberal conceptions: and if any man were to suggest to them the idea of a course of instruction so beneficial to the cause of liberty, their calculations would no doubt impel them to reject it: for that kind of instruction would, by the remembrance which it would preserve of past events, still tend to foster in the minds of the Americans an unfavourable disposition toward England; and it is from England chiefly that those gentlemen expect the means of making their fortunes.

The same spirit of apathy for liberty and of propensity to England procrastinates the erection of the intended monuments in the different places where the arms of America gained important advantages over those of Britain. Nevertheless the bulk of the nation, all those who are not inhabitants of the towns, are proud, and even jealous, of their liberty. I shall in another place have occasion to speak with greater particularity of this state of things, and of its consequences.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

There are no slaves in the commonwealth of Massachusetts; and this is the only state in the Union that is entirely exempt from the disgrace of slavery. It is not uninteresting to give the particulars of the manner in which it was abolished.

No antecedent law of New-England had positively asserted the existence of slavery, which nevertheless prevailed under the sanction of custom and public opinion. Several laws indeed seemed to presuppose it, inasmuch as they authorized the reclaiming of negroes who quitted their masters, enjoined the necessity of restoring them, and prohibited the intermarriage of blacks with free people. Still however no law had expressly enacted the establishment of slavery: and several causes between masters and negroes on subjects relating to slavery had been decided in favour of the latter.

The new constitution of Massachusetts, like those of all the other states,

states, declared an equality of rights for all men. In 1781, some negroes, prompted by private suggestion, maintained that they were not slaves: they found advocates, among whom was Mr. Sedgwick, now a member of the senate of the United States; and the cause was carried before the supreme court. Their counsel pleaded, 1°. That no antecedent law had established slavery, and that the laws which seemed to suppose it were the offspring of error in the legislators, who had no authority to enact them:—2°. That such laws, even if they had existed, were annulled by the new constitution.

They gained the cause under both aspects: and the solution of this first question that was brought forward set the negroes entirely at liberty, and at the same time precluded their pretended owners from all claim to indemnification, since they were proved to have possessed and held them in slavery without any right. As there were only few slaves in Massachusetts, the decision passed without opposition, and banished all further idea of slavery.

Under similar laws and in similar circumstances, different decisions were given in Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and even New-Hampshire. But the prosperity and tranquillity of Massachusetts, which has experienced no disagreeable consequences from that general liberty, will, to the eyes of every rational and benevolent observer, afford sufficient ground for condemnation of the other states of New-England who have not imitated so glorious an example.

It is to be observed, that, in 1778, the general census of Massachusetts included eighteen thousand slaves, whereas the subsequent census of 1790 exhibits only six thousand blacks. It appears from the most minute information that I have been able to acquire, that a great proportion of the emancipated negroes went to the towns, where, making an indiscreet use of their newly-acquired liberty, many of them addicted themselves to the intemperate use of spirituous liquors, and died in consequence; others engaged as sailors, even on board foreign ships. The generality of those who have not disappeared are servants: some are tradesmen, or even farmers; and a pretty large number,

number, if we consider the bad education of that class of men and the habits of slavery, live in the enjoyment of a comfortable independence. The individuals of their colour have not fallen under the lash of justice in any greater proportion than the whites.

From these well-authenticated facts results a convincing proof that the negroes, as well as the white men, are capable of living honest and free; but that those nations which are so unfortunate as to possess great numbers of slaves, ought, by some previous education, to prepare them for, and furnish them with the means of making an advantageous use of, their liberty.

Slaves from other states, taking shelter in Massachusetts, may be reclaimed. But the general sense of the people is so decidedly adverse to slavery, that it would be very rare if those fugitive slaves did not find means to escape from their owners' pursuit.

PUBLIC DEBT.

That part of the debt of the state of Massachusetts for which the Union did not undertake to be responsible amounted to two millions six hundred and ninety-eight thousand two hundred and eighty dollars. In 1794 the legislature ordered a loan in which every kind of paper issued by the state was receivable. They consolidated the debts due for the pay of the troops during the war and for the purchase of provisions, by notes bearing an interest of five per cent: they increased the taxes to pay the interest of this consolidated debt, and provided that the sums due for state lands already sold, as well as the moneys arising from future sales, should be appropriated to the payment of the capital.

The present debt of the state is two millions three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, which, at five per cent, pay a yearly interest of a hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred dollars. The annual expences of government amount to one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. To meet these demands, the government has an interest of thirty thousand dollars accruing from moneys deposited in the bank of the

the United States, and fifty-seventy thousand five hundred and eighteen dollars paid by the treasurer of the Union as interest on the debt of the United States. To these sums it adds a hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-two dollars arising from taxes.

The produce of the sales of land belonging to the state is lodged in the hands of commissioners, to be applied to the extinction of the state-debt, of which three hundred thousand dollars have already been redeemed in that manner.—The town and county taxes rise much more rapidly than those imposed by the state.

PUBLIC REVENUES.

The state-taxes bear upon every kind of property, even upon uncultivated lands. A new valuation of property is to take place every ten years. With this view, the assessors of the different townships annually send to the secretary of state a schedule of all territorial property, with all the details necessary to shew of what nature it is, and in what state of cultivation: 2dly, a statement of all the kinds of property, houses, sums embarked in commerce, sums deposited in the banks, even ready money, and furniture of every kind: 3dly, a list of all the inhabitants above the age of sixteen years.

This information respecting the different species of property has for its object the procurement of as exact a knowledge as possible of the wealth and income of the entire state, and a clue to serve as a guide in apportioning the taxes among the different counties and townships. Proprietors refusing to deliver in a written list of their taxable property are subject to an arbitrary valuation by the assessors. The last general valuation, made in 1792, exhibited a mass of taxable property to the amount of nine hundred and thirty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-eight pounds, Massachusetts currency, or three millions one hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty dollars. In this valuation all species of property are rated at six per cent on their supposed real value, except uncultivated lands, which are only rated at two;

two; and by it the taxes of the different townships are apportioned in the ratio of so much for every thousand pounds, and the individual quotas are regulated in the same proportion.

In this apportionment is included the poll-tax, which is only a half-penny for each person liable to the tax. The number of these was, in 1792, found to be a hundred and six thousand one hundred and sixty-seven. The state-treasurer sends to the different towns a schedule of the sums to be levied in each for the use of the state; and the taxes, thus apportioned, are to be assessed on the individual inhabitants by assessors chosen in each town, or, in default of them, by the Select-Men. If the duty were not performed by either, the court of justices of the peace would appoint assessors who would assess on the town guilty of such neglect an additional rate, from one hundred dollars to three hundred and thirty-three and two thirds. The assessors chosen by the towns receive four shillings per day, those nominated by the justices, ten. The assessors charge the town-collectors with the levying of these taxes; and the latter are bound, within a given term, to pay the amount into the hands of the town-treasurer. If the taxes be not paid within the space of five months, the state-treasurer sends an order to the sheriff to enforce payment by selling a sufficient quantity of the property belonging to the town in arrear. Means are provided by the law to insure the collection, and to punish neglect, of whatever kind or degree, either in the officers, or in the persons failing to make payment. The general court of justices of the peace can give redress in cases of over-charge. The collectors are nominated by the towns: in default of collectors, the taxes are levied by the constables, or, in default of constables, by the sheriff. The towns agree with the collectors respecting the rate of commission allowed to them for the levying of the taxes: it is five per cent when the tax is levied by the sheriff or his deputies, exclusive of the incidental charges occasioned by their absence from home.

The balance drawn by the commissioners appointed to settle the accounts between the United States and the individual states makes the

state of Massachusetts creditor to the Union in the sum of two millions two hundred and forty-eight thousand eight hundred and one dollars.

The state of Massachusetts is divided into seventeen counties, and about three hundred and eighty towns or townships, subject to separate taxation. The taxes, however, notwithstanding all the regulations of which I have spoken, are not very punctually paid in Massachusetts. Of a tax of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars imposed in June 1794, and which ought to have been paid into the treasury on the first of April 1795, about fourteen thousand were paid within the term prescribed—four thousand more within the ensuing three months—seventeen thousand within the next three months—in three months more, nineteen thousand—and twenty-two thousand within the three following months, that is to say, twelve months after the time prescribed: finally, the remainder, with the exception of three or four thousand dollars, was paid within the next quarter after the lapse of the first year.

POLICE AND LAWS.

A law of the state ordains that no inoculations shall take place except in the hospitals established for that purpose. It prescribes wise precautions in case the natural small-pox should break out in any district with a certain degree of violence: and although it be, in my opinion, better to encourage inoculation by allowing perfect freedom in that respect, no blame can attach to these precautions, which, however strict, are very far from operating as the prohibitory system of Virginia.

The laws against debtors are at once mild and energetic: they secure, as far as possible, the rights of the creditor.

The influence of the clergy procured in 1794 the enactment of a law prohibiting on Sundays every kind of amusement, walking for pleasure, travelling, fishing, under the penalty of a considerable fine.

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The preamble to this law is a complete piece of puritanical rant; and its various clauses are in perfect unison with the preamble. Men of sense, when spoken to respecting it, acknowledge its absurdity, but assert that this new act, in superseding the former laws on the subject, has removed a great number of regulations still more absurd and severe, and that it is a necessary progression to another that will soon be enacted, by which the prohibitions on sundays will be confined to the opening of shops and public houses.

The legislature meanwhile bestows its attention on various improvements, roads, canals, useful establishments. The majority of the members of that body are not very enlightened in the science of administration—a deficiency which is common to them with all the legislatures of the Union, and which ought not to appear surprizing in a country yet so new: but they are commendable for the goodness of their intentions, their moral integrity, and their benevolence.

The legislative body of Massachusetts has not, like the assemblies of several of the other states, been accused of corruption in money-matters: some of its members, however, have not escaped suspicion: and indeed the manner in which certain laws are carried may well afford room for such surmises. All the acts must be read three times in each house before they pass: but the case is different with resolutions, which require only a single reading previous to their acquiring the force of laws. No article of the constitution, no posterior act, has drawn the line of distinction between what shall be presented as a law and what may be introduced under the form of a resolution. Custom indeed has established the practice of bringing forward under the shape of laws whatever concerns taxation, public institutions, &c. and making matters of inferior importance, such as private demands and claims, the subjects of resolutions.

But, as there exists no fixed rule in that respect, it often happens that objects of general interest, and materially important to the state, are introduced in the shape of resolutions: such, for instance, was the sale to Robert Morris of the right of pre-emption of a quantity of

land in Massachusetts at the rate of five pence per acre, and that of an enormous tract in the district of Maine to Mr. Bingham and several others, also at a very low price. A member of either house can find no difficulty in presenting such a resolution at the moment when he finds himself unrestrained by the presence of those from whom he may apprehend opposition, and thus carrying it. It was under such circumstances as these that suspicions arose against certain members who at the time were possessed of influence; but no proof has been discovered to confirm them.

It is astonishing that every thing, whether nearly or remotely, connected with finance is not invariably subjected to three readings. It is true, the governor's sanction is required for resolutions, as well as for laws that have undergone a longer discussion: but a prudent governor would not venture to pass his negative on a resolution of both houses, unless he had convincing evidence of its being strongly prejudicial to the interest of the state.

In either house of the legislature there are few influential members; or it may even be said that there are none, and that the influence of those who possess a greater share of it than the others is so temporary that not one of them is sure of carrying a motion when he makes it. There are here, as elsewhere, preparatory committees and petty intrigues which are sometimes successful, but oftener otherwise.

The lawyers in Massachusetts have greater influence than any other body of men on the public opinion; and next to them the priests: but none of them possess more than a moderate share of it: nor is there to be found here, as in several other states, any person who, by his own personal influence or that of his friends, is able to govern the public opinion, the deliberations, the elections. The interest, even of those who stand highest in that respect, does not extend beyond their own district.

The anti-federal party, of which so much is said, and which is branded with the most odious epithets that can be devised, does not exist in Massachusetts, in the true sense of the appellation, more than
in

in any other part of the United States. This truth being once acknowledged as it ought to be, the anti-federalists must, in the eyes of every impartial observer, be reduced to a simple opposition-party, which, however, will be equally far from pleasing those who cannot brook opposition of any kind.

The opposition-party here are labouring to prevent the government from acquiring additional strength, because they think the executive branch is already too strong, and especially that it aims at the extension of its prerogatives. They discourage the affection for England, and entertain more favourable dispositions toward France: and, like every other party in the world, they act as a party; that is to say, they sometimes exceed the bounds of reason and justice. I think, then, that the other party do not affect to talk so loudly of the opposition with any other view than that of acquiring for themselves a greater number of partisans and supporters; for they cannot seriously consider the efforts of their opponents as an obstacle to them in any measure of real utility. On both sides are seen men of great virtue, men warmly attached to their country, and animated by a sincere love of good order.

ROADS.

The roads in the state of Massachusetts are kept in repair at the expence of the townships through which they pass.

From this regulation, which at first sight appears so equitable, it results that in the less opulent townships the roads are in bad repair, and thus the expence incurred by those which are more wealthy does not completely answer the intended purpose of facilitating the convenience of communication. This disadvantage is sometimes removed by grants from the legislature to particular townships for that object; sometimes also by subscriptions raised in the neighbouring townships with the same view. But these extraordinary aids are rare; and the
invariable

invariable consequence is that in the poorer townships the roads are in worse condition.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR.

The poor are also relieved by taxes on the townships, which, like those for the roads, are laid on by the county-sessions, whenever the rates proposed by the Select-Men do not meet the approbation of the township—an event which seldom happens. But a pauper is not maintained at the public expence except when he has no relative in a direct line ascending or descending, who is capable of supporting him. If he had any, and they refused to afford him a maintenance, they would be compelled to it by the sessions. Cases also occur, when, a relative in line direct not being in sufficiently easy circumstances, the Select-Men enter into an agreement with him that he shall pay at least a part of the annual sum necessary for the support of his indigent kinsman. Agreements of this nature are made on an amicable footing, and on equitable terms: no person refuses to accede to them: and if a refusal were given, the session would award the payment of a sum probably more considerable than that demanded by the Select-Men; in addition to which, the family would also have to pay the costs of suit. The Select-Men are bound to take care that poor travellers receive due assistance in case of sickness. The state re-imbursets to them the expences incurred on such occasions.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

Seventy-nine regiments of infantry, eleven of cavalry, and eight of artillery, compose the militia of the state of Massachusetts, and together form an aggregate of fifty-five thousand men. Beyond the age of forty years a citizen is not subject to militia-duty; but, until sixty, he is liable to be called upon in urgent cases. Citizens of the latter description

tion constitute what is called the reserved corps, which furnishes an additional force of above twenty-five thousand men.

GENERAL SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

Although the greater number of the rich inhabitants of Boston are merchants, that class is not here, as at Philadelphia, the predominating class; nor do they, as at Charleston, hold the second rank in society. They are precisely what they ought to be—they stand on a footing of equality with their neighbours, and enjoy no superiority over any other body of men.

Independent of the ordinary trade of the merchants of all countries, they indulge very much in speculation; and speculation is the favourite passion of the inhabitants of New-England, who generally feel a more active desire than the people of the South to acquire large and rapid fortunes; whether that disposition be, or not, the consequence of their more enterprising character.

But their speculations are not always successful: and at this moment considerable sums are about to be lost at Boston by the sale of the Yazzow lands in Georgia, which the late legislature of that state have thought it their duty to annul. From the following circumstances some idea may be formed of the extravagance with which the New-England speculators, and particularly those of Boston, engaged in that business. The original price of those lands, as I have before remarked, was about one cent, or a hundredth part of a dollar, per acre; and they have been sold at Boston so high as twelve, and I believe even higher. Two or three agents of two of the four companies who had obtained those lands from the state came to Boston with their title-deeds empowering them to sell. They opened a kind of office, to which purchasers flocked in such crowds, that those gentlemen, taking advantage of this inconceivable infatuation, raised the price each day, often twice in the day, for the purpose of more strongly exciting the general eagerness and taking away all time for reflection.

reflection. There were sales and sub-sales without number: some of them were secured by a stipulation of responsibility on the part of the sellers, who engaged to give possession of the lands: but few of the numerous bargains were attended with this clause; almost all being concluded on the bare security of the titles, without any power of coming upon the venders. In many instances the purchases were made partly with ready money, and in all cases with notes payable at different periods. These notes were dextrously put into circulation by the venders; and the purchasers now find themselves disappointed of the lands, while a great part of their notes are gone out of the possession of those to whom they had given them. Every class of men, even watch-makers, hair-dressers, and mechanics of all descriptions, eagerly ran after this deception; in which Boston has sunk above two millions of dollars. Some of the buyers declare that they will not release their notes, and have even announced their intention in the public papers: but this is nothing more than a menace resulting from anger and indignation. The notes have, in great part, passed into other hands: they have been received by persons wholly unconnected with that speculation, and who cannot be excluded from payment without a most glaring act of injustice which must materially impair the credit of those who originally gave the notes. The courts of justice moreover would decide against them: and thus, after considerable trouble, they must at last make good the payments and be content to remain destitute of lands.

Many of the purchasers, whose notes were not gone out of the hands of the venders, have compromised matters with them by discounting the notes at half their value, but in ready money, and retaining their claim to the lands so far as the sellers can make it good: but this amounts to a nullity: for the original agreement will never be confirmed; it being a fraudulent transaction, and comprizing millions of acres that did not belong to the state of Georgia which sold them.

Thus many speculators in Boston and other parts of New-England have been either utterly ruined or at least materially injured in their fortunes

fortunes by that speculation. If one could without regret behold the ruin of so many honest men who fell victims to their own credulity, one might enjoy this disappointment of a set of speculators who were sufficiently greedy to purchase, without examination, without reflection, and with the sole view of exorbitant gains in Europe, tracts of land at the distance of nine hundred miles from their home, while their own country presented them with more honourable and especially more simple means of acquiring a fortune, or increasing that which they already possessed. But it is intolerably mortifying to see that the four land-companies of Georgia, who bear the entire guilt of the iniquitous bargain, are enriched by their villany; and that their perfidious dexterity in this train of corruption and deceit has thus thrown into their hands several millions of dollars, for which they neither have given nor are capable of giving any equivalent to those of whose folly they have taken advantage.

EXPORTS.

In my journal of last year I noticed the value, for the last five years, of the exports from the different ports of Massachusetts which I had visited. To those details I now add the total amount of the exports from the entire state during the same period, including even that of the present year. In 1791, it was two millions five hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and forty dollars—in 1792, two millions eight hundred and eighty-eight thousand one hundred and three—in 1793, three millions seven hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-five—in 1794, five millions two hundred and ninety-two thousand two hundred and forty-four—in 1795, seven millions two hundred and eighteen thousand nine hundred and eight—in 1796, nine millions nine hundred and forty-nine thousand three hundred and forty-five.—In 1787, the value of the exports from the different ports of the state amounted to no more than one million five hundred and eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and ninety-three dollars.

AN ACCIDENT.

Previous to my departure from Boston where contrary winds detained me a week longer than I had proposed to stay, I escaped, in common with twelve hundred other persons, from a danger to which it might have been expected that a great number of us would in all probability have fallen victims.

A Frenchman well skilled in horsemanship, who had a few weeks before arrived in the town, erected a circus for his exhibitions. The agility, the perfection, the gracefulness, with which he achieved on horseback several feats that no man of his profession had ever before attempted, together with the richness and tasteful elegance of dress displayed by himself and his company, attracted to each performance a great number of spectators, although there was another exhibition of the same nature in the town. Upward of twelve hundred persons were there assembled on Monday the fifth of September, when the roof—loaded with above a hundred boys, who, notwithstanding such prohibition and watchfulness as could be expected from the imperfect police of the town, had clambered up to enjoy the sight through the chinks left between the boards—fell in suddenly at once in every part. As the boards which formed that pyramidal roof were fastened to the small roofs that covered the boxes by which the circus was surrounded, some of those lesser roofs were involved in its fall: but they fell successively, and in such manner as rather to close the boxes on the inside than to crush them. Not one of the number experienced the latter fate: not a single spectator was hurt; and, thanks to the extraordinary calmness displayed by each individual during this alarming incident, there was not even any thronging on the stair-cases by which the chief part of the spectators retired: some let themselves down into the area by sliding along the fallen roofs; others descended from a window. A single one of the boys who were on the roof struck his head so violently against a plank in his fall that his life was for a long time in danger.

danger. At least forty others, who fell from the same height with him, were not even hurt. It is impossible to conceive how so great an accident should have been attended with no greater mischief: it is one of those singular events which might not again occur with all the same circumstances during the course of many centuries, and in which a man is not sorry to have been a party concerned, when he has so fortunately escaped from the danger.

SECOND VISIT TO THOMASTOWN.—FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISTRICT OF MAINE.

I went by sea from Boston to Thomastown, for the second time, on the twelfth of September.

The family of General Knox is one of those in America to which I am the most warmly attached. I therefore experienced a sincere pleasure on seeing myself once more among them; and the pleasure seemed to be mutual. The general's settlement assumes considerable stability. A part of his useful projects begin to be realized; and the popularity which he derives from his pleasing manner toward all those who have any business to transact with him, as well as his gentle and frank mode of proceeding with the unlicensed settlers on his lands, confirm all his prospects of success. He is busily employed in clearing forests, making lime and bricks, erecting mills, building vessels, improving his lands, and forming an excellent nursery for cattle on Brigadier Island.

His friends blame him for expending large sums of money: and perhaps it may be asserted with truth that his works cost him more than, with greater regularity and watchfulness, they ought to cost him. But he cannot himself bestow that watchful attention with the necessary assiduity; he undertakes too many things at once, to be able each day to inspect them all with sufficient care. Trusty agents, who are rare in every country, are more rarely to be found in America than elsewhere, and still more so in a country so thinly inhabited as the di-

strict of Maine. But this slight want of order and economy in the general's undertakings, though it will no doubt diminish his profit, will however not prevent it from being still very considerable.

Among the direct profits of his enterprizes he may reckon one of a more important nature that he will derive from the increased value of lands, which will be the consequence of that activity and those improvements.

His example excites and encourages industry in many of his neighbours, and the industry of his neighbours further enhances the value of his lands. Thus his calculations are just: and while he observes in his undertakings all the economy and regularity which surrounding circumstances will admit, he cannot incur the censure of any except greedy misers, or men who have not sufficient discernment to anticipate all the probable consequences of his enterprizes.

Timber has risen in price since last year, but fire-wood in a higher proportion than any other: the cord of the latter was sold last year for a dollar at the water-side; it is now at a dollar and half; and there is not found a sufficiency for the supply of Boston, where the price is at present five dollars, and will be from seven to nine within two months.

Lime has fallen in price in consequence of the number of kilns that have been erected. The barrel of fifty gallons was last year sold for ten shillings and nine pence; at present the price is from eight to nine shillings.

Hay has risen one tenth, but merely on account of the drought of the season.

The price of cattle, however, has risen one seventh: a circumstance which indicates some little increase of wealth in the country.

The number of vessels now on the stocks is also more considerable. In Saint-George's River alone, eleven have been built since last year. The price of the workmanship has likewise risen from three to five dollars per ton: the carpenter, who was paid ten dollars per month last year, now receives eleven.

But

But these symptoms of increasing wealth, together with the augmentation in the price of lands, are observable only on the sea-coast or the borders of navigable rivers, and in the thick-settled parts of the country.

The number of new inhabitants is by no means considerable: and every thing that I see and hear at present still further confirms me in the opinion I last year entertained that immigration to this country cannot take place to any great extent unless it be excited by powerful inducements, by great establishments, by large and judicious expenditures on the part of the great land-holders who are interested in encouraging those new settlements.

The attractions of the country, the nature of the soil, would not alone be sufficient to invite new settlers: and the district of Maine will yet long continue in many parts a desert, unless, by a succession of means duly adapted to all the circumstances, its population be accelerated and multiplied beyond the extent of its natural means and of the annual increase it derives from immigrations.

Those gentlemen who speculate upon 'Change do not enter into all these calculations. They prefer the certain prospect of two or three per cent per month to the probability of doubling or decupling their fortune by expences which would for a while divert a part of their cash from those speculations: and they expect from the unaided operation of time an increase in the value of their lands, which, however, will not by that slow process ever take place in those northern countries.

Such is said to be the plan intended to be pursued by Mr. Bingham, who, after having sold to Mr. Baring for sixty thousand pounds sterling one half of the twelve hundred thousand acres of land which he possesses at the head of Penobscot-River, continues to hold the entire tract in conjunction with him as partner upon equal terms. He besides owns three millions more of acres in other parts of the district of Maine. So much the worse for him. He is not or at least he cannot long be certain of quietly keeping in his hands such extensive tracts of land: and Mr. Bingham's popularity will not screen him from the inconveniences

conveniences which, in a country like this, may attend the possession of so large a portion of the soil kept idle and unproductive in the hope of an exorbitant gain.

If great and judicious disbursements were last year necessary, as I think they were, to create a demand for, and consequently to enhance the value of, those immense tracts of land engrossed by a few rich proprietors, the necessity has this year derived additional urgency from the treaty with Spain, which, by throwing open the navigation of the Mississippi, excites a predilection in favour of the western lands, and so far diminishes that which might have been entertained for those of the district of Maine. The lands themselves, as well as their great produce of timber, will yet farther sink in value, if Spain cedes to France the possession of Louisiana, which, in the hands of an active and industrious nation, will furnish the means of vending a much larger quantity of timber, besides holding out to new settlers the allurements of a milder climate in addition to that of excellent lands which will no doubt long continue at a much lower price than those of the district of Maine.

Spain can herself create the same advantages as France could in Louisiana, if she chooses to retain it in her own possession. It is therefore matter of urgent necessity that the owners of estates in this part of the Union should take measures for the sale of their lands, and consent to make disbursements which, however heavy in the first instance, will be repaid to them with ample interest, provided they be soon and judiciously made. Otherwise the speculating proprietors will experience severe losses.

In the district of Maine the question is at present agitated, whether, taking advantage of the right which it derives from its population, it shall separate from the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and erect itself into an independent state. Meetings have been called on the subject, and various petitions have been drawn up: and, to determine the question of separation, nothing more is required than to ascertain the wish of the majority of the inhabitants of the state, who will be consulted

consulted next year. Their opinion was already taken on the subject four years since, and they declared against the measure. It is thought that on the present occasion the decision will be different; because the increase of population in the interior parts of the country has augmented the number of those who, not being connected with Boston by any ties of direct interest, anticipate none but beneficial consequences from having the seat of their government nearer to their own homes. But the plan of separation will experience a powerful opposition from the influence of the proprietors of those immense tracts of land.

Taxed as the district of Maine now is by the state of Massachusetts, it has but a very moderate burden of taxation to bear, because it is considered as an infant province, as not yet having called forth into activity its slender resources, and as containing extensive tracts of unproductive land which the state of Massachusetts herself has recently sold to the great speculators above mentioned. Those vast possessions are therefore very lightly taxed at present. But the case will be different if the district of Maine be erected into a separate state: for, in the first place, the public expences will be increased; and, on the other hand, the jealousy entertained by the laborious and indigent class of proprietors against the possessors of immense tracts—who, enjoying opulence in other states, suffer their lands in this quarter to lie unimproved, in expectation of the time when they may be enabled to sell them at a higher rate to those same petty proprietors—will cause a considerable augmentation in the taxes on that species of property. It is known that those lands have been purchased from the state of Massachusetts at a very low price: and the new state of Maine will find her advantage in augmenting the tax upon them, inasmuch as it will compel the great proprietors to divide and sell those lands without delay, and consequently will increase the number of inhabitants and the quantity of produce.

Above one half of the district of Maine is owned by such proprietors; the principal of whom are—General Knox for the Waldo-patent, the Plymouth company, the company of the twenty townships, General

General Lincoln, Mr. Charles Vaughan, and particularly Mr. Bingham who possesses there from three to four millions of acres.

These simple facts sufficiently shew what great obstacles will be opposed to the formation of the new state : but those obstacles will probably be removed, since it is a measure which justice and the interest of the people demand.

RETURN TO BOSTON.

After twelve days spent at General Knox's habitation, I quitted the district of Maine, and returned by sea to Boston. I had gone by land in the preceding year ; and nothing now remained to gratify my curiosity in the course of so long and difficult a journey. The vessels that sail from the district of Maine are so heavily laden with cumbrous articles that no space is left open on the deck beyond what is necessary for the management of the helm ; consequently there is no possibility of walking ; and a passenger must either confine himself to the cabin or sit on the cargo. That of the schooner in which I sailed was fifty cords of fire-wood. Fortunately the weather was fine—the cabin new and neat—the master, whose name is Kelleran, a very civil good-natured man—and my passage of only thirty-six hours' duration.

On the day preceding my arrival at Boston, the president's proclamation was received there, in which he announces his firm determination of retiring from public life. It is in the month of March next that the four years of his second presidency will expire ; and in December of the present year the elections will be held for the choice of a person to be placed at the head of the federal government. It was therefore time that he should announce his resolution, which I cannot otherwise consider than as a serious misfortune for the United States : for the office of president is not so well provided with the means of execution as not to require some accession of strength from the popularity of the man who holds it, and from the confidence reposed in him by his fellow-citizens. Now, in all the United States, no individual possesses

so many claims to the general confidence as George Washington, nor does any individual enjoy it in so high a degree.

That proclamation of the president, besides what relates to his resignation, contains also political counsels to the citizens of the United States.—No man entertains a higher respect than I do for the president's merit and virtues; none is more firmly convinced that the sole object of his conduct has invariably been the good of his country; but when a man is a native of France, he must have that opinion established on very strong grounds indeed, if he do not, in one part of the proclamation, discover a marked antipathy to France, and a predilection for England, which bear a much stronger resemblance to party-spirit than to the spirit of justice, or even, I will venture to say, to sound policy. I do not mean that any blame can attach to him for the advice which he gives to his countrymen not to become dependent on any other nation; but it appears that this counsel, delivered simply and in general terms, would preserve all its force, its propriety, its justice; whereas, offered as it is in such ample extent, and with the characters which accompany its development, one cannot be surprized that the president's enemies find in it a subject for censure: and among those who esteem and respect his virtues without feeling the influence of party-spirit, there are few, I believe, who would not have wished that this over-long article had been treated in a different manner. Even the other parts of the proclamation, which are not liable to the reproach of impropriety or party-spirit, are justly taxable with diffuseness and unnecessary length. All the principles indeed are true, and the counsels good: but they would have been equally so, and would have appeared more so, if they had been delivered with conciseness and simplicity. I have further heard it observed that the advices contained in that proclamation are unseasonably given. It is (say those who censure it) in vacating the chair after the expiration of his term, that his adieux would have come at their proper time: but they are premature when the man who thus takes his leave of the public has yet six months to exercise his functions.

That proclamation, as may reasonably be expected, meets with ad-

mirers who extol the very parts which most deserve censure, as well as censurers who condemn in it what is entitled to nought but praise.

This resignation of the president, which was doubted through all America a fortnight ago, seems however to produce no sensation at Boston; it engrosses no greater share of the general attention than any other article of intelligence; and after the first day it ceased to be a topic of conversation. The defects and the merits of the proclamation are equally buried in silence. Does this indifference with which so important an event is viewed at Boston arise from the circumstance of the people's minds being wholly engrossed by interested pursuits, so as to leave no room for any other object? or is it the offspring of constitutional apathy? These are questions which I shall be better able to determine when I have seen a greater number of people and visited different places. In the mean time I am not the less surprized at what I here observe.

During my short absence from Boston, a fever, in which the physicians who were consulted discovered the characteristics of the yellow fever, broke out in a close narrow part of the town enjoying little circulation of air, and inhabited by poor families. Almost every one who was attacked by it died within three days; and those who approached the sick caught the infection. A hint of the danger of this contagion, prudently suggested to the Select-Men, though without pronouncing the name of "yellow fever," was productive of the salutary measure of causing the families who either were themselves actually infected or had had communication with those who were, to be removed from the town, their beds to be burned, and their houses purified and suffered to stand empty, without alarming any one with a name which carries terror with it through every part of America. In consequence of these precautions the disease disappeared. Few of the sick persons who were removed fell victims to it; no individual of their families caught the infection; and Boston, which lost by this fever eight or ten of its inhabitants, now enjoys perfect salubrity.

The fortifications of Castle-Island have since last year been put into somewhat

somewhat better condition. The parapets are raised, and within their inclosure are placed a score of cannons, forty-two-pounders, taken from the English during the last war. These cannons are mounted on coast-carriages, in a kind of imitation of our French coast-batteries so skilfully contrived by Monsieur de Gribeauval; but the imitation is very imperfect: the carriages are heavy and clumsily made; the platforms are deficient in solidity, and the parapets so little elevated that all the men serving the pieces would remain exposed to the fire of the enemy's ships that might attempt to enter. It is at the expence of the commonwealth of Massachusetts that Castle-Island has been put into this petty state of defence, which is perhaps somewhat worse than nothing, since it is incapable of answering any good purpose, and at the same time inspires a vain confidence. The legislature have positively refused to cede this island to the general government, which, as I have observed in the journal of my first tour, had allotted funds to put it into a state of complete defence.

PORTSMOUTH.

In going to Portsmouth I went over the same ground that I had travelled last year in coming from it.

The fever which carried off during this summer about forty persons at Newbury-Port, has now subsided.

Epidemic diseases generally cease in every part of America at the commencement of the cold weather. The malady at Newbury-Port had, according to the assertion of the physicians, the characteristics of the yellow fever: but, since the ravages caused by that distemper at Philadelphia three years ago, the appellation is too lightly bestowed on all epidemic bilious fevers, which, it must be owned, possess on this continent a considerable degree of malignity, and in the treatment of which the physicians do not seem to display much skill.

Although these fevers have hitherto broken out only in the sea-ports,

many medical men do not now, as in the beginning, think them imported from the West-Indies, but conceive them, like almost all other epidemic diseases, to have originated in the country. That which prevailed at Newbury had its principal focus in a quarter contiguous to the port; but it also spread to several other parts of the town. It was not very destructive, since in three months it carried off only about forty persons from a population of five thousand inhabitants. The physicians assert, that, notwithstanding the ravages of that disorder, fewer persons have fallen victims this year at Newbury-Port than usually die at the same season, which is always sickly in a greater or lesser degree. If this assertion be well founded, the fact must be considered as extraordinary.

CONSTITUTION, LAWS, AND COMMERCE, OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

During six days which I spent at Portsmouth, I procured some information respecting the state of New-Hampshire, which the shortness of my stay there last year had not allowed me to acquire.

The new constitution of this state, framed in 1782, underwent a revision in 1792. In its principal features it resembles those of all the other states. Here follows a short abstract of it.

All the public functionaries, except those of the judicial department, are elected only for one year.

The electors for all offices are the same; and the only conditions required to qualify an elector are the payment of a tax, the age of twenty-one years, and the profession of the protestant religion. This last intolerant condition, which is said to have experienced great opposition as well in the original formation of the constitution in 1782 as in its revision in 1792, is required for all the offices in the state.

The senators are elected by districts; and for this purpose an imaginary division has been made of the state into twelve districts nearly equal

equal in point of taxation. The senators are twelve in number, and choose from their own body a president, who performs the functions of lieutenant-governor whenever occasion so requires.

The legislature can alter the boundaries of the districts according to the changes which may take place in their relative wealth.

The qualifications for eligibility as a senator are, that the candidate have attained the age of thirty years, have resided in the state during seven years, and during one year in the district where he is chosen, and that he possess a landed property to the amount of eight hundred dollars.

The representatives must be at least one and twenty years old, have resided in the state during two years, be at the time of their election inhabitants of the township by which they are chosen, and possess an estate of four hundred dollars, of which two hundred must be in landed property in their own right.

Each town or parish containing a hundred and fifty inhabitants who pay taxes sends one representative, and an additional one for every three hundred and fifty more. Such parishes as do not come up to the former number are joined together or united with others that are more populous, according to local circumstances.

The same conditions which qualify for a seat in the senate are sufficient qualifications for the office of governor; with only this difference, that, in the latter case, the possession of an estate of two thousand dollars is required. The governor is elected by townships, and must have an absolute majority of votes: in case none of the candidates should have such majority, the two houses of the legislature elect by ballot one of the two who have had the greatest number of suffrages.

The state is divided into five counties, each of which elects in the same manner a member of the executive council.

The power and the functions of the two houses are the same as in the other states.

The governor has a right to refuse his signature to bills which have passed through both houses: but he is bound to do it within five days after

after they have been presented to him; and, after his refusal, a majority of two thirds in each house can compel him to affix his signature. He nominates the judges, the sheriffs, the general officers, the militia staff; he is commander in chief of the troops, and can grant pardons; but all this must be done by the advice of his council. In cases of nomination, the governor and they have the power of a mutual negative over each other.—The judges are appointed during good behaviour; but none of their number can remain in office after the age of seventy years.

The legislature of New-Hampshire sits twice a year.

In their last session the legislature have regulated the mode of choosing the six electors who are to vote for a president and vice-president of the United States. Those electors are to be appointed, in like manner as the governor of the state, by the electors of each township. The votes are to be transmitted by the Select-Men to the secretary of state: they are next to be examined by both houses of the legislature, who will then declare the six electors. The persons thus chosen are to meet on the first Wednesday in December.

The laws of New-Hampshire allow the utmost latitude of testamentary devise: but in cases of intestacy one third of the property is assigned to the surviving husband or wife, and the remainder divided in equal portions among the children.

The criminal code, which is only a mitigation of the English code, still inflicts the punishment of death in numerous cases. Whipping and the pillory are the second gradation of punishment, and are appointed for a very considerable number of offences. In many cases the corporal punishment may be avoided on payment of a fine. Stealers of horses or other cattle, after having stood exposed in the pillory, are marked in the face with several black lines which time alone can obliterate. Thieves of every other kind are condemned to the same punishment in case of a repetition of their crime.

The law respecting Sunday, less tinctured with puerile superstition than that of Massachusetts, confines its prohibitions to bodily labour and amusements.

The

The finances of the state are in good order. At the conclusion of the war its general debt amounted to about five hundred thousand dollars, of which three hundred thousand have been assumed by the Union, which allows for them, as elsewhere, an interest of six per cent until they be reimbursed. The other two hundred thousand, that remained as a debt on the state, have been paid off by sales of land and other special means; New-Hampshire has at present in hand a fund of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, part in securities of the United States, part in the bank.

The commissioners appointed to settle the accounts between the United States and the individual states have declared New-Hampshire creditor in the sum of seventy-five thousand and sixty-five dollars.—The expences of the government are ordinarily about twenty-eight thousand six hundred dollars: they are sometimes higher according to circumstances. In that sum are not included the purchases of arms and ammunition required to furnish the magazines to the extent prescribed by the law.

Slavery is not abolished here by an express law, as in Massachusetts. The first article of the New-Hampshire declaration of rights pronounces that all men are born equal and independent: but private interest has suggested an interpretation of that article which restricts its benefits to those born after the promulgation of the constitution. There are however no sales of slaves: the public authority is not exerted for the seizure of those who run away; and the few slaves who are in the state are in all respects treated on the same footing with other servants. Their children are educated at the same schools. The real evil, therefore, the degradation of slavery, does not exist in New-Hampshire; and the name of slave is hardly known in the state. No better plan could be adopted by a people who stopped short of total emancipation.

For some years back the state has imposed no taxes. The legislature nevertheless make it a rule to exercise occasionally the right of taxation, for the purpose of keeping the inhabitants accustomed to such contributions, and also of increasing the public resources. The last sum.

sum demanded was twenty-four thousand dollars. Lands, movable property, cattle, even money in the funds, are subject to the tax : and the scale of proportion between the different articles taxed by the state serves as a basis for all the county and town rates, which, though more considerable than those imposed by the state, are yet very light.

In the general assessment of the taxes, each county, and each township in each county, has its particular quota assigned to it by the law, which may however vary in consequence of any important changes taking place in the wealth of those townships or counties.

The mode of assessing and levying the taxes is nearly the same in New-Hampshire as in Massachusetts. The valuation of all taxable property is to be made every fifth year at farthest. The poll-tax, to which all men from the age of eighteen years to that of seventy are subject, is eight shillings per head. The total annual amount of taxable property, according to the last valuation made in 1794, is forty-two thousand and ninety pounds, or a hundred and forty thousand three hundred dollars. The poll-tax payable by twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and thirteen inhabitants makes a part of that sum. The Select-Men are the assessors of the taxes in the different townships ; and it is to them that the state-treasurer sends the schedule of the apportionment of the taxes. They are in consequence authorized to demand of each inhabitant a yearly written declaration of his property. In case of deception in those declarations, the Select-Men assess the transgressor to four times the amount of the sum at which he was rated. The inhabitants have the power of appointing the collectors ; but the appointment is generally left to the Select-Men, who agree with the inhabitants for the expence of collection, which is from four to five per cent. The taxes are to be levied and remitted to the treasurer during the course of the year ; and they are in general punctually paid. The law provides means for calling to account the Select-Men, collectors, treasurers, &c. who are guilty of neglect or dishonesty.

The

The state debt, of which I have not been able to learn the precise amount, is far from considerable, and probably will within a very short period be wholly extinguished.

The roads, and the finger-posts which the law requires to be erected on them, are kept in repair by the townships, that is to say, by the personal labour of each inhabitant, or a pecuniary commutation in its stead. The rate for the maintenance of the poor is also a town rate. Several houses are established for their reception in different parts of the state, and are in general as ill kept as such establishments are every-where else.

Portsmouth is the only port of entry in the commonwealth of New-Hampshire. Exeter and Dover, situate in the inner part of the same bay, and to which some vessels of inferior tonnage go up, carry on no commerce except through the medium of Portsmouth, and have no custom-house. The exportations from Portsmouth amounted, in 1790, to one hundred and thirty-four thousand three hundred and nine dollars—in 1791, to one hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and twenty-five—in 1792, to one hundred and eighty-one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight—in 1793, to one hundred and seventy-six thousand and eighty-three—in 1794, to one hundred and sixty-four thousand two hundred and seventeen—in 1795, to two hundred and forty-six thousand three hundred and sixty-four—and, in the first six months of the present year 1796, to two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and fifty-one.

The considerable increase in the present year was occasioned by the extraordinary circumstance of several ships coming from the West-Indies, which, though consigned to other ports, were obliged to discharge their cargoes here. The produce of the custom-house duties on imported articles amounted, in 1790, to sixteen thousand five hundred and seventy-nine dollars—in 1791, to thirty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four—in 1792, to forty-five thousand four hundred and ninety-nine—in 1793, to fifty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight—in 1794, to fifty-one thousand eight hundred and

three—and, in 1795, to fifty-nine thousand six hundred and fifty-eight. The principal articles of those importations are the productions of the West-India islands—wine, soap, oil, and hemp, from Europe—and manufactured goods. It is with the French islands that New-Hampshire carries on the chief part of her West-India trade, and with Holland and Germany of her European. It is most commonly through the medium of Boston that she receives her supplies of British goods. The vessels belonging to Portsmouth that visit England, seldom touch there except on their return from Germany.

The productions of New-Hampshire are Indian corn, wheat, barley, rye, black cattle, goats, sheep, hogs, horses, mules, poultry, flax, hemp, pot-ash, pearl-ash, timber of every kind and in great quantities. These furnish matter for her exportations: but the local situation of the country, which removes from the vicinity of the sea a great number of its inhabitants, and places them nearer to the Connecticut and the North-River, causes a great portion of the produce to pass through Albany, New-York, and the towns of Connecticut.—New-Hampshire re-exports moreover a great quantity of commodities imported from the West-Indies.

The total amount of the tonnage employed by this state in foreign trade was, in 1793, eleven thousand seven hundred and nine tons—in 1794, twelve thousand and eleven—in 1795, twelve thousand nine hundred and seventy:—in the present year 1796, it is thirteen thousand five hundred and forty. In addition to this, the tonnage employed in the coasting trade and fisheries was, in 1793, one thousand two hundred and fifty-five tons—in 1794, one thousand four hundred and twenty-eight—in 1795, one thousand four hundred and forty-six:—and it now amounts, in 1796, to one thousand four hundred and fifty.

The population of New-Hampshire consists of about a hundred and ninety thousand souls. Although almost all the townships, which are generally of six square miles, have been granted by the state, some are yet wholly destitute of inhabitants, and many others contain very few.

few. It is only from its own population that this state can expect any considerable increase ; for there is no immigration to it from other parts. The laws of New-England had long prohibited the admission of any emigrants from Europe, except Englishmen, who are not easily induced to quit their native country. Since those prohibitory laws have ceased to be enforced, foreign immigrants are not more numerous in New-Hampshire than at former periods ; because, in the first place, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, and Massachusetts, have at present nearly their due quantum of population ; and, in the second place, because the tide of foreign immigration, having long since taken its course toward the states of New-York, Pennsylvania, &c. will, for a long time to come ; flow in the same channels, attracted by motives of consanguinity, and the various relations existing between the new immigrants and the old. Such immigrations from those three populous states of New-England, as do not take a western direction, incline toward Vermont in preference to New-Hampshire, because in Vermont the lands are cheaper. The state of Vermont, moreover, at the time of its formation, passed a law, unjust in itself, but favourable to a speedy increase of population in the country. A great part of its lands had been granted in the mass to the inhabitants of New-Hampshire by the governors of that state, of which Vermont then constituted a part. When erected into a separate commonwealth, the legislature of Vermont declared that every person taking possession of the uninhabited lands, by whomsoever owned, should enjoy them unmolested during the space of seven years. Allured by this invitation, outcasts, debtors, needy adventurers, flocked thither from all quarters. The inhabitants of New-Hampshire, who were the proprietors of those lands, fearing to see themselves entirely deprived of them, concluded bargains with the new-comers on whatever terms the latter were pleased to allow. In consequence of these transactions, the population of Vermont received so rapid an increase, that, although ten years since it hardly contained forty thousand inhabitants, it now reckons above a hundred thousand ; and land still

continues there at a lower price than in New-Hampshire, where from one to five dollars are paid per acre in the interior part of the country, according to the number of inhabitants already settled in the township where the purchase is made.

Free schools are supported at the public charge in New-Hampshire, as in Massachusetts; with this difference, however, that in none of them do children receive the first lessons in reading. The pupils are instructed in writing and arithmetic—in Latin, as far as Virgil and Cicero—in Greek, so far only as to translate the Testament—and in the principles of the English language. An academy at Exeter pursues the course of education a little farther, and gives some tincture of the sciences. The university of New-Hampshire is at Dartmouth on Connecticut-River. The parents of the children are bound to have them taught to read. The want of gratuitous instruction in that first stage is certainly a bar to the general dissemination of knowledge through the state.

The more I see of America, the more firmly am I convinced that the understandings of the people are every-where good. The inhabitants are industrious: each family has its domestic manufactories where the necessary articles of clothing are fabricated and died: yet few families refrain from purchasing at the retailer's store some European stuffs or ribands, that they may not, at the meeting on Sunday, appear less fine than their neighbours.

The militia of New-Hampshire is divided into twenty-eight regiments, and amounts to twenty-eight thousand men, of whom two thousand are cavalry, and six hundred artillerymen.

Notwithstanding the clause in the constitution which requires the profession of the protestant religion as a qualification for every public office, unbounded religious freedom prevails in the state, and almost every sect of Christians have here public places of worship.

The most ancient settlements in New-Hampshire were formed soon after those of Massachusetts. Portsmouth and Dover are the places where the first establishments were made. But disturbances
having

having arisen in this province, and introduced a state of anarchy which became intolerable to the majority of the inhabitants, they put themselves under the protection of the colony of Massachusetts which was in a much more flourishing condition, and where a more regular system of laws was followed. They incorporated themselves with Massachusetts in 1642: but the province of New-Hampshire becoming more populous, and some discontents having broken out on occasion of the superiority which Massachusetts assumed over it—and these discontents being moreover embittered by quarrels on the subject of religion—the inhabitants petitioned the English court that their colony might again become a separate province; and accordingly, by an edict issued in 1679, Charles the Second granted their request, and created New-Hampshire a distinct and royal province.

One of the six frigates voted two years since by Congress was to have been built here: but, like those of Portsmouth in Virginia and of New-York, it is among the three of which the national legislature at their last session countermanded the construction. The timber, which cost so much money, remains in the dock-yard half-wrought; and, notwithstanding all the care which, people say, will be taken for its preservation, a very small portion of it will after a few years be fit for service. In a dock-yard adjoining to that where this frigate was begun, the same workmen who were employed upon it are now building one intended to carry thirty-two guns, which was first laid on the stocks a month since, and is to be finished by next spring. It is a present demanded of the United States by the dey of Algiers, as an inducement to his faithful observance of the treaty he has concluded with them. It is asserted that this condition, which the executive power of the United States is eager speedily to comply with, is the result of a supplemental treaty which will remain unknown till the next session of Congress; but that there can exist no doubt that necessity will oblige them to ratify it.—When we recollect that those six frigates were voted for the purpose of repressing the piracies of the Algerines—when we read the treaty since concluded, and see a frigate
given

given to those same Algerines as a present from America—we might reasonably be surprized if the power of the United States, and the consistency of their political system, were held in high repute at Algiers.

In going to Portsmouth, I pursued the same track as last year, through Salem, Newbury, Hampton. I have therefore no new information to offer, except that almost every article is risen in price, and that ship-building is carried on in all the creeks with still greater activity than during the last year, as if trade were always to be carried on in American bottoms to the same extent. But the war cannot endure for-ever: and, on the return of peace, many of the ship-owners will discover that they might have employed their money to greater advantage.

I returned from Portsmouth by the upper road. It was at the distance of several miles from the sea, and it is not longer than the other; but it is less agreeable, and more difficult, inasmuch as it crosses mountains and sands, and especially as it lies through a less beautiful and less cultivated country.

EXETER.

This town, fourteen miles distant from Portsmouth, is the seat of the government of New-Hampshire, and situate in the county of Rockingham, on the river Surampscot, at the head of the bay of Piscataqua. It contains about three hundred and fifty houses, and from sixteen to seventeen hundred inhabitants. The houses are tolerably neat; and the place receives a good share of activity from several mills for corn, paper, fulling, tobacco, chocolate, and sawing, and from some iron-works.

I have observed that there was an academy in this town. It was incorporated in 1781 by an act of the legislature, under the name of "Phillips's Exeter Academy," from the name of a Mr. Phillips, a minister of Exeter, who was the principal donor to it.—Before the revolution,

revolution, and at the time when Portsmouth carried on an extensive commerce, many vessels were built at Exeter : but, since the decline of the trade of Portsmouth, the ship-building at Exeter has dwindled almost to nothing ; not more than two or three vessels being annually built there, and these being only sloops. No vessels above the burden of twenty tons can go up to that town.

Under the head of Portsmouth I forgot to notice a particularity which would there have been more properly placed than under the head of Exeter, although the same fact exists here also. It is, that in that considerable town, where all the houses except one or two are built of wood, the only mode practised for cleaning the chimneys is to set them on fire. That operation is performed in rainy weather, that the roofs, which are covered with shingles, may be the less exposed to catch fire from the flying sparks. There is not an instance on record of any mischief having been caused by this singular process of cleaning the chimneys. The want of chimney-sweepers first gave rise to this practice, which is at length so thoroughly established by habit, as to be now employed in preference to any other, even when sweeps happen to pass through the town. The same custom almost universally prevails in all the small towns or villages of New-England, and also in many other parts of America.

HAVER-HILL.

From Exeter to Haver-hill, the country wears the appearance of a desert ; presenting to the view an almost uninterrupted succession of woods of the poorest kind and of the smallest growth—here and there a few acres cultivated—but bad land, bad culture, indifferent houses :—the traveller fancies himself at the distance of a hundred miles from any inhabited country. Within a few miles from Haver-hill the country assumes a more pleasing aspect ; the land is better, the cultivation more regular, and the houses more tightly. Haver-hill is in the state of Massachusetts, and situate on the Merrimack, the same river

river which forms the port of Newbury. Over this river was built in 1794 a tolerably handsome bridge, consisting of three wooden arches, each a hundred and eighty-two feet in breadth, and supported by stone piers and buttresses. This bridge is not sufficiently light in its upper part: and as the intervals between the arches are not raised to a level with the tops of the vaults, there is a descent from each to the platform of the pier, and an ascent to the next, so as to render the passage unpleasant. But civil architecture has not yet made sufficient advances to improvement in this new country to admit of attention being paid to the convenience of travellers.

A considerable number of ships are annually built at Haver-hill—often fifty or sixty. The greater number of them are sold in the southern states. Only six vessels are owned by the merchants of this port, and employed in the West-Indian and even in the European trade: but they take their cargoes to Boston, whence are procured the foreign commodities necessary for the consumption and trade of Haver-hill, which supplies many townships in the back country. The stores here are numerous and well stocked: and the manufactories that claim more particular notice are a pretty considerable one of sail-cloth, and some distilleries. Although hemp is produced both in New-Hampshire and Massachusetts, that of Russian growth is alone used in this sail-cloth-manufactory; and it is procured from Boston.

I have been assured that vessels of a hundred tons burden can come up to Haver-hill in the high tides. This town, which contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, is moreover in a state of increase: and a great number of handsome houses are now a-building in it. The price of land in its vicinity is a hundred dollars the acre: at some distance, it is only thirty. The agriculture in its immediate environs is almost solely confined to Indian corn and meadow. It is easy here to procure workmen; and their wages are four shillings and nine pence per day, and seven dollars per month. A mason can earn seven shillings, a house-carpenter nine shillings, and a ship-carpenter

two

two dollars. Philadelphia flour now sells here at thirteen dollars the barrel, that of the country produce at six or seven. This enormous difference arises not only from the difference in the beauty of the grain and in the goodness of the mills, but also from the adulteration of the country flour, which, not being subject to any inspection, is mixed with the flour of peas, beans, and potatoes, and thus is inferior in quality even to good Indian meal.

RETURN TO BOSTON.

Beyond Haver-hill bridge the traveller enters the township of Brentford, which is a part of the county of Essex, and where the land still presents the same appearance. In this township is a considerable manufacture of men's shoes for exportation. The number daily produced by the workmen of this little place is estimated at two hundred pair. These shoes, which are of good materials and well made, are sold at four shillings and nine pence halfpenny the pair. The leather employed in making them comes from the Spanish part of Saint-Domingo.

From Haver-hill to Boston the country is quite rich, abounding in good houses and beautiful farms. The township of Andover in particular is remarkable for its charming meadows, and the numerous herds of fine cattle with which they are stocked.

On this little journey I chatted, according to my custom, with every one whom I found disposed for conversation; and it is not very common in America to find persons who are averse to it, especially among those who do not rank among the first class of society. I every-where observed a sense of respect for the president, but an indifference on the subject of his resignation. "He is old; and men cannot last for ever:" such is the general remark. Besides, less importance is attached to the choice of his successor than I should have expected. In this part of the country indeed the votes will be pretty generally in favour of John Adams. "He is a good man," said to me a Colonel Beverley who

keeps a tavern : " Jefferson is also a good man : we cannot fail to find good men in America."

The general spirit and opinion of the people are the same here as throughout all New-England, and indeed in almost every part of America—a heart-felt recollection of the services rendered by France, and of the evils inflicted by England. Neither the new political subtilities respecting the real motives of those services, nor the documents of national ingratitude which are the result of them, have yet impaired the friendly dispositions entertained by the people of America toward France. They remember that she aided them in the hour of need : they wish her prosperity, take an interest in her successes, and enjoy them with delight. They equally remember that England burned and destroyed their houses, and did them all the mischief in her power. They would not however on that account join with France to wage war against England : they still equally continue to supply their wants with the articles of British manufacture (which circumstance, be it observed *en passant*, affords a just subject of animadversion on the want of skilful management in the former French government) ; but they pour forth their ardent prayers for the welfare of France. The attachment to La Fayette, so perceptibly diminished in the great towns even since my arrival in America, has suffered no abatement in the other parts of the continent ; and numbers of honest souls are everywhere found who declare that a general tax, imposed for the sole purpose of raising for him a considerable property, would be paid with the greatest cheerfulness throughout the whole extent of America.

THIRD VISIT TO BOSTON.

This time I found Boston in a state of considerable agitation. The cause is something of a much more serious nature than the resignation of the president : it is the intelligence of the resolution announced by France of causing her ships of war and privateers to seize every neutral vessel laden with goods of British manufacture. Already, I believe, in
this

this journal, I have mentioned such an event as likely to take place—as being a just and perhaps over-tardy retaliation for the capture of American ships laden with provisions for France—as a measure which, considered in a commercial view, inflicts a deeper wound on Britain than on America, since two thirds of the cargoes exported from or imported into America are the property of English houses—and which, in short, even if it were to prove severe in its operation on the American commerce, finds its apology in the late treaty concluded between England and America, in the active part which the American merchants took in that treaty, and in the facility with which they delivered up to the English without resistance or reclamation the vessels laden for France. I do not think I am blinded by my affection for my country when I thus justify the step lately taken by her governors, and pronounce this severe measure to be within the bounds of that justice which is consistent with the dreadful right of war.

I am convinced that every honest man, who is unbiassed by private interest and absolute master of his own opinion, will think as I do on the subject: but he could not, any more than I, flatter himself with the hope of bringing over the commercial houses of America to his sentiments: “a losing gamester cannot smile,” says the old proverb; and it is beyond all doubt that this decisive act of the French government, the object of which is to ruin the manufactures and trade of England, will be deeply felt by the commercial fortunes of this continent. Accordingly the merchants of Boston, or at least a part of them, exclaim against it as fraught with injustice, horror, treachery, and openly express their wishes that America should declare war against France. These puerile wishes shew what loss they fear, and how far their sensibility of it influences their judgement.

That intelligence was the sole topic of conversation in Boston at the time of my arrival: nevertheless it found apologists among the inhabitants, even among those engaged in trade. Since the more recent news that a French fleet is on its way to Halifax, people talk less loudly against that declaration: for fear, as well as interest, has its in-

fluence. If France, while she does some little injury to the commerce of America, shows that she has it in her power to do still greater, she will find so many friends in all that class of the Americans who now declare against her. Such is the mode that has been pursued by England; and, however painful it may be to make the remark, it is a good and effectual mode.

With respect to myself, it is with pleasure I consider the measure adopted by France as a mean of compelling England to a speedy peace—an event which will prove a blessing to the British nation, and a still greater blessing to the inhabitants of France: for peace will more than any thing else contribute to give stability to their liberty and constitution, whereas they are both exposed to constant danger by the war. Let us then hope that a durable peace will restore to Europe that tranquillity and security of which she so greatly stands in need, and that France, capable of supporting the trying burden of prosperity, will show herself as great and generous at the moment of sheathing the sword as she has been terrible while she wielded it: let us hope that such a peace will soon confer on the French people all that plenitude of happiness which they cannot fail to enjoy under a government who shall have leisure to devote their thoughts to a good system of administration.

After a third residence of a week at Boston, I finally quitted it to proceed toward Philadelphia. It was not without regret that I parted from several persons who had continued to show me the same multiplied marks of friendly interest and obliging attention which they had lavished on me in the preceding year. At the head of the list I will place Doctor Eustis, a man as really good as he is agreeable, prudent, enlightened in his opinions, liberal in his sentiments and conduct, essentially amiable and estimable, and endowed with an independence of character which secures all those qualities on a firm basis. I have conceived for him a sincere friendship, which separation or distance will never prevent me from cultivating.

MARL-

MARLBOROUGH, AND THE WILLIAMS FAMILY.

The first night of my journey, October 13, I spent at Marlborough in the house of the same Williamses where I had been sick last year, and had experienced such remarkable attentions from the family. I would not on any account have passed their door without stopping. They received me with cordial demonstrations of pleasure. People delight in seeing those to whom they have rendered service; and I felt a sincere satisfaction in again beholding those to whom I felt so many obligations. Honest Williams's crops have been good this season in every department of his husbandry. His farm, which I perambulated in company with him, is in excellent condition: he plentifully dungs his land; and in consequence his meadows yield him from six to eight thousand weight of hay per acre. He reaps from fifty to sixty bushels of Indian corn per acre; and, the Indian corn bearing a price of seven or eight shillings the bushel, each acre thus produces him about seventy dollars. The wages of his workmen are increased: last year they were ten dollars per month; this year they are twelve; and, at the time of the hay-making, he was obliged in some instances to pay so high as twenty dollars. The lands of his farm would not, in their present state, be sold for less than three hundred dollars per acre: he lets some near his own habitation at a rent proportioned to the value of a hundred and fifty.

This country of Massachusetts, however mountainous, is in a general state of good cultivation: but although in some townships large quantities of wheat are produced, the principal objects of culture are Indian corn, potatoes, and meadow.

The political opinions of old Williams have undergone no change: he still continues a zealous admirer of the president, still hates the English. Speaking to me of the president's resignatory address, "Does it not," said he, "contain great truths? But what does he mean by that *fondness* and that *antipathy* which he does not wish the Ameri-

cans

cans to entertain? It is said that he alludes to the French and English: I should not be over pleased with that: but the old man knows more of the matter than we; and no doubt he has good reasons for what he says."

BROOKFIELD.

From Marlborough to Brookfield where ended my second day's journey, the face of the country continues the same, and the same cultivation prevails. In the environs of Brookfield are raised wheat, barley, rye, a little Indian corn, and a great quantity of potatoes. Grounds kept in good order yield two hundred bushels of the latter per acre, which being sold at two shillings the bushel, each acre yields of course a product of sixty-six dollars. However abundant the crops of potatoes may prove, a ready sale is found for them at that price. In the vicinity of this place are reared great numbers of cattle, which are quickly taken off as soon as they are fit for the market. Exclusive of the consumption in the town, which is not inconsiderable, large quantities of beef are here salted for exportation. Some horses are also reared. The lands are dunged, but not near so well as in the neighbourhood of Boston. The meadows in good condition produce nevertheless six thousand weight of hay per acre. Indian corn bears no higher price here than nine pence the bushel. The lands in the central and most populous part of the township sell for two hundred and thirty dollars the acre; somewhat farther back, and in large parcels, for no more than thirty-four: a few acres of picked land would be rated at seventy. A pair of oxen fit for the yoke cost from seventy to a hundred dollars; good milch-cows from twenty-five to thirty. In these prices some augmentation has taken place since last year.

In the election of the future president, the votes of this district, as of by far the greater part of New-England, will be in favour of John Adams: but it appears, though to my very great astonishment, that the nomination to that high office occupies only a very moderate share of the public attention.

PALMER.

PALMER.

From Brookfield to Palmer the country is more hilly, and the tops of the hills are less cultivated: cultivation however extends to a certain height up their sides, as well as over the valleys. The meadows are covered with numerous herds of cattle, and of a good breed. Here the traveller has to pass through more woods than he had yet met with since his departure from Boston.—Philadelphia flour, which had fallen two months since to ten dollars, has risen in the country parts to thirteen and fourteen. That of domestic growth costs only nine dollars: but, notwithstanding this difference, the Philadelphia flour is preferred whenever it can be procured.

SPRINGFIELD.—THE ARSENAL, &c.

As far as Springfield the country exhibits still less appearance of cultivation; and at six or seven miles from that town it is no better than a parched tract of sand where grow some diminutive pines. The soil is also very sandy at Springfield: but the proximity of Connecticut-River, and more careful culture, render it more productive. Rye, Indian corn, potatoes, and meadow, are the most frequent objects of cultivation. Some farmers sow wheat, particularly on the new grounds: but of ten wheat crops hardly one is even tolerable, as the land is extremely ill manured in this district. In the town, land may be purchased for sixty-six dollars the acre: in the centre, however, and near the river, there are acres which would cost two hundred; but they are few: farther back, the value is from eight to sixteen.

The prices of the country produce and of labour are nearly the same here as at Palmer and Brookfield, or perhaps somewhat lower. It is easy to find workmen at four or five shillings per day, without food, and for nine dollars per month.

Springfield is a neat and tolerably well-built village containing a population

population of eighteen hundred inhabitants. Here is established one of the arsenals of the United States, where muskets are fabricated, cannons and howitzers cast, gun-carriages constructed, &c. but in small number. The magazines do not contain above ten thousand muskets, of which seven thousand are French, and of the old make of 1763. That model, which has long since been reformed in France, is the one which is followed in America; and the imitation is yet imperfect. It cannot however be said that those muskets are bad: their chief defect is that of being too heavy at the extremity.

Thirty pieces of cannon, of which twenty are French, are also contained in these magazines. Those of American foundry seemed to me to be well made: the carriages are so likewise: but their number and their species do not correspond with the cannons and howitzers. In every particular, there appears to me a want of intelligence in the general direction of the ordnance in America. Besides, the quantities of arms provided do not amount to one twentieth part of what would be requisite to put the country into a reasonable state of defence.—The magazines are in good order, and very well kept: the muskets are furnished by a contractor, from whom the directors receive them; and he receives from the United States eleven dollars for each musket. Another contractor supplies the cannon: but, as he was absent on business, I could not learn any particulars respecting the price of these. It would be useless for me to enter into any further details concerning this arsenal, which, though one of the principal in the United States, adds nothing to their strength.

A Frenchman, Monsieur Pourchereffe Bourguignon, formerly an officer in the royal Swedish regiment in the French service, is an assistant to the director. He seems to be as good a man as he is unfortunate. He has a wife and children, and possesses no other means of supporting himself and them than the salary of his office, which is only three hundred and sixty dollars per annum. But he has the good sense to be satisfied with the Americans, to live on friendly terms with them, to enjoy their esteem and affection, and to shew himself

self grateful toward those who have rendered him service. His wife, yet in the years of youth, is interesting by her figure, her misfortunes, and her fortitude. They both have merited and gained the general esteem and interest of all the inhabitants of Springfield.

There are besides at Springfield a good distillery, a paper-mill, and a tannery: there was also a tolerably extensive manufactory of sail-cloth: but it has fallen to decay in consequence of the excessive price of labour in that branch, together with the difficulty of procuring workmen or inducing them to stay.—Let me further observe that Springfield, whose first settlement dates from the year 1636, has during the last twenty years received no accession of new inhabitants.

Mr. Lyman, a member of Congress, for whom I had a letter from my friend Colonel Burr whom I had casually met at Boston, appeared to me temperate in his opinions, moderate and gentle in his disposition. He is, like the majority of the state which he represents, a federalist in his politics, but more tolerant than many others for those who think differently from him, and whom he nevertheless continues to esteem and love. The general temper of the people here, as in the other parts of the country which I have traversed, is that of respect for the president, attachment to the constitution, aversion to war, and an ardently favourable disposition toward the French.

Exclusive of the smaller manufactories which I have mentioned as existing in Springfield township, there is also a manufactory of cast iron, belonging to an association of several partners, of whom one of the principal is a Colonel Smith, who keeps a shop in the town. The ore which is employed in it is dug up from a swamp at the distance of a mile from the foundery, which is itself four miles distant from Springfield. This manufactory produces coarse heavy works, principally pots for maple-sugar, with which all the inhabitants of the back country provide themselves: it likewise furnishes common pots, andirons, &c. For some time after its first establishment it did a considerable deal of work: but it has experienced a material diminution from the operation of the same causes which impede the success of

every kind of manufacture in America ; and it now hardly does more than supply the demand of the township.

CANAL OF HADLEY.

At the distance of eight miles from Springfield, at a place called Hadley, are the falls of Connecticut-River. To avoid them, a little canal of two miles has been dug, which thus extends the navigation sixty or eighty miles farther. This canal is raised above twenty feet higher than the bed of the river : the boats are raised to and lowered from it without the aid of water, by means of an inclined plane. They are placed in a kind of cradle so framed as to fit their shape, and then drawn up from the river to the canal, or let down from the canal to the river, by the working of a capstern, that is turned by a wheel which the stream of the river puts in motion. The boats are not unloaded for this operation. I had seen in France the plan of a similar project, of which Monsieur Brulé claimed the invention. Time alone can ascertain whether, as was apprehended in France, the durability of the boats will be impaired by this process : I am inclined to fear that it will.

WEST-SPRINGFIELD AND WESTFIELD.

On quitting Springfield you pass Connecticut-River in a tolerably good boat, whose edges, however, you would wish to see somewhat higher : for, in their present low state, they would not be safe with unquiet horses. Beyond the river, you enter the township of West-Springfield, one of the richest and most populous in the state of Massachusetts. On this side of the river the lands are considerably better than on the Springfield side ; and many of the inhabitants of the latter place are proprietors of them : they are principally laid out in meadows, where cattle of every kind are reared in great numbers. The township of Westfield, which is contiguous to it, is less happy in richness

ness of soil, and still far inferior in population : accordingly many tracts of land, which would be capable of producing good crops, remain uncultivated. Westfield, situate on a river bearing the same name, is a neat well-built little village, standing in the middle of a plain. The soil is a rich sandy earth, and the principal mode of cultivation here, as elsewhere in the adjoining tracts, is meadow. The new grounds are sown with wheat, as is the practice with all the new-cleared lands which are not of the first quality. The labourer is paid from eight to nine dollars per month : wheat is sold at nine shillings the bushel, Indian corn at five, oats at two ; and a pair of good oxen cost seventy dollars. The price of new lands is from three to ten dollars per acre, according to their quality and situation ; and, in farm-lots, twenty or thirty dollars.

STOCKBRIDGE.

In proceeding from Westfield to Stockbridge, the traveller successively passes through the townships of Brentford, London, Bethlehem, Ruffel, and Kyrningham, occupying the whole breadth of the Green Mountains, of which the ridge is above twenty miles broad, and, as I think I have elsewhere observed, begins at Newhaven, whence, traversing the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, it reaches to the River Saint-Laurence in Canada. The land in these townships is indifferent, and very thinly peopled : in travelling through them, one fancies himself in the district of Maine, or in the back part of the Genessee country : one sees patches of new-cleared ground in all the different stages of progressive improvement : but such sights are very far from numerous. The price of land here is from ten to fifteen shillings.

One might be astonished, that, situate as this country is so near to the great marts for produce, the emigrations from Connecticut, and even from the over-populous parts of Massachusetts, do not take their course in this direction rather than toward Vermont or the Genessee

country. But, in emigrating, the American gives a preference, above every thing else, to the land which he thinks the best, and is not withheld by any consideration of proximity to his family or connexions, or by the greatness of the distance which he will have to traverse in quest of it: and the uncleared lands of Massachusetts are far from equal to those of the Genessee, the Ohio, Tennessee, &c.

I shall in future say nothing of my conversations with the people with whom I fall into company. They are all in the same strain; and I am convinced that the idea I have already given of them in this journal is precisely accurate.

Stockbridge is one of the richest townships in the state of Massachusetts. All its land is cultivated, except a very small portion, which will soon in its turn receive culture like the rest. No timber is here preserved beyond what is requisite for fuel. This township is for the most part situate in a valley, but extends also upon some hills of no great elevation. The soil is excellent, and almost all laid down in meadow. The cattle, butter, cheese, and such other productions as are not consumed on the spot, are generally sent to New-York. Sometimes the certainty of obtaining a higher price at Boston induces the farmer to give a preference to the latter place, with which however the communication is difficult, because of the distance, and of the mountainous country that is to be traversed. In such cases, all the other articles, except the cattle, are sent down to New-York by the North-River which passes within twenty miles of Stockbridge, and transported from New-York to Boston by sea.

There are likewise some forges and cast-iron-works in this township: but the high rate of workmen's wages, and the scantiness of the mine which begins to be exhausted, have for some years past caused a considerable diminution of their labours. The easy circumstances enjoyed by the inhabitants render workmen scarce, and high in their demands. The wages at present paid to them are from thirteen to fifteen dollars per month. The price of wheat is two dollars the bushel, of Indian corn, one dollar; of oats, two shillings. A pair of oxen cost
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From ninety to a hundred and ten dollars. Land bears the price of from fifteen to twenty dollars the acre, in farm-lots.

I have here seen Mr. Sedgwick, with whom I was acquainted at Philadelphia, and by whom I have been very hospitably entertained. In all the private relations of society he is an excellent man: but in his politics he is somewhat warm, and not a little intolerant. He had long been a member of the house of representatives in Congress, where he was a frequent speaker: he has lately been appointed a senator. Mr. Sedgwick exerts all his influence to carry the election of a member to fill the seat which he has vacated, in favour of Mr. Williams, his pupil and friend, who seems even a hotter zealot than himself in English politics. Mr. Williams has for competitor general Skinner, a man of the age of sixty years, who has all his life been honourably employed in public offices, and who, when he had it in his power to rival Mr. Sedgwick in his election some years since, voluntarily withdrew his name on a promise from the latter of procuring for him the votes of his friends to fill the first vacancy. But Mr. Skinner was once heard to say in a public house last year, that he did not approve of the treaty with England: and, such is the toleration of the opposite party, that no one can in their opinion be an honest man without approving of that treaty. Mr. Sedgwick in consequence opposes him, and gives to Mr. Williams all his influence, which is pretty considerable in these parts. Such is the account which I have received of this affair from several persons. The Stockbridge gazette is full of those scandalous quarrels, and may very well, in that particular, vie with those of Georgia. In it General Skinner is branded as an antifederalist, and as "no good man," because he dislikes the treaty; and he is accused of entertaining a predilection for France and an aversion to England. Mr. Williams is abused on the opposite ground.

At the distance of thirty miles from Stockbridge, and in William township, is a college which confers the different degrees inferior to that of doctor. It is said to be a tolerably good seminary.

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In a walk which I took with Mr. Sedgwick to Great-Barrington, I saw a continued tract of beautiful country, fine land, well cultivated, all in meadow, and a most excellent soil. As far as New-York the land is said to be of the same quality.

CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Before I quit Massachusetts, I must add some short remarks to what I have already had occasion to say respecting the character of its inhabitants. They are perhaps a more unmixed people than any other in the United States, except those of Connecticut, who are equally so, and for the same reasons. Such of them as are not of English birth are natives of America, who have settled in Massachusetts after a previous establishment in some of the other states. The number of Europeans is therefore small in these two states; and their inhabitants display in consequence more striking marks of a common character and a national spirit, than those of the other parts of the Union, whom they likewise unquestionably surpass in industry, activity, and enterprise. Their universal and predominating passion is the desire of gain: it is openly avowed; and those people, under an appearance of frank bluntness, conceal no small portion of shrewdness and cunning. Hence it is a common saying in the other states that "the Yankeys are honest according to the letter of the law." I know not how far it may be consistent with justice to confine within those bounds the praise due to their probity; for I have had no business to transact in this country: but, from every thing which I have seen, I presume that it is equally safe to deal with them as with any other people in the United States, or, I believe, in the whole world.

The spirit of liberty is here rigid, and carried even to distrust. Although the majority of the representatives of this state in Congress be of that sect in politics who are considered as attached to Britain, I believe there do not exist in the United States a body of people who, taken in the aggregate, preserve a deeper and more painful recollection
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of the evils inflicted on America by England, or who more strongly dread an intimate union with the latter. Their manners are extremely simple; and knowledge, at least in its first degrees, is very extensively diffused. Not a house is to be found in the most remote corners of the country, where a newspaper is not read; and there are few townships which do not possess little libraries formed and supported by subscription. The considerable fortunes acquired by the commerce which is carried on in the numerous ports of the state prevent the general manners of the people from being so strictly republican here as in Connecticut: but, for the same reason, less jealousy prevails, less intolerance, less puritanism.

The spirit of equality is carried as far as is consistent with order in a great society. The man who is possessed of the greatest wealth, and the most happily circumstanced in every respect, shakes hands with the workman whom he meets on his way, converses with him, not under the idea of doing him an honour, as is often the notion elsewhere—but from a consciousness, in the first instance, that he may at some future time stand in need of his assistance—afterward, without any such interested consideration, but merely through habit, and the force of education, and because he sees in him his fellow-man, only placed in a different situation, to whom he is the less tempted to think himself superior, as it often happens that the now rich man has himself once been in a less enviable situation. This natural homage paid to the character of man possesses a certain charm which is truly pleasing to an independent soul, especially when experience proves that the different functions of society are not the less scrupulously respected in consequence of it, and that no individual is thereby subject to any greater restriction in the exercise of his own liberty.

A diminution of the influence of the priesthood is an object much to be desired in Massachusetts: for, though it be less here than in Connecticut, it is still too great. The priests form a body in the state: they are exclusively placed at the head of the colleges, and do not suffer any persons to be admitted as teachers except those of their

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own cloth, their own sect, and their own opinions in every particular. This influence will no doubt at length cease, and perhaps in consequence of the contrary excess. It is not impossible that an indifference to religious matters may become general through this country, where its germ is already developed; and I am not of the number of those who think such an event advantageous to a nation.

KINDERHOOK-LANDING.

At the distance of nine miles from Stockbridge, the traveller enters the state of New-York; and, after having traversed two or three townships, he arrives at Kinderhook. In the country which he now traverses, each township presents the same kind of soil, of culture, consequently of produce and of business, as the preceding. Above one half of the population of Kinderhook are Low Dutch or descendants of Low Dutch. These people are not hasty to change old habits for new; accordingly they till and cultivate the land in the same manner now as they did a hundred years since.

It appears manifestly evident that the farmers of New-England have a considerable advantage over them in point of produce: yet the conviction of evidence is not sufficient to make them deviate from their old track. They sow large quantities of grain, especially of Indian corn, exhaust their lands, and have small crops. Few of them keep extensive meadows, as is the general practice of the farmers come from New-England—a mode of cultivation, besides, to which the soil seems best adapted, and which is the most certain and most solidly advantageous to the judicious farmer who pursues it. Land in the township of Kinderhook is worth twenty dollars the acre in fine farms. Workmen are scarce, and are paid from twelve to fifteen dollars per month.

Five miles farther, we arrive at Kinderhook-landing, the place to which the productions of all the lands on this side the Green Mountains are conveyed for embarkation on the North River, such as salt meat,

meat, wheat, Indian corn, cider, cheese, butter, potatoes, pot-ash, flax-seed, &c. All this produce is brought down in light waggons which travel rapidly, and is embarked in sloops which here take in their entire lading, or supply what is wanted to the cargoes which they were unable to complete at Albany. The different articles are generally purchased in the country where they were raised, by merchants of New-York or even of the vicinity: but it sometimes also happens that the farmers themselves, expecting to find a more advantageous market at Kinderhook, convey their commodities hither, and either sell them here or send them on their own account to New-York, paying the freight.

The village of Kinderhook-landing is a petty assemblage of small and mean-looking houses. Six or seven sloops belong to this place. Salt beef is here inspected, and certified to be fit for exportation: that of prime quality costs six dollars the hundred weight. Flax-seed is sold for eighteen shillings the bushel, but requires to be again cleaned and freed from its dust before it be deemed fit for exportation. The wheat of the country, which is of beautiful quality, does not at present bear a greater price than thirteen shillings the bushel, in consequence of which, fine flour sells no higher than eight dollars and one shilling per barrel. A fortnight since, the price was a quarter more: but the causes of so material a difference are here unknown.

HUDSON.

The country between Kinderhook and Hudson is beautiful: it is somewhat hilly; but those inequalities in the ground are only small eminences, all well cultivated. Here, as in every other part of the country, the majority of the inhabitants are Dutch, descended from the first colonists who settled in these parts in 1636: the remainder are emigrants from New-England.

The town of Hudson was begun in 1784, and now contains above four hundred houses, all neat and well-built. Its population amounts

to nearly three thousand souls, of whom about two hundred are slaves. Few towns in the state of New-York have experienced so rapid an increase: but during the last two years that increase seems to have been stopped in its progress. The town rises about a hundred feet above the river: its streets intersect each other at right angles, according to the plan adopted in the new towns. Of all those which are built on the North River, this is the only one which carries on a direct foreign trade. Vessels of every size can come to its wharfs, while the obstructions in the course of the river at the distance of twenty miles higher prevent vessels of more than eighty tons from going up to Albany. The trade of Hudson consists in the produce of the soil, the productions of tanneries, of forges, of a very fine rum-distillery—in train-oil (four vessels, belonging to the merchants of this place, being employed in the whale-fishery)—and, finally, in the re-exportation of West-Indian commodities.

Sixteen or eighteen vessels of different sizes are employed in foreign commerce; and five or six sloops are constantly engaged in the domestic trade between Hudson and New-York, and convey to the latter the country produce which is not directly exported from Hudson to foreign countries. The town is inhabited by families from New-England, of whom a considerable number are from Rhode-Island. I had letters for Mr. Jenkins here, a quaker from Nantucket, and one of the founders of the town, of which the soil was purchased by a company of thirty persons. He alone possesses five shares in that company, of which few of the other partners have above two, and several only the half or quarter of a share.

The politics of this place, and particularly of the quakers, are universally anti-british.

The present price of ship-building at Hudson is twenty dollars per ton, including the timber and workmanship; ready for sea, fifty dollars per ton. The timber comes from the upper part of the river, and is excellent white oak. The purchase of town-lots, which are fifty feet in front and a hundred and twenty in depth, is from three hundred

hundred and forty to thirteen hundred and thirty dollars, according to their situation. The adjoining lands, in farm-lots above half-cleared, may be bought for ten dollars the acre, and are good soil. Workmen are scarce, and must be paid fourteen dollars per month. The price of wheat is here regulated by that which it bears at Albany and New-York: at present it is thirteen shillings in the former of those towns, and fourteen in the latter.

Hudson is a port of entry, and has a collector of customs since 1795. But, to guard against fraud, vessels coming from foreign parts are obliged to stop and make their manifest at New-York, where the collector sends an officer on board if he think proper. Thus the manifests are principally made at the New-York custom-house. The value of the exports from Hudson, as registered at the custom-house of that place, was, in 1795, only three thousand five hundred dollars.

A bank is established at Hudson, under the name of Columbia. Its capital, which, by the law for its incorporation, is restricted to a hundred and sixty thousand dollars, consists of four hundred shares, of four hundred dollars each.

**SPERANZA.—FREEHOLD.—MAJOR PREVOST.—MONSIEUR
ROUERE.**

On the opposite side of the North-River stands the new town of Lambsburg, to which its founders have also given the modest name of Speranza (Hope). This town, which for a number of years had contained but a single and pitiful house, cannot really date its origin beyond last year. At present there are fifty houses erected in it: shops are opened; merchants are established. A brig is already built, and employed in trade between Speranza and New-York. This infant town will, beyond all doubt, experience a considerable increase: it enjoys, in common with all the other towns built on the western bank of that beautiful river, the advantage of an extensive back

country, which, in proportion as it becomes cultivated, will furnish immense quantities of produce, that cannot find any more convenient or certain vent than the North-River. But those countries are yet for the greater part desert wildernesses, where the houses are few and dispersed. This is a common obstacle which operates against all the towns, and for the present prevents any extraordinary prosperity of their commerce. But, in addition to it, Speranza will moreover have to conquer the habit in which the farmers have been of carrying their produce to the neighbouring towns that have been longer established. The owners of the town-lands are now engaged in the formation of a road, which, joining at the distance of twenty miles the road that leads from Genesee, will render the communication with Speranza more easy than that with the other towns, and must, when finished, cause a preference to be given to the former: the work is in great forwardness. The proprietors are the messieurs Livingstons of New-York. The town-lots, each containing a quarter of an acre, already bear the price of two hundred dollars.

Colonel Burr had given me a letter to Major Prevost, who lives in the township of Freehold, sixteen miles distant from Hudson. Above one half of the journey is performed on the new road, which is the finest part of it: the remainder of the way is over mountains, rocks, swamps; in short, it is such as the generality of the roads are in the new countries of America. In this tract the number of settlements is very scanty; and these are of the meanest appearance, and absolutely in their infancy. Few houses have above twenty acres of ground cleared around them; and many have much less. They are all log-houses: the majority of the new settlers (and they are the better class) have immigrated from Connecticut.

Major Prevost has a neat little house built on a tract of nine thousand acres, which belongs to him. He is son of that General Prevost, employed in the British service, who distinguished himself by the defence of Savannah, and disgraced his character by the burning of many American towns. Previous to the revolution, he had received from
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the king of England a grant, to himself and his son, of about forty thousand acres of land in different provinces of America. That son has during thirty-six years been a constant resident in the United States. Before the commencement of the war, he had married a young lady of Philadelphia; and he lived a considerable time in Pennsylvania, on a farm which he turned to good account. But a part of his property became involved in consequence of debts contracted by his father-in-law and himself: he had a numerous family to provide for, and was unable to recover a considerable portion of the lands to which he was entitled: he therefore adopted the resolution of retiring to that part to which his claim was the least contested, there to live with economy, and patiently await the moment when, recovering his other possessions, he should be certain of leaving a decent fortune to his children. He has lost his first wife, and married a second at Katskill, by whom he already has three children. He has six others by the former marriage, of whom two have long been and still continue in the British service.

His presence has considerably enhanced the value of his lands, of which he has sold all that he did not choose to retain in his own possession. The price is from three to six dollars the acre, according to their situation. The soil is in general good. He has erected a corn-mill, a saw-mill, and one for grinding tanner's bark. These he keeps in his own hands; and he seems to conduct his affairs with a considerable portion of intelligence. Major Prevost, a native of Switzerland, has all the frankness of an honest Switzer and of a genuine honest Englishman. He appears to be an excellent father; of which his present mode of life is a proof. He is beloved by his neighbours, seems just and impartial in his opinions, speaks well of the American government, and is a good-natured and agreeable man. He has displayed a noble instance of generosity and sensibility in the notice he has taken of a distressed Frenchman, a monsieur Rouère, whom he discovered at Hudson in extreme poverty. This Frenchman,

man, formerly a *maréchal-des-logis* in the king's body-guard, and now sixty years of age, has acted like a man of honour and delicacy, and, far from trespassing on the generous disposition of Mr. Prevost, declines his kindnesses as far as he can. Three hundred dollars received from his family, together with a sum raised by the sale of some watches and articles of jewellery which he had brought with him, have enabled him to purchase a small farm of thirty acres, of which only fifteen are cleared. Here he labours from morn to night like a young man, contents himself with the sustenance of milk and potatoes, forgets his misfortunes, and renders himself worthy of the esteem of all those who set any value on delicacy of sentiment.

The late treaty with England has inspired Mr. Prevost with the hope of regaining possession of all the lands to which his title is disputed by the states in which they lie, or by different individuals who have usurped them under various pretexts, and hold them without any real right. But this will require a succession of steady exertions continued during several years: it will be necessary to attend the various tribunals before which those claims will be brought under discussion, and to urge the speed of lawyers who are heavily laden with business. Many of his opponents who have taken possession of his lands, are influential men: he is the son of a British general, and has himself borne arms in America in opposition to the revolution: he has two sons in the service of England: all these facts, I grant, do not in the least impair the justice of Mr. Prevost's claims, which to me appear incontrovertible; but justice is what people often find it most difficult to obtain from the ministers of justice, especially in this country when the question relates to lands; and Major Prevost must unavoidably have to encounter numerous prejudices and prepossessions operating to his disadvantage.

During my stay at Freehold there was no mention of politics. I could easily guess the political sentiments of the major and his family: but, if I had entertained any doubt on the subject, it would have been

been completely removed by observing the avidity with which they read Peter Porcupine*.

On the whole, it is impossible to experience any where greater civilities than I received from Major Prevost and his family, accompanied by great simplicity, and by that pleasing manner which renders such behaviour still more agreeable. My stay with them was prolonged by a slight indisposition, which afforded me a new proof of the interest that Monsieur Guillemard feels for me. At this time he was at Albany, where being informed of my illness, he hastened to me with a friendly kindness which in him is invariable; for he shews greater constancy in his affections than in his projects. This little sickness was only a tertian fever, of which I have experienced several attacks during the course of my travels, and from which, on this as on former occasions, I was relieved by strong doses of Jesuits' bark.

KATSKILL.

The road from Freehold to Katiskill is all bordered with habitations more or less recent, but all of very late date. Land however is sold at pretty high prices in this tract. At Singlekill, where we dined on the 31st of October, on our way from Freehold to Katiskill, the price of uncleared ground is from six to seven dollars the acre; farms, having one fourth cleared, are sold at ten or twelve.

Intermittent fevers are very common in these parts in the autumnal season; and it is even asserted that during the last three years they have been more than usually frequent. They had been very prevalent at the commencement of the settlement, and had become less so for some years back. As the inhabitants can assign no reason for this return of

* A Philadelphia paper conducted by an Englishman, which first made its appearance during the last year, and in which, amid a torrent of outrages and calumnies promiscuously poured out, with some wit but much vulgarity, against every individual who is not enrolled under the English banner, it is laid down as an axiom of political doctrine that America cannot do better than to place herself in a state of dependence on the cabinet of Saint James's.

insalubrity,

insalubrity, they attribute it to "something in the air." But what happens here is very usual in new countries, which, until they be entirely or in great measure cleared, become more unhealthy, probably in consequence of the exhalations from the putrid substances with which the earth is covered, and from the stagnant waters, to which the action of the sun is admitted by the partial clearance of the soil.

Monsieur Guillemard and I—for we now travel together—had a letter from Major Prevost to Mr. Bogardus, his father-in-law. The latter is also an old American royalist, an enthusiastic admirer of Peter Porcupine, and impressed with a belief that America would be much more rich and prosperous and happy if she still enjoyed the honour of belonging to his majesty George the Third. But, considered in every other light, he is a generous and excellent man, extremely hospitable, and one with whose behaviour we have the greatest reason to be satisfied. He inhabits a small house on the opposite bank of the creek to that on which stands the little town of Katskill. To this house is attached a farm of three hundred acres. He purchased the whole for three thousand dollars six years since, and could now sell the property for ten thousand. It is true he has made considerable improvements on the spot: at the time of his purchase there were only eight houses in the town, whereas at present it contains about a hundred, of which some have a good appearance.

Seven vessels, mostly sloops, belong to this little town, and are constantly passing and repassing between Katskill and New-York. A single brig, of a hundred and fifty tons' burden, is employed during the winter in the West-India trade, and even goes to Europe: it is owned by Mr. Jenkins, of Hudson.

Katskill, like all the other towns similarly situated, receives the produce of the back country: but a natural gap in the Blue Mountains, which obliquely separate the countries watered by the Susquehannah at the commencement of its course from those watered by the North-River between Albany and Katskill, renders the communication with this latter place more easy.

We

We have been informed that pot and pearl ash, which are a considerable article in the trade of new countries under clearance, are brought to Katskill from the distance of above a hundred and fifty miles. The pot-ash is sold at present for a hundred and seventy-five dollars the ton. The usual price is a hundred. To produce a ton of pot-ash, are required from five to seven hundred bushels of ashes, according to their quality: and, in all the parts which I have lately traversed, the ashes are sold at one shilling the bushel. The pot-ash is inspected before it be admitted to exportation: yet, whether through want of skill or want of strictness in the inspector, it is often found to contain lime. It is distinguished into first and second quality. Salt beef is distinguished into prime, second, and ordinary; pork, into prime and ordinary.

Katskill is built on a little hill which separates Katskill creek from the North-River, into which the former discharges its stream at the extremity of the hill. The majority of the houses are situate on the side next the creek, where the embarkations take place; some however are on side next the great river. The property of the ground on which the town stands is disputed by three claimants; but the possession is held by one of the parties, Clark and company, by virtue of an old patent that he has purchased, and on which the others ground their claim. Meantime the inhabitants hold their lot under Clark, whom they consider as the lawful proprietor. But this existing dispute, which the others are in no haste to bring to a decision, prevents many persons from coming forward as purchasers. The lots, however, produce a good price, whenever they are exposed to sale: they contain each half a rood, and are sold so high as three hundred and seventy-five dollars. The mouth of the creek is not more than a quarter of a mile distant from the town.

Katskill stands at the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from New-York; and the waters, which during the prevalence of the strong southerly winds become absolutely salt, are at all times of the year brackish. The tide goes up as far as Hudson.

Workmen at Katskill are paid thirteen dollars per month, and are

not easily procured. Here is a regular market, where beef is sold at eight pence the pound.

Along the North-River is carried on a great trade in planks: but here, as in Massachusetts and the district of Maine, the planks do not contain twice the thickness of the boards: their dimensions vary in different places: they are an inch and half thick at Albany, an inch and quarter at Katskill. It is on these dimensions that all bargains are made which do not particularly specify otherwise. The boards are an inch thick, and, of such dimension, are sold at ten dollars per thousand feet; planks, sixteen dollars and two shillings; shingles, seven dollars and half per thousand; barrel-staves, seventeen dollars and half. The staves are of oak; all the rest, of yellow fir. Hemlock-bark, of which large quantities are also purchased for the tanneries of the country and those of New-York, is sold at four dollars the cord. At Katskill are built the sloops employed in the trade between that place and New-York. At present their price is from forty-three to forty-five dollars per ton, ready for sea: they are generally of from seventy to ninety tons' burden.

Horse-races are common in the state of New-York. There was one beyond the river on the day that we stopped at Katskill. Although it was but an indifferent race, and this part of the country is not inhabited by wealthy people, the bets made on the occasion exceeded the sum of four thousand dollars. The best races are said to be at Poughkeepsie, at the distance of fifty miles lower down: they take place on regularly stated days, and I have been assured that the wagers sometimes amount to eight thousand dollars. The horses that run there are used for no other purpose; and their price is from twelve to sixteen hundred dollars. We have also been informed that the strictest honour does not prevail at those races.

Katkill, so denominated by the Dutch who made the first settlement on the spot, was, by the Indians, called Katisketed, which in their language signified "a fortified place." No foundation for that name can be discovered in the appearance of the country: and it is more-

over

over well known that the Indians, especially at that time, erected no fortifications. The great quantity of human bones, hatchets, tomahawks, and arrows, found buried in the earth around Katskill, prove at least that this place formerly was the principal seat of some considerable tribe.

The cultivation of the soil in the vicinity of Katskill is indifferent; the lands do not, on an average of years, produce above twelve bushels of wheat per acre, though the soil is tolerably good. Those belonging to Mr. Bogardus, having greater attention bestowed on them, yield him from thirty to thirty-five.

There has occurred this year on a part of his estate a pretty remarkable phenomenon. All this tract of country is a succession of little hills, or rather small elevations, detached from each other, and only connected a little at the bases. One of those hills, the nearest to Katskill-creek, and elevated about a hundred feet above the level of the creek, suddenly suffered a sinking of more than one half of its declivity. It might have measured about a hundred and fifty feet from its summit to the extremity of its base, following the line of inclination. A breadth of about eighty fathoms fell in, beginning at about three or four fathoms from the top. The sunken part gave way all on a sudden, and fell so perpendicularly that a flock of sheep, feeding on the spot, went down with it without being overturned. The trunks of trees that remained on it in a half-rotten state were neither unrooted nor even inclined from their former direction, and now stand at the bottom of this chasm of above four acres in extent, in the same perpendicular position, and on the same soil. However, as there was not sufficient space for all this body of earth, which before had lain in a slope, to place itself horizontally between the two parts of the hill that have not quitted their station, some parts are cracked and as it were furrowed. But a more striking circumstance is, that the lower part of the hill, which has preserved its former shape, has been pushed and thrown forward by the sinking part making itself room—that its base has advanced five or six fathoms beyond a small rivulet which before flowed at the distance of above

ten fathoms from it—and that it has even entirely stopped the course of its stream. The greatest elevation of the chasm is about fifty or sixty feet: in its sides it has discovered a blue earth exhibiting all the characteristics of marl, and which, from the different experiments that Mr. Bogardus has made with it in several parts of his estate, seems to possess all its virtues. In some of the strata of this marl is found sulphat of lime in minute crystals.

It is not known what may have been the cause of this event, which the people here attribute to the operation of water, without well knowing why; for the inhabitants of Katskill are neither deep-read, nor versed in natural philosophy, nor addicted to observation. This sinking took place on the first of June of the present year, unattended by any noise, at least by any that was sufficiently loud to be heard either at Mr. Bogardus's house which is but three hundred fathoms distant from the spot, or in the town, which is separated from it only by the narrow stream of the creek.

Mr. Bogardus does not bestow on his neighbours so favourable a character as I have heard given to the inhabitants of the country in every other part of America: he describes them as mischievous and thievish; I know not whether upon good grounds, or whether he does not extend to the whole neighbourhood this general accusation of thievishness in consequence of a few apples and peaches that have been stolen from him—or whether his predilection for England may not have personally exposed him to some unpleasant treatment.

One fact however may be adduced in support of Mr. Bogardus's opinion. A bridge over a creek at two miles from Katskill has lately been burned; and the country people think the deed was perpetrated with a view of promoting the private interest of a particular inn.

KINGSTON.

A wish to avoid the inconvenience of twice more crossing the North-River induced us to prefer the western road, though less frequented than the other. Between Katkill and Kingston the road all along

along runs between that beautiful river to which the traveller often approaches, and the Katskill mountains, which are several miles distant. As far as Sagodus-creek, the country is thickly inhabited: in many places the farms are of considerable extent: the banks of the river are almost every-where laid out in meadows; the lands farther distant are appropriated to the production of grain of every kind. You frequently discover very beautiful prospects—extensive, agreeable, rich, on the side toward the river—serious, romantic, magnificent, toward the mountains, whose forms are grand and variegated. You pass Sagodus-creek in an indifferent boat, and enter a forest of white pines growing on a sandy plain, from which you do not emerge till within two miles of Kingston, that is to say, for the space of seven or eight miles.

Kingston—formerly called Esopus, a name still used by the country people—is the chief town of Ulster county, and built on a creek of that name (the same which at some distance assumes the appellation of Sagodus, and which we had passed in the morning) in a beautiful little plain bounded on the west by that same mass of mountains which here too are still called the Katskill mountains. The place of embarkation is two miles lower down, near the North-River, at the mouth of Redout-creek. This town was burned on the sixteenth of October 1777 by general Vaughan, who had no other motive for his conduct than the lust of devastation. At that time it contained a hundred and forty houses: nor did more than a single barn escape from the effects of his infernal barbarity. That expedition, which none of the inhabitants had expected, deprived them of every article contained in their houses; and they were unable to save any thing except their lives. In the course of the same autumn two or three houses were already rebuilt, and the remainder were restored in the following summer. As they were almost all stone houses, the former walls had remained standing, and facilitated this speedy renovation of the town. It now consists of about a hundred and fifty houses, and carries on the same kind of trade as the other towns situated, like it,

it, on the western bank of the North-River; but not being so conveniently circumstanced as Katskill for communication with the back country, its commerce is less extensive; though this will be considerably increased by the natural operation of time in spreading population through those tracts, which are now for the greater part uninhabited.

Six sloops belong to the town, which are employed in carrying to New-York the produce that it receives, some articles of which, as timber, beef, pork, corn, do not come from a greater distance than between thirty and thirty-five miles. Flax-seed is brought from the banks of the eastern branch of Delaware, that is to say from the distance of seventy miles. As far as the mountains, the lands which environ the town, and are called Flats, are of the best quality, and are sold for ninety dollars the acre; those which lie toward the centre of the Flats, from five to thirty-five dollars. The inhabitants of the town being for the most part of Dutch descent, the Low Dutch language is more familiar here than the English. There is no regular market in this town, though it contain a school, an academy, a court-house, a prison, and a Dutch-Lutheran church. When beef can be procured, it costs six pence the pound.

We had letters to Mr. Van Grosbeck, one of the principal shopkeepers in the town, and formerly a member of Congress. To those letters we were indebted for an invitation to tea, the smoking of some segars, a few glasses of wine, and a great portion of complaisance in answering our questions: but this part of the country furnishes few objects of inquiry. Mr. Van Grosbeck seems a good kind of man, and very temperate in his politics, which appear to interest him less than the concerns of his shop. An old physician, on the contrary, whom we met at his house, bestows more attention on politics than on medicine. He is a decided republican, whose suspicious distrust seems incapable of being allayed. He bears a name which is celebrated in the annals of liberty—that of De Witt—and says he is descended from the famous John De Witt.

Mr. Van Grosbeck, in principle a federalist, but very tolerant in his politics,

politics, is the intimate friend of Colonel Burr, whose portrait, executed by a lad of the town, he has hanging over his chimney-piece. Mr. Burr, having discovered in that youth a great disposition for painting, procured for him such lessons in the art as America was capable of affording, and has, at his own expense, lately sent him to France and Italy to study the great models and receive the best instructions. The life of Colonel Burr is marked with similar traits of beneficence and generosity.

From our windows we discover, though above seven miles distant, the light of a conflagration in the woods, which has already lasted eight days. Such accidents are very frequent in the clearing of lands by the aid of fire. The slightest inattention suffers the blaze to spread beyond the intended bounds: in which case it is impossible to extinguish it, especially at this time when the drought and the falling of the leaves furnish it with the means of rapidly extending its ravages. It also frequently happens that conflagrations are caused in the woods by the hunters, who, for the purpose of more certainly killing the deer, surround with fire the places where they suppose them to be. Some of these lines of fire are several miles in circumference: their breadth is inconsiderable; for, however narrow they may be, the deer never cross them. The hunters generally adopt the necessary precautions to prevent the flame from communicating: but sometimes those precautions are neglected: sometimes also, although they have been observed, a sudden wind spreads the fire, which often consumes the entire inclosure, and even great tracts beyond its bounds, involving in the conflagration all the settlements and houses it meets in its way, and thus reducing many families to ruin.

Lime-stone is very common in this part: the inhabitants have already begun to burn large parcels of it, and send it to the neighbouring islands. At Poughkeepsie is burned a great quantity, which is sold at New-York for a shilling the bushel. This circumstance, which is highly advantageous to the country, may possibly clash with General Knox's speculations on his lime from the district of Maine.—

The

The freight of corn from Kingston to New-York is six pence per bushel; to Albany, it is ten pence.

A considerable traffic in salt fish is carried on at Kingston. The small bay near the landing-place facilitates the fishery of shad, herrings, and salmon, which come up Hudson's-River in abundance in the spring season, and to the catching of which the inhabitants of this tract are more attentive than those of any other part on the banks of that river.

NEW-PATTZ.

We were informed at Kingston, that, in pursuing the road which runs at the greater distance from the river, we should have no creeks to pass, and should find good inns. We came, however, to Walkill-creek, which we were obliged to cross in a boat so full of water, that, notwithstanding our caution, we were compelled to sit on horse-back during the passage: and, instead of good inns, we found only a wretched tippling-house. The road approaches the same mass of mountains which we saw yesterday under the name of the Katskill mountains, but which here are called by that of Changung. The country in general consists of beautiful and fertile plains, but sometimes interspersed with sandy tracts, and woods of little value.

The Walkill is the same creek which at Kingston bears the appellation of Redout-kill. In the Low-Dutch language, *kill* signifies *creek*: and, as the Dutch were the first settlers of the state of New-York, and more particularly afterward of the western bank of the North-River, such towns, mountains, and creeks, as have not preserved their original Indian names, have for the most part received Dutch appellations. The country bordering on the Walkill is, to a considerable distance back, annually infested with autumnal intermittent fevers.

New-Pattz is almost universally inhabited by families of French extraction, whose ancestors, having quitted France on account of their religion, took refuge first in Holland, then passed over to America, and

and established themselves at Pattz, a very old settlement founded by a Dutch colony. About forty years since, those families quitted Pattz, and took up their residence a few miles farther, in a district to which they have given the appellation of New-Pattz. They now preserve no other characteristics of their Gallic origin than a traditional recollection of, and a fond attachment to, the land that gave birth to their progenitors. Their names, still remaining the same, are written and pronounced after the Dutch manner. These people do not understand a word of French, but speak bad Dutch and bad English: there is nothing in their manners by which an observer may be reminded of the country whence they have originated: they are dull torpid Hollanders, as savage as all the other inhabitants of the country whom we have met since our passage of the North-River. Their religion is the Dutch reformed. Each of these families, in some instances even the poorest, has one or two negroes or negresses; slavery being as strictly maintained in the state of New-York as in that of Virginia; with this difference, however, that, as slaves are less numerous here, they are much better treated. The price at which they are sold is four hundred dollars for a full-grown man; half that price for girls. These slaves are not baptised or instructed in religion, but are in that respect kept in the lowest state of degradation. The quakers and anabaptists who constitute a part of the population of new Pattz, have no slaves.

The lands in the neighbourhood are good; and their price is from sixteen to twenty dollars the acre. Their produce is conveyed to Kingston, but oftener to New-York. They are for the greater part laid down in meadows, and feed abundance of cattle. The meadow husbandry does not continue longer than three years, after which succeeds a crop of grain. The culture of the grain is bad, and the lands do not produce above ten or twelve bushels per acre, or twenty-five bushels of Indian corn. The price of grain here is regulated by that in the New-York market: it is at present thirteen shillings the bushel: Indian corn is at a dollar and half. During the last spring, hay was

fold at five dollars per thousand-weight: its usual price is from three to four.

Workmen are not easily procured here; because, as soon as they have been able to amass a little money, they go to the new countries and become farmers themselves. They must be paid from ten to twelve dollars per month, and sometimes two dollars a day in the harvest-time. The greater part of the immigration to these new countries is from beyond the river, and from the state of New-York itself.

Complaints are made here, as in every other place through which we have passed, of the extreme drought, which dries up all the waters, and reduces the greater number of the mills to a state of inactivity.

NEWBURG AND NEW-WINDSOR.

The road from New-Pattz to Newburg is a continued succession of inequalities. It crosses all the hills which separate this part of the country from the North-River. The country is thickly peopled, and exhibits pretty considerable farms, and vast barns, almost universally surrounded with ricks of hay. The lands are for the most part kept in meadows: but, each farm containing within its boundaries different exposures of high and low land, a portion is always as regularly devoted to the plough. Such is the practice in the generality of the farms on the west side of the river, and to some distance back.

Newburg, which also lies in Ulster county, is built on the bank of the river, and situate at the distance of four miles below the extremity of the Highlands. The back countries of which this town receives the produce being more thickly inhabited than those that supply the other towns through which we have hitherto passed, its trade with New-York is more extensive than theirs. Yet only six sloops belong to Newburg: but these sloops, on account of the small distance of New-York, perform almost twice as many voyages as those even of Katkill, which lies only sixty miles higher. The produce from the
banks

banks of the western branch of Delaware comes also to Newburg by roads which are said to be very good. It is averred that above ten thousand casks of butter are annually shipped at Newburg and New-Windsor. The quantity has even been greater this year, and must receive a further increase from the extension of the settlements and the improvements in agriculture.

New-Windsor nevertheless is in a state of decrease; a great bar, which renders the approach to it tedious and difficult, causing a preference to be given to Newburg, which will, it is probable, entirely absorb the trade of the former place. Notwithstanding this disadvantage, New-Windsor still has two or three sloops employed in constant voyages to and from New-York. That town, situate in Orange-county and two miles below Newburg, consists only of about forty houses; whereas Newburg contains at least four times that number, almost all built since the war. There were not twenty erected on the spot when General Washington made it his head quarters in 1779.

The prospect here is grand. To the left, the eye follows through an extensive space the majestic course of this beautiful river, bordered in its whole length by little hills of variegated forms and all well cultivated:—in front it commands a view of the river two miles in breadth, and of the hills on the other side, well cultivated likewise and thickly inhabited: behind these, rise the mountains which a little farther form the Highlands, and which, though very elevated, are also covered with farms, houses, and cultivation:—more to the right, the eye penetrates the narrow channel which the river has formed for its passage through these lofty and beautiful mountains, and discovers the fortifications of West-Point: farther to the right, the view is intercepted by that same chain of mountains which recede in waning perspective to the west, where they join the Alleghany ridge. The inhabitants of Newburg are almost universally immigrants from New-England. We are informed here that Orange-county is peopled by Irish and Germans, who are all industrious and good farmers.

At New-York a house is building for the college called the academy.

The expense is defrayed by the presbyterians, who, having for this purpose obtained the endowment of an extensive tract of land granted to the episcopalians in the time of the British government, thus fulfil the condition annexed to that donation. This academy receives moreover the annual sum of four or five hundred dollars from the funds destined by the state of New-York for the support and encouragement of schools.

The price of every article has risen here, as in all other parts of America, since the commencement of the war. Workmen are scarce; and their wages are from twelve to fifteen dollars per month. Beef costs eight pence the pound; a pair of oxen, from eighty to a hundred dollars; a good cow, twenty-five.

We had a letter from Mr. Van Grosebeck of Kingston for Mr. Seight, a lawyer of Newburg, from whom we experienced more civilities than services; for he could not in six-and-thirty hours procure us a small boat to convey us to West-Point, whither we had sent our horses across the mountains. We were obliged to wait for the garrison's boat, which was sent to us by the commanding officer when he found that we did not arrive.

PASSAGE OF THE NORTH-RIVER IN THE HIGHLANDS.

The navigation from Newburg to West-Point presents one of the most grand and majestic views that can be seen in any part of the world. The river, exceeding two miles in width, narrows its stream to pass between the mountains, in a channel whose breadth is not more than half a mile. The mountains through which it forces its way, though not very lofty, exhibit the most beautiful, the most variegated, and the most majestic forms. In some places we behold masses of rock towering in perpendicular altitude, and threatening each moment to crush in their fall whatever passes beneath their feet. In other parts their form is more inclined: but here they are less naked, and bear a few oaks, a few pines, a few cedars, which grow on the rocks,
though

though the eye cannot discover the earth which nourishes them. Again, these great mountains recede from each other, and their place on the banks of the stream is occupied by little hills, of fertile soil, and in many parts cultivated. The river incessantly winds through these different mountains: and the prospect here is incomparably more beautiful than that of the junction of the Potowmack and the Shenandoah in the Blue-Ridge.

West-Point is in the narrowest part of this passage, which is eighteen miles in length. It is a promontory which advances a considerable way into the natural bed of the river, and forces the stream in a forward direction, where another mountain on the opposite shore presents to it an obstacle equally unfurmountable, and drives it back to the side which it had quitted; so that the water absolutely surrounds this spot, which, by its position, commands the navigation of that great river. Its channel at West-Point does not exceed a quarter of a mile in breadth. This is the post that General Arnold intended to betray to General Clinton. The former at that time commanded the advanced guard of the American army; and the accomplishment of his scheme would for a long time have retarded the termination of the war. I have seen the house in which the interviews took place between that traitor and the unfortunate major André: it was that where Arnold had his head-quarters; it stands at the distance of a mile from West-Point, and on the opposite bank.

WEST-POINT.

This post is nearly in the same state at present in which it was during the war. Fort-Putnam—which stands on the summit of the mountain, and of which the object was to cut off all approach to West-Point from behind, as well as to support some still farther advanced intrenchments on the neighbouring mountains—had been begun in mason's work by the celebrated and unfortunate Kosciuszko, at that time employed as an engineer in the American army. That fortification was

was continued two years since by Monsieur Vincent, a French engineer, and upon an excellent plan. But thirty-five thousand dollars expended on it by Monsieur Vincent have been no better than a useless expenditure, since the further sum of forty-five thousand, requisite for the completion of that great and interesting work, has been refused—and the fine erections in stone which are half finished, together with the casemates which are only commenced, remain exposed to the inclemencies of the severe winters of this climate, which will speedily destroy those walls unless Congress will grant the money necessary for at least covering them.

In every other instance the American government show the same inattention to all the grand objects of primary importance: they display great zeal and launch forth into great and sometimes excessive expenses during the first year, and afterward totally stop the supplies. Hence we see considerable sums lavished without advantage, exhibiting most evident proofs of improvidence and fickleness in the government.

There is no other fortification at West-Point, where indeed the hand of nature has already done so much, that, in case of emergency, it might soon be put into a respectable state of defence. During the war, this part of the country, on both sides of the river, was thick-sown with small forts, of which the vestiges are still to be seen, and which, when once the Americans had established them, the English never ventured to approach.

West-Point is the station of the corps of engineers and artilleryists of the United States, which consists of four battalions of two hundred and fifty men each, and furnishes detachments for all the posts where the United States entertain a military force; besides an entire battalion at present with the army of General Wayne in the Western Territory. This corps singly constitutes above one fourth part of the American standing army, of which the total number is only three thousand four hundred men; and, small as that number is, it cannot be completed. So easy and comfortable are the circumstances of the people in America, and such their independence of spirit, that—notwithstanding

withstanding all the temptations of liberal pay, extreme facility in obtaining furloughs, and indulgences of every kind granted to the soldiers, together with the gentleness of the discipline and the shortness of the engagements—it is found difficult to recruit that little army: yet, although the law of the United States ordains that none be admitted into the military body except natives of America, English deserters are enlisted, Germans, Irishmen newly arrived, in short every one who presents himself; and, after all, the ranks are not filled to their due complement.

I shall speak elsewhere of the pay of the American troops. The fault to which they are most addicted is drunkenness, which is so habitual that it escapes punishment. Theft is very rare among the soldiery, as indeed in the country in general: but to filch provisions or liquor is not considered as theft: it is a sort of customary privilege at which the officers are obliged to connive, but which nevertheless does not extend to the stealing of live poultry, sheep, or other animals; although it would not be quite safe to leave those same animals exposed, when dead and hanging up ready for use. Desertions sometimes happen, but in no considerable number. The term of service was heretofore three years; it is now extended to five; and the bounty for enlistment is fourteen dollars.

One must not expect to find the American troops well trained or remarkable for neatness: a European eye is shocked by their want of cleanliness and their unsoldierlike appearance. But these are defects arising from the nature of the country; and the recruiting service would proceed still more slowly, if greater strictness were used to remedy them. This corps is exercised as the other troops, but with no greater success. They are also taught to fire cannon and mortars; and this is the branch to which the chief attention is paid. The officer, however, knows little more of the business than the private soldier: and the government does not adopt any measures to provide that none but skilful officers be admitted, which indeed it would be difficult to accomplish in this country—nor even to have them instructed after their

their admission, which would be an easier task. The corps of officers, first established about two years since, is composed of men of all countries. Such of them as we have seen are men of advantageous appearance, and seemed to be very good company: but these were only ten in number; and we have been informed that all the others do not in these particulars resemble them. The officers are paid from thirty-five to seventy dollars per month, with the addition of a greater or smaller number of rations according to their grade. They are lodged in small houses irregularly built on an extensive esplanade at the foot of the mountains, where they have better accommodations than the French officers ever have had in barracks. The commanding officer is Monsieur de Rochefontaine, who served in the army of the United States during the entire period of the war. He has since been in the French service; and he possesses much greater knowledge and skill than any of his officers.

I know not why the little army of the United States, consisting of three thousand four hundred men, is not exclusively composed of artilleryists, and, especially, provided with a greater number of officers. In time of peace, those artilleryists might occupy the frontier posts as usefully as any other troops: they would even be more serviceable, since the occupation of those posts is entirely a service of defence, and a small detachment of artillery is stationed in each. The place of the regiments now on foot, which are not artillery, would be completely supplied in war-time by the militia or continental troops which then must be raised or assembled; and thus the United States would at least possess an effective force of three thousand four hundred artilleryists, whose pay would not cost them more than that of the other regiments.

But—again be it remarked—the American government betray the utmost improvidence, carelessness, and ignorance, in every branch, and especially in what concerns the military department. It is a frivolous excuse to say that the executive power is cramped by the Congress: that may indeed be the case with respect to the expenses required for the support of a more numerous army, or even for the erection and maintenance

maintenance of the necessary fortifications : but it is not, it cannot be, true with respect to the most useful mode of employing the sums granted.

There is also at West-Point a small arsenal containing between six and seven thousand stand of arms. It is kept in much worse order than that of Springfield. Forty pieces of cannon, of all sizes, and about the same number of carriages, many of which were not made for the pieces, are kept at West-Point, partly in the stores, partly planted in various places for the defence of this and the surrounding posts, which would require above a hundred. Probably a time may come when more capable men will be placed at the head of the different departments, and when these objects of primary importance will engage more serious consideration. But meanwhile much valuable time is lost, and nearly all the expense incurred is fruitless.

It may be deemed surprizing that the military system of England is that which is followed in this little handful of an army. In the first place, it is in itself a most wretched model for imitation : and besides it would have been both proper and useful for the American government to break through the English habits, in this instance in particular, and especially for the purpose of adopting something better. The army is also dressed in English cloth ; and, what is still more remarkable, the muskets which the contractors have undertaken to furnish, and which are made after the ancient French model of 1763, are imported from England in pieces ready made, as locks, hammers, cocks, bayonets, &c. The contractor finds his advantage in this management on account of the high price of workmanship in America ; and he is suffered to follow his own plan.

VERPLANCK-POINT.

Monsieur de Rochefontaine, after having given Monsieur Guille-mard and me a very friendly reception, insisted on conveying us in his barge beyond the boundaries of the Highlands. This was a good op-

portunity of completing our examination of the whole of that interesting part of the North-River; and with pleasure we accepted his obliging offer. Mr. Lowel, adjutant-general of the corps, and friend of a rich inhabitant who resided at the place where our navigation terminated, proposed to conduct us to his friend's house, assuring us that we should be joyfully received. We were not disappointed of the pleasure we had promised ourselves from our little voyage; yet this part of the Highlands is much less beautiful than that which is passed in going to West-Point. The mountains are here less elevated; their forms less bold; the bed of the river less narrow: the whole, notwithstanding, exhibits a grand and beautiful scene, which the eye enjoys with rapture, and of which the mind long retains the remembrance.

On our way we passed under the remains of Fort-Montgomery, carried by the English during the last war. Farther on, and at the mouth of a little creek, we saw a flour-mill, erected two years since. The miller who built it was condemned by all his neighbours for the choice he had made of a situation: they assured him that the stream was not sufficiently powerful, and that the water would often fail. These representations only encouraged him the more in the prosecution of his plan: he knew the extent of his resources much better than his advisers, to whose remonstrances he made no other answer than that of giving to his mill the name of *ça ira*. Accordingly, the mill continues in motion, is constantly employed, does a great deal of work, and produces a considerable profit to the owner, who is a native of New-England.

As to the good reception with which Mr. Lowel had flattered us, we found ourselves greatly disappointed in our expectations on that score; for Mr. Verplanck could hardly have given us a worse, unless he had absolutely turned us out of doors. This is the first time in the course of my travels in America that I ever failed to experience a hospitable reception. But Mr. Verplanck had not invited us; and it of course was quite natural that he should have been displeased with our visit: it was even candid in him thus to make us acquainted with his disposition.

Verplanck-

Verplanck-Point is on the eastern bank of the North-River. It was in the extensive plain behind it that the junction was formed between the American and French armies in 1781, previous to their marching into Virginia. On the other side of the river, and opposite to Verplanck-Point, is Stony-Point, which General Wayne took from the English at the point of the bayonet. His van was commanded by Monsieur Duplessis, a French officer, whose valour and intelligence are not forgotten in America.

ARRIVAL AT NEW-YORK.

From Verplanck-Point to New-York we constantly proceeded along the eastern bank of the North-River: and travelling over very mountainous roads, much embarrassed with rocks, and consequently often bad, we hardly ever lost sight of that beautiful river, which in every point of view presents interesting prospects: of these, the most beautiful in this part is the Tappan-sea, so called because here the bed of the river, for the length of ten or twelve miles, extends to such a width as to resemble rather a great lake than even the greatest river.

At length we arrived by King's-Bridge in the island of New-York, where the soil, which is in general bad, is yet covered with indifferent woods in the parts most distant from the city. There are, however, numerous farms, and particularly country-seats, in all the tract which lies within six or seven miles of it, and in the parts bordering on the North-River, and on the arm of the sea which separates this isle from Long-Island.

MINERALOGICAL OBSERVATIONS.

American mineralogy, as I have already more than once remarked, offers few varieties for observation. The great mountains—that is to say, the most elevated—are generally formed of granite; as, for instance, in my last tour, the mountains of New Hampshire, the Green

Mountains, and the Highlands. Those of inferior altitude successively exhibit schistus more or less perfect, slate, feldt-spath, calcareous stone, and some sand-stones of extreme hardness, and in a state of great perfection. At the distance of eight or ten miles from New-York is a pretty rich copper-mine: the ore is irregularly scattered through a kind of sandy-stone often resembling grit and sometimes the pudding-stone. It yields from sixty to seventy pounds of fine copper per hundred weight. Previous to the revolution it used to be carried to England, where it bore a higher price than any other ore of the same metal. The mine has been several times wrought, abandoned, and resumed. At present there are workmen employed in it, who are for the most part Germans, brought over from Europe for the purpose, and paid from fifteen to twenty dollars per month. However excellent the copper, the company cannot sell it in pigs, and are now erecting mills to roll it into sheets, and manufacture it into various household articles. The steam-engine for pumping off the water is very ill contrived, and the defect in its construction extends its influence to the working of the mine. There is reason to apprehend, that, through the want of a good method and of skilful men to direct the works, this excellent mine will not prove advantageous to the company.

TREES.

Among the trees of various species, but similar to those which I had before seen elsewhere, I have distinguished the *kalmia*, the *liquidambar*, the *acacia triacanthos*, the black walnut, and the *tulipier* * which does not grow to any considerable size in a higher northern latitude than that of forty-two degrees.

* I cannot learn the proper English name of the tree here designated by the French appellation of *tulipier* or *tulip-tree*. T.

JOURNEY TO FEDERAL-CITY IN THE YEAR 1797.
TOUR FROM PHILADELPHIA TO CHESTER AND WILMING-
TON.

ENNUI and melancholy drive me from Philadelphia, and impel me to seek tranquillity, or at least amusement, in a course of activity—My present destination is Federal-City. This excursion is still more solitary than my last year's journies, for I had then the company of my poor faithful dog *Cartouche*, who is now too old and infirm to accompany me; thus the sources of consolation vanish at the moment when we need them most. I set out the 26th of March 1797.

Wilmington road leaves the city of Philadelphia by those long streets which William Penn laid down in his design for uniting the Delaware and the Skuylkill; which, however, are not yet built upon to more than a third of their intended length. These streets are uniformly railed, and the cultivated ground, whether farms or gardens, is also enclosed with railing. Though the soil here is of an indifferent quality, estates are valuable, as the vicinity of the city enables the occupier to manure his land plentifully, and ensures him the sale of his produce at the best price. Dung is sold by the cart-load at Philadelphia, at about a dollar per ton: the farmers use it much too fresh.

You pass the Skuylkill at Gray's-Ferry, the road to which runs below Woodlands, the seat of Mr. William Hamilton: it stands high, and is seen upon an eminence from the opposite side of the river. It commands an excellent prospect, but is not to be admired for any thing else. The house is small and ill-constructed, very much out of repair, and badly furnished. The garden, which is small, is neglected; but in an adjoining hot-house Mr. Hamilton rears plants procured at a great expence from all parts of the world. He is proprietor of from three to four hundred acres of the surrounding country, which with some pains and expence might be converted into a lucrative
and

and pleasant farm. His house and gardens would receive as great embellishment from the neighbourhood of a good tenantry, as he would himself derive emolument from their labour; but either from indifference, or from a want of the necessary funds to defray the first expences of clearing the land, it remains uncultivated, and his house seems surrounded by a desert. No man, however, is happier to receive his friends, or entertains them better, than Mr. William Hamilton: he is a chearful man, a most excellent companion, and is in every respect the gentleman.

Gray's-Ferry itself presents a most pleasing view. The toll-house, situated amidst large points of rock, which here skirt the south bank of the Skuykill, the trees scattered here and there amongst them, and a considerable number of sailing vessels belonging to an adjoining inn, form together a truly interesting scene. This inn is a place of general resort for parties of pleasure in the summer, and is frequently visited in the winter by the young people of Philadelphia, who travel there in sledges, dine, and sometimes pass the night there in dancing.

From this spot to Chester, however, there is not one agreeable prospect. The country is flat without being smooth; the floods render it uneven in some places, but the ridges of the banks which they form are all of one shape and level. The whole of the land is in a state of cultivation, and woods are only found in clumps. Cultivation however is neglected. Several houses built with pieces of rock, cemented with a mortar of earth; a few, which are the neatest, built with bricks; and a great number of block-houses; are the only objects to be met with. Huts formed of logs and planks of wood, as miserable as any that are to be seen in the poorest parts of France, cover the country. The inhabitant here is proprietor and cultivator: that he lives as he pleases, must be admitted; but in the most remote and uninhabited parts of America that I have visited, I have never seen a greater proportion of wretched habitations. The men and women who are seen issuing from their huts are badly clothed, and bear every mark of poverty. The children are in rags, and almost naked. The present moment

ment however is by no means favourable to the appearance of the country. Nothing yet appears above the ground, except the corn, of which there is but a small quantity in this part of the country. The water of the creeks, which we cross, and that of the Delaware, which is frequently in sight, is muddy, and of the same yellow colour as the banks which confine it; and the eternal wooden enclosures, which of themselves are sufficient to throw a gloom over the most delightful landscape, add to the dreariness of this, and to the tints of melancholy with which the season of the year colours the scene. A small creek near Chester supplies Philadelphia, from its banks, with stones which are used for paving their streets: they are carried to within a mile of the mouth of the creek into the Delaware in sloops, which are constantly sailing to and from the city.

Chester is the chief city of the county of the same name in the state of Pennsylvania. The court of common pleas and the quarter sessions of the justices are held here. This place is celebrated in the annals of Pennsylvania as the spot where the first colonial assembly was held, in the December of the year 1682. Chester contains about sixty houses tolerably well built; of which five or six are good inns, very much frequented by travellers, and often by parties of pleasure, besides the stages, which are increased upon the Baltimore road, and in the eastern part of Maryland. They are also frequented by passengers from vessels, who disembark there in preference to pursuing their voyage up the Delaware to Philadelphia, which is frequently tedious when the tide is unfavourable.

Chester is admired for its prospect, which is certainly extensive, as the city, built upon a rising ground somewhat elevated above the surrounding country, commands for a considerable distance to the right and left the plain below, and in front the Delaware with the country of Jersey beyond; yet the eye, in running over this extensive view, sees nothing but a tiresome uniformity, the fields are flat, and without those clumps of trees, which, in Europe, give them such a pleasing appearance. The borders of Jersey are likewise flat. A few mean log-houses

houses are just discernible at a very great distance, which being surrounded by two or three acres of cleared land are lost in the forests behind them.

During the two hours which we spent at the inn we saw a great variety of travellers, the generality of whom were a civil, conversable, good sort of people. Throughout the whole of my extensive travels in America I have seldom met with any other sort, but have always been confirmed in my opinion, that the Americans are in general a well-disposed people. It must be understood that I do not allude to the inhabitants, especially the wealthy inhabitants, of the chief cities.

The population of Chester amounts to about thirty thousand souls; is about fifty miles in length, and forty-five in width. There are several iron mines, which however, at present, supply only seven or eight forges. A few miles beyond Chester we enter the small state of Delaware, which is distinguished by the bad state of the roads, and by the bridges, which are almost all constructed of wood. The country becomes more mountainous; it is covered with rocks, which are not even removed from the highway, although with little labour they might be broken into pieces, which would render the roads excellent and durable. Cultivation appears to be still more neglected here than in the vicinity of Pennsylvania. The land is badly ploughed, the furrows are not even straight. The grounds in general are under water, though they might be drained with very little trouble. The houses are even worse than the lands. From some parts of the road, in clear weather, may be seen the city of Philadelphia, and the capes of the Delaware.

Half-way from Chester to Wilmington stands an inn, where the stage generally stops. It was kept about three years ago by an Englishman, a dissenter, who, in the spirit of a demagogue, had a sign painted representing a decapitated female, the head lying by the side of the bleeding trunk; underneath which was this inscription, "*The guillotined Queen of France.*" No authority possessed the power of compelling him to take down this horrible sign, at the sight of which every body revolted; and as it was the only inn, within five miles either way, it could not

be

be abandoned. However, that which the laws could not effect, the public voice accomplished. The horror excited by this infamous picture was so general, and so loudly proclaimed, that the brutal innkeeper was obliged to change his sign, or at least to alter it. He was unwilling, however, to relinquish the idea entirely. The female still remained without a head, but erect, without any trace of blood, or implements of execution; and the inscription was altered to "*The Silent Woman*." Such was the public reparation which this man partially made, but he continued to be despised: his inn was, however, still frequented, because, as I have before observed, it was the only one. Since that period other taverns have been established; another innkeeper has succeeded the Dissenter, and has exchanged the sign of the *Silent Woman* for that of the *Practical Farmer*.

I have beheld a sight to-day which, happily, is very uncommon in the United States: two women left their houses when the stage arrived, to sell bad apples to the passengers; they did not beg for money, but they received it. Among these was a woman who has fourteen children, all by different fathers; she was never married, and is unable to say precisely who is the father of any of her children. Such an instance would be mentioned as infamous, even in our European states; but this poor woman by her own labour, and a few dollars procured from the charity of passengers, has brought up these fourteen children, without becoming burthen some to the state, and without the least assistance from the fathers of these children, whom she does not even know. This commendable attachment is some little extenuation of the licentious use which she has made of her uncommon fruitfulness.

Brandywine Creek separates the hundred of Brandywine from the liberties of Wilmington. These hundreds are in some of the American states, as in England, a division of the counties. The state of Delaware is thus divided. They do not contain precisely one hundred parishes, as their name seems to imply; but they form, more than those of England, a part of the administrative hierarchy of the state of Delaware, which is divided into counties and hundreds. Each hundred

has its own officers chosen by itself. A proportion of the national taxes and the county rates is levied upon each hundred, and that sum, added to the expences of the officers of the hundred, is defrayed by an assessment upon each individual. Some cities obtain from the assembly the title of hundred, and have a magistracy of their own: the jurisdiction of cities however is not confined within the limits of their own walls, as in Europe, but rather resembles that of the present municipalities of France, extending, according to circumstances, to a greater or less distance.

WILMINGTON, though not the capital of the state of Delaware, or of the county of Newcastle in which it is situated, is the most populous city in that state. The population is estimated at about four thousand five hundred inhabitants, exclusive of the French, who have arrived from the different islands, and have increased the population within these three years by three or four hundred. Wilmington, like Philadelphia, and many other towns in America, does not cover all the ground marked out for it; the houses, though almost all built in streets, do not join each other; on the contrary, there are fields of a considerable size betwixt several of them. They are, in general, handsome substantial brick buildings, and are almost all of them built in the English style. The town contains about four square miles, exclusive of a tract of land not yet built upon.

BRANDYWINE MILLS.

At the entrance of Wilmington is situated BRANDYWINE, a place which contains the greatest part of the houses belonging to the hundred of Brandywine. This village, or rather this hundred, takes its name from the creek which runs through it, and whose source is forty miles from the Delaware in the mountains of Pennsylvania. It is sufficiently rapid, and contains water enough to turn, in its course, from sixty to eighty mills, almost all of different descriptions, such as paper, powder, tobacco, sawing, fulling, and flour, mills, the latter of which are most numerous.

numerous. The principal ones are situated near the bridge over the creek. All the operations of the mills are performed by water, from the unlading the floops which bring the corn, to the complete finishing of the flour. Thus the sacks are hoisted into the granary, the flour is sifted, is ground, and bolted, without the least manual labour. The mills are similar to those at London bridge in England, and those which the brothers *Perrier* have constructed at Paris near the *Gros-caillou*. The latter are first set in motion by a steam engine, but as the secondary motion is the principal, the mills of London and Paris give a sufficiently exact idea of these of Brandywine. There is, however, in the process from the grinding to the bolting, a difference in favour of the former. At London and Paris the flour when ground falls into troughs, and is afterwards conveyed by the labourer to another part of the mill, where it is spread, and turned by the hand to cool it before it is taken to be bolted: such at least was the process when I left Europe.

At Brandywine the flour falls as it is ground upon a wooden roller, armed with little detached wings, which are so arranged as to form a screw. This roller, fixed in a trough, is inclined towards a bin in such a manner that it serves as a conductor to the flour, which would descend too rapidly if it fell perpendicularly, and too slowly and at intervals if it were merely conducted by a simple inclined plane. A chain of small troughs, about three or four cubic inches long, dips into the bin, which receives the flour. This chain is inclosed in long perpendicular wooden cases. It turns upon two pivots; one of which is placed in the bin where the little troughs fill themselves with the flour which is deposited there; and the other on the fourth floor, where the same little troughs empty themselves, and thence descend empty to recommence their perpetual operations.

The flour, conveyed above by these troughs, falls on an inclined circular floor, in the centre of which are several holes; it is there spread about by a rake as large as the floor, the teeth of which are so placed as to conduct the flour towards the holes, through which it

falls, cooled, into the bolters. These bolters are also different from those used in France and England, as the stuff which covers them, and through which the flour passes, is a fine silk, very closely woven. The millers assert, that notwithstanding they pay six dollars an ell for this stuff, it is cheaper than the common bolting cloth, to which it is likewise to be preferred for giving a more beautiful colour to the flour. These bolters will last five years in constant use without any repair: about twelve ells of stuff is sufficient to cover them. Hitherto the stuff has been brought from Holland; but a manufactory of it is about to be established at Wilmington. Each pair of mills is furnished with its winged roller, its chain and troughs, its inclined circular floor, and its bolters. This mechanism for conveying the flour from the mill-stone to the bolter was invented five years ago by Mr. Evans of Philadelphia, who obtained a patent for the invention, which bears his name. There are three pair of mills, in this place, with that which we have visited, that is to say, six mills and twelve mill-stones. I explain myself thus minutely to prevent mistakes. There are some parts of the machinery of these mills, however, such as the wheels, the trundle-heads, &c. which are not so well executed as in those of Europe.

The proprietor of the mill which I particularly examined is a quaker, of the name of TATNALL. His son-in-law, Thomas Lea, took upon himself the trouble of shewing me the whole of it. He is also a quaker, about thirty years of age: he is a handsome, chearful, active, man. Like a true American patriot, he persuades himself, that no-where is any undertaking executed so well, or with so much ingenuity, as in America; that the spirit, invention, and genius, of Europe, are in a state of decrepitude (these are his words), whilst the genius of America, full of vigour, is arriving at perfection.

These opinions are not much to be wondered at in Thomas Lea, who is merely a good miller; they ought rather to excite pleasure as the ebullitions of a patriotic enthusiasm, the indulgence of which is not likely to be prejudicial to him, as it does not prevent him from adopting

adopting all the good inventions of Europe, by which he may improve his mill. The same error, however, is discoverable in almost all the Americans—in legislators and magistrates, in whom it is more baneful—as well as in millers.

Thomas Lea is a most candid and obliging man; he answered all my questions with great politeness, and voluntarily imparted much information, for which I could not have taken the liberty to ask. He is in partnership with his father-in-law: their mill is not employed for the public, but solely in their own private service. It is called a flour manufactory. They purchase their corn in Virginia, Maryland, and in the state of New-York, which is brought from thence in two of their own ships; they convert it into flour; and the same sloops carry it back again to Philadelphia, where it is sold for exportation. They grind about one hundred thousand bushels of corn yearly. The whole labour of the mill is performed by six men only; whose chief employment is to place the flour in barrels: their wages are from six to eight dollars per month, with washing, board, and clothing. There are, besides, twenty-four men employed by this manufactory for working the vessels, and making the barrels. The coopers work by the piece; they can earn a dollar per day, but board and clothe themselves. TATNALL does not employ any negroes, as they do not work with the whites; but are slow, and bad workmen. The laws of the state of Delaware permit slavery, but the quakers, as is well known, do not make use of the permission.

Almost all the labourers employed in these mills are foreigners, the greatest part of whom are English or Irish. The millers complain of their drunkenness, and indolence, and would prefer Frenchmen as more industrious and sober, if they could be procured; which they very much desire. The corn trade is in a more flourishing state at present than it has ever been; at least wheat fetches a higher price. The common price of a bushel of wheat, in time of peace, is seven shillings. In January 1795 it rose from ten to ten and sixpence, and during the eighteen succeeding months even as high as thirteen or fourteen

fourteen shillings. It has since fallen, but to nothing near its former level. The bushel weighs sixty pounds. Five bushels yield a barrel of fine flour, containing a hundred and ninety-six pounds, besides three other inferior sorts of meal. The price of the finest flour is eight dollars and a half; of the second quality, eight dollars; of the third, seven dollars; and of the fourth, five dollars. The bran is sold at one eighth of a dollar per bushel, containing thirty-five pounds: it is sent to Philadelphia.

The following is a statement of the produce of one hundred bushels of wheat as given me by Thomas Lea:—nineteen barrels of fine flour; two barrels of flour of the second quality; three barrels of the third quality; and thirty bushels of bran. Total; five thousand nine hundred and ten pounds: waste ninety pounds.

The wheat of the eastern part of Maryland produces the finest flour, on account of the goodness of the soil and the quickness of its growth: but this flour is not so heavy as that of other parts; that of New-York for instance, though inferior in quality, is good, and is heavier, because the grain is longer in ripening. The corn of the province of Delaware is nearly of the same quality as that of Maryland. Large quantities of Indian corn are likewise ground in these mills, of which they make bread and cakes: in several parts of the United States they use no other sort of bread; in some parts it is even preferred without any motives of œconomy, as it is esteemed by the faculty as the most wholesome.

It is used to fatten poultry and cattle, and is exported in great quantities to the West-Indies. As this grain contains more moisture than other bread corn, it is dried in a kiln before it is sent to the mill. A bushel costs at present five shillings; it weighs fifty-six pounds, and produces fifty-four pounds of flour. The process of bolting separates the fine from the inferior sort of maize-flour, but the latter is reground and mixed with the other. One third of a barrel sells for three dollars. The bran, which is in very small quantities, is not taken from the flour. This information I received from the worthy Thomas Lea.

There

There are eleven other mills near his; four of them are very large, the others much smaller. The ice in this river sometimes stops the mills for two months, at other times only three weeks, according to the severity of the winter. At this time the millers settle their yearly accounts; which is easily done, as wherever their factors buy their corn they pay for it in ready money, and wherever they sell their flour they are paid for it on delivery by a bill at sixty or ninety days sight, which they immediately discount with the bank. During this period they employ no labourers, whose pay whilst in employ is so high, that they experience no difficulty in supporting themselves during its suspension: in general, after a few years' service, they are enabled to purchase lands in the newly-inhabited parts of the country.

Another miller, who is likewise a quaker, and who has as large a mill as Mr. Tathall, has established, about a year since, a manufactory for printing linens; the tubs, presses, &c. of which are worked by the machinery of a mill. This manufactory, though so lately established, employs from twelve to fifteen hands at the laths, besides about a dozen young girls, who work at home to fill up those parts of the pattern with a brush which have escaped in the printing, or which cannot be otherwise finished. Almost all the workmen are English or Irish; their wages are a dollar a day, without any provision. The work appeared to be well done; almost all the linens which they print are brought from India, and are refold to the merchants of Philadelphia.

A cotton manufactory is now establishing at Wilmington. The implements and workmen are already provided; the whole of the machinery for carding, spinning, &c. is constructed on Arkwright's plan. This establishment is carried on by one of the richest men in the town. The number of workmen is at present only fifteen, but fifty more are expected: they are all Englishmen. The implements appear to be very well made.

I likewise visited the manufactory for making *bolting silk*. The labourers

labourers are Irishmen; as well as the proprietor. This manufactory employs at present only three workmen: the silks are made to suit the different qualities of flour.

Though this manufactory has only been established a year, it is a profitable concern, and when more extensively known, it will be much more so, as these silks are cheaper than those sent from Holland, and last longer, as those millers who use them have experienced. In a country like America where there are so many mills, the advantages of these bolters must be very great; in fact, almost all the millers use them in preference to linen cloths for bolting, as well as Thomas Lea. They are so useful, that an act of parliament has been made in England, to permit the importation of them into that country. The silk is brought from Georgia: if the Americans would plant mulberry trees, and raise silk-worms, this species of manufacture would be a source of great riches to the country*.

MR. GILPIN'S PAPER MILL.

I have said that Brandywine-creek, in its short course of seven or eight miles through the state of Delaware, turns about sixty mills of different sorts. Among these I have visited the paper mill of Mr. Gilpin, a respectable merchant at Philadelphia, and with whom I am intimately acquainted. This mill is situated at the distance of two miles and a half from Wilmington, on a truly romantic spot; for the word *romantic* appears to me to convey the best idea of a view rather gloomy, wild and uncultivated, yet pleasing. Such is the situation of this mill, and especially of the proprietor's residence. The creek at this place passes between two very high mountains, almost covered with wood, and although so much pent up, turns a great number of wheels

* It is doubtful whether the rearing of silk-worms can be profitable to America for some time to come, for reasons which the author himself has mentioned on many other occasions: such a process requires much manual labour, and too many hands for a country where the population is small, and labour consequently dear.—*Translator.*

without any noise : its breadth is about sixty fathoms. Its course is impeded by a great number of rocks, few of which appear above the surface. Parts of the mountains are also covered with rocks, which spring up amidst the wood. These rocks are of the same nature as those which are seen throughout the country, particularly about Chester : they are formed of a stone like that found in the forest of Fontainebleau. Some acres of land about the house are cleared, and laid out in meadows. The house is situated sufficiently high to command a view of the creek of Brandywine for five hundred fathoms, when it is lost among the trees, and is again visible at the distance of three miles, where it joins the river Christiana, which empties itself immediately into the Delaware. This view, which is wild and rugged in some parts, contrasted with a pleasing softness in others, must be still more pleasing in summer : it is, however, inferior to those that are to be seen in the Vosges ; to say nothing of those of the Alps.

The paper mill is below the house. There are two warehouses adjoining, where many labourers are constantly employed. The rags are pounded by vertical wheels, the bands of which are about six inches wide, armed with sharp blades of iron, which drive the rags against six other blades, placed lengthways at the bottom of the great vat in which the wheel turns. I have described thus much of the process, as it is performed in another manner both in France and Holland. The other parts are performed nearly in the same manner as in those countries, but the manufactory is not yet brought to an equal perfection. The rags are not brought to the mill as in France, by people who collect them in the neighbourhood, as the small population of America will not admit of such industry. They are bought up by agents in the most populous towns, as far as three hundred miles distant, and are sent by water to Wilmington ; from whence they are brought in carts to the mill, as Brandywine creek ceases to be navigable above the bridge which leads to Wilmington. The consumption of rags in Mr. Gilpin's mill is one hundred thousand pounds weight a year, which makes one thousand reams of different sorts of paper. The

price of rags is from three to nine dollars the hundred weight, according to the quality; the average price is about four dollars and a third. The rags are divided into nine different sorts at the manufactory, of which are made various papers, from vellum to coarse brown. The vellum letter-paper is sold for four dollars a ream; it is neither so white nor so well moulded as the fine European vellum paper; it is, however, a beautiful and good paper.

The large paper for merchants' account books, though not vellum, sells as high as thirteen dollars a ream. Mr. Gilpin's partner, *Mr. Gifin*, who was so polite as to show me the manufactory, is an Irishman, and superintends the business himself, being well acquainted with the whole process. The mill employs constantly twenty-six or twenty-seven hands. Seven of the best workmen are employed at the vat, and the mould; their pay is from four to seven dollars a week. They are all Irishmen. The other inferior workmen earn three dollars, and the women one dollar, a week. Notwithstanding there are five other paper mills in the state of Delaware, and from eighty to ninety in the province of Pennsylvania; yet Mr. Gifin assured me there was not much difficulty in procuring workmen: though an Irishman himself, he complains as much of a want of sobriety in his countrymen as the millers of Brandywine. This manufactory is, no doubt, very lucrative, as Mr. Gilpin intends to build a new paper mill about three hundred fathoms below the other. The paper manufactured here is sent in great quantities to Philadelphia, and retailed to the merchants there. The small mills dispose of their paper in another manner; they send it to Philadelphia in carts, and sell it about the streets in quires or reams.

DOCTOR WARTON, AND HIS FARM.

From the mill I crossed the river and the woods to dine with Doctor Warton, who resides about a mile from Wilmington, on the road to Philadelphia. The most common trees in these woods are the oak,

the chesnut, and the hiccory. Cedars known in Europe by the name of Virginian are likewise found in abundance; also Scotch pine trees, Lord's pines, and firs. The cedar wood is commonly used for supporters to the rails with which the fields are enclosed. The houses are also covered with planks of cedar. Doctor Warton, who was educated with the jesuits of St. Omer in France, but has since become a minister of the English church, is a very worthy man. He spent some years in England, from whence he brought much agricultural knowledge, with a small mixture of prejudice. He speaks French, he is very obliging, and is much esteemed by his neighbours. He occupies a farm, which he has taken for fifteen years, ten of which are unexpired.

There were eight of us at dinner: every thing which we used was the produce of his own farm; even the table cloth, which was fabricated of the flax grown on his own grounds, and the table, which was made of a very beautiful wood, cut on his own estate, as smooth and as finely veined as mahogany. I obtained the greater part of my agricultural information of this country from Doctor Warton. He rents a farm of one hundred and fifty acres at two hundred and ten dollars; he lets off fifty acres at one hundred and thirty dollars, and thus retains the rest himself at eighty dollars. He informed me that he had gained this year seven hundred and forty-six dollars, including those articles which he had used, and which he must otherwise have bought. He has four oxen, which are sufficient for the whole work of the farm. He has also eight cows, and two horses for his carriage. Three negroes are constantly employed in his farm and stables. He does not hire additional labourers above twenty-five days in the year. He has four negresses, two of whom are employed in the house, the other two spin, make linen and cloth, and work in the field when it is necessary. The negroes and negresses eat bread made of Indian corn; at noon they are allowed some meat; but on the whole receive less nourishment than would be requisite for white people in this country; and are therefore maintained much cheaper. The doctor says that he is as well satisfied with their work as he could be with that of the whites.

which are to be found here. He dungs his lands tolerably well with about two hundred small cart loads of dung obtained yearly from his own cattle. He dungs his grounds in general before he sows maize; which he sows in trenches eight feet distant one way, and one foot the other, contrary to the general practice of the country. He also turns up the larger intervals with the plough, and the smaller with the hoe: the latter work is done by the negresses. He frequently sows maize two following years: after the maize, corn, and clover after the corn, in the spring. The clover remains for two, three, or even four, years: after clover he sows maize again, and so on in succession. This is his general practice, though it is sometimes varied.

The neighbouring farmers do not follow as regular a system as Doctor Warton, the scarcity of labourers being a great obstacle to the establishment of a good system of agriculture in this country, where its true principles are unknown. The farms are in general small and ill-cultivated; they receive little or no manure, and are in every respect badly managed. Some English farmers have recently settled in this neighbourhood, and have taken farms upon long leases. They will doubtless make considerable improvements in agriculture. Within these two years several persons have collected the weeds from the creeks which flow through their land, have mixed them with dung, and thus make a manure, which, though they do not allow it sufficient time to rot before they use it, considerably improves the land. Turnips, carrots, and cabbages, are grown only in gardens, merely for the kitchen.

Doctor Warton, who understands the cultivation and management of maize, prefers it to the above articles, as a more certain produce; the leaves green, or dry, are fodder for the cattle, and the corn when ground into flour is, he says, more fattening than any other food. This opinion, however, is not founded upon experience and comparison, but rather appears to be the offspring of a prejudice for a particular system of agriculture, and the natural indolence of a man ill disposed to alterations. I conceive it is very easy to prove, that a
more

more skilful system would yield more dung, and would be more productive, without any additional labour.

Eight hundred perches square of maize produce a ton weight of leaves, and two ton of tops. Every hundred perches square, not dunged, yields from twelve to eighteen bushels of grain; if well dunged, it yields thirty-five: I speak of this part of the country, and of those farms which are generally cultivated in this manner, especially that of Doctor Warton. He plants potatoes between the rows of maize, and gathers by this means two hundred bushels: they are usually sold at three shillings and six pence per bushel, but this year fetched from five shillings to five shillings and six pence. He fattens yearly from ten to twelve oxen for sale. As he brews his own beer, makes his own cider, and manufactures his own linen, one part of his farm is sown with flax, others are planted with hops, and others with apple trees.

Such is the custom of the country, and so much do the farmers pride themselves upon its preservation, that they will not purchase any thing for the use of their families, which they can make themselves. Pride is the best colour which they can give to the impossibility of doing otherwise; on any other ground the speculation is a bad one, as by multiplying in this manner their plantations, and the labours of the household, the divided profits are consequently smaller, and their average less advantageous. Time will rectify this prejudice.

The sheep of this country produce good wool, fine and short, but the fleece seldom weighs more than three pounds: it is worth a dollar and a half. The sheep have long legs, and very large bones. The breed might be much improved by a little attention, of which it is well deserving.

Some proprietors, who do not tenant their own farms, let them for a share of the produce. The usual method is to let them for half the profits, if the farmer and proprietor furnish jointly the cattle and seed; or for a third, if no stock is advanced. This proportion sometimes varies according to the value of the ground, or the address of the proprietor or farmer. Doctor Warton observed, that at Wilmington any man, who knows how to purchase, might make six per cent in cash of his

his capital, by letting his lands as soon as he buys them. The cattle are very soon fattened with the maize flour; from eight to ten bushels are sufficient to fatten an ox. I saw a pig at one of the mills on the Brandywine, which the miller assured me was of an ordinary breed, and which was fed entirely upon maize, that weighed seven hundred weight.

The land near the Delaware consists of rich meadows, with a good soil to the depth of thirty feet; it lets as high as six dollars and a half per acre, and sells as high as one hundred and sixty dollars per acre.

The hay is deposited in barns. The farmers are ignorant of the method of making stacks, they therefore say that the rain penetrates them and spoils the hay; though less rain falls here, even including the snow, than in any part of England. Some farmers, however, heap up their crops into very imperfect stacks, by which means they are certainly often spoiled. Such is the substance of the information which I obtained from Doctor Warton. The details which I have entered into relative to the state of manufacture and agriculture are not interesting of themselves to an European, yet, considering them as connected with the state of population, civilization, and all the other circumstances of this country, and as affording a comparison with the old world, they possibly will not be found uninteresting.

BRANDYWINE-RIVER, AND WILMINGTON.

I have already noticed Brandywine; its situation is delightful. There are about fifty houses built near the river, which rushes rapidly over large fragments of rock; and swelling into many channels turns mills of all descriptions in every direction. The banks of this river, both above and below the village, chiefly laid out in meadows, and covered with cattle; a bridge, over which travellers are constantly passing; the continual bustle of the manufactories, with houses of various forms and materials, built on different parts of two hills, which bound the river;—render this view extremely pleasant.

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The port of Wilmington is upon the Christiana: there are three or four vessels built there every year, either for sale or for the trade that is carried on there, which employs twelve or thirteen ships of various sizes. This port is two miles from the Delaware. Several sloops are constantly employed in the coasting trade carried on with Philadelphia.

Wilmington market is supplied with provisions from the neighbourhood. It is held twice a week: it is less than that at Philadelphia, which it resembles in its market-place, in the nature of its regulations, and in the species of provisions sold there. Every necessary is to be procured there, and no where else in this part of the country.

Freedom of religion is as unrestrained in the state of Delaware as in that of Pennsylvania. The expences of public worship are paid by those who approve it. The letting of pews is one principal source of the church revenue, and, with some donations of land by individuals, is sufficient to defray all expences, including the minister's salary. The presbyterians are the most numerous sect; and next to them, the quakers: the wisdom of the latter, who being the richest have the most influence, opposed the establishment of a democratic society at Wilmington. There is one, however, at Newcastle, chiefly composed of the inhabitants of Wilmington.

This town is at present the asylum of about forty families from the colonies of St. Domingo, most of whom have saved something from the wreck of their fortunes, but whom misfortune has not instructed either in politics or domestic economy. On their arrival a subscription was opened for the most needy of them, and a considerable sum was raised, when it was discovered by the complaints of those whose distresses entitled them to relief, that some men known to be in good circumstances had applied for a share. The eyes of the subscribers being thus opened, the subscription was stopped and the French name disgraced. General Dikison, a rich inhabitant of Wilmington, formerly governor of Pennsylvania, deposited four hundred dollars with Mr. Iboufard, to be distributed among the most needy of the sufferers. It could not have

been

been placed in better hands; notwithstanding which, jealousy excited some unjust murmurs against him, which though treated with contempt by himself, have not failed to promote some scandal. Several of the St. Domingo families who have preserved large fortunes, think that Mr. Dikison is not sufficiently generous; yet will not themselves give one farthing to their distressed countrymen.

Among those who have escaped the disasters of St. Domingo, there are some, who, revolting at the idea of receiving gratuitous aid, labour with great industry to obtain a bare subsistence: but it must be confessed, that almost all these belong to Old France, and have not long settled in the colony. The necessaries of life are cheaper by two fifths at Wilmington than at Philadelphia: a family may live here very well upon eight hundred dollars a year. The plots of ground allotted for building houses contain nearly two acres; and let at from four to six dollars a year. With a little dunging they will produce forty hundred weight of hay in two crops. The cows are turned in after the second crop till winter. In summer they are driven on the road-side to graze, and are fetched home twice a day to be milked. The breed of cattle, although not so fine as that of New-England, is good and large; but rather too long in the body and legs: a little care would perfect the breed, and render the cattle of a shape and size proper for fattening. The poor-house of Wilmington is built on an eminence; it is a very large and handsome building: the poor of the county of Newcastle only are received there; who are extremely well treated. According to a moderate calculation the number of poor constantly maintained there amounts to sixty. The expences of the house are estimated at about six thousand dollars; the expence of each pauper is consequently one hundred dollars: upon one half of which sum he might support himself. In almost every part of England, as well as of America, the poor-houses are an object of pride and ostentation to the people. They doubtless relieve the overseers of the poor from much of that trouble which they would otherwise have in distributing relief with justice and discretion to the
poor

poor at their own homes. Yet these establishments by no means constitute the best method of assisting the poor, whether they are considered in a political or moral point of view ; or as they respect the principles of economy or real benevolence.

The boundaries of estates in this small state are perhaps the source of more law-suits than any-where else, as in the lands formerly given to the Penn family, and to Lord Baltimore ; the boundaries are not precisely ascertained, nor are the deeds of gift clearly worded.

Mr. Vining informed me, that his seat in Congress deprives him of at least three thousand dollars, which he might gain by his profession as an advocate, notwithstanding he undertakes some business even during the sitting of Congress, which the vicinity of Philadelphia enables him to transact with ease.

The advantageous situation of the state of Delaware for commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, ought naturally to increase its population. Half the ground however is not yet cleared : four-fifths of the county of Suffex, the most southern of the three, remains yet uncleared. The woods are certainly in some places filled with water, but with little pains and expence nearly the whole of these grounds might be drained, and doubtless would be very productive ; as all those that have been drained yield great crops. The want of hands is an obstacle which prevents any attempts of this nature in this country of slavery ; and induces a number of proprietors of woods to believe that their ground is more profitable to them in its present state. They strip their woods to supply Philadelphia ; and as there are in this spot many pine-trees and cedars, they sell them at a large profit, especially as they have the advantage of conveying them by water. Mr. Well, member of the legislature, and proprietor of twenty thousand acres of wood on the borders of the county of Suffex, boasted in my presence of the revenue arising from his estate, which is about five thousand four hundred dollars a year. Of these twenty thousand acres, only ten thousand are planted with cedars. I demonstrated to him, that allowing all this profit to arise entirely from the ten thousand acres of cedars, even in that case, each acre is worth

only half a dollar a year; which is nearly the same value to which the salt-tax, and the uncultivated state of the land, reduced several of the forests of Lorraine about ten years ago. He was struck with the calculation, which he could not contradict; but as his neighbours do not draw so much wealth from their woods as he does from his, he is satisfied with that difference. In every sense this system is pernicious; it destroys the growth of the woods, and it would reduce this moderate income in the course of forty or fifty years to nothing, if it were not to be supposed, that before that period the population of the state will increase, the proprietors grow wiser, and cultivation in consequence become more general.

Within these fifteen months a bank has been established at Wilmington, and incorporated by an act of the legislature of the state. The capital is two hundred thousand dollars, in one thousand shares of two hundred dollars each. The legislature has reserved the power of adding two hundred and fifty shares more. This bank appears to be of no real utility, at least there is no apparent necessity for it—except to the Brandywine millers—the flour-trade being the only branch of commerce that is carried on to any extent in this state. It will, however, have the same effects as all the small banks established on the continent; it will increase the means of speculating stock-jobbers and adventurers; and will sooner or later, like most others, prove pernicious to the cause of morality, and destructive to those whose speculations are at present aided by its discounts and the paper-money which it issues. The dividend on the two last half years was six per cent, that is to say, twelve per cent per annum: this was the first dividend made.

STATE OF DELAWARE, ITS CONSTITUTION AND LAWS.

The state of Delaware is the smallest of all the United States, as its greatest length is only ninety-two miles, and breadth from thirteen to thirty miles: it was colonized in 1628 by the Swedes, and formed
part

part of New-Sweden, which is now called New-Jersey. The Dutch took it in 1656. After it was conquered by the Duke of York, in 1683, he sold to William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, the town of Newcastle, and twelve miles of the surrounding country. William Penn afterward added to this the country which extends as far as *Cape Henlopen*. It was then divided, as it is at present, into three counties; Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex; and became part of Pennsylvania. In 1701 William Penn ceded them to *Edward Shippen*, *Phineas Pembleton*, *Samuel Carpenter*, *Griffiths Owen*, *Caleb Pusey*, and *Thomas Story*, who of course became the proprietors: when, however, this part of the country, though under the governor of Pennsylvania, obtained the privilege of a separate assembly, it took the name of the three counties of the Delaware. When the troubles in America broke out, the three counties of the Delaware separated themselves entirely from the state of Pennsylvania, and assumed the name of the state of the Delaware. It was only in 1770 that the limits of the states of Delaware and Maryland were finally settled by the proprietors of the Delaware, and Lord Baltimore proprietor of Maryland; whose determination was not sanctioned by an act of legislature till 1775.

The new constitution of the state of Delaware was named in 1776, and revised in 1790. It divides the legislative power between two houses of parliament. The house of representatives is composed of twenty-one members; seven for each county; who are elected annually. The qualifications necessary for a member are;—that he must be twenty-four years of age, must possess an independent income, must have resided in the state three years, and in the county for which he is elected, one year. The number of senators is nine; three for each county: the senators must be twenty-seven years old; in possession of an independent income of two hundred acres, or a fortune known to amount to one thousand pounds sterling. The same conditions as to residence are required of them as of the members of the house of representatives. The senators are elected for three years; one of whom

retires every year by rotation. The qualifications of an elector are, a residence of two years in the county, and the payment of taxes for at least six months. Money-bills may be brought in to either house. A majority of two thirds of the representatives may impeach any of the officers of the state, and a majority of two thirds of the senate may in such cases pronounce judgment. The general assembly have the power of increasing the number of representatives and senators, whenever two thirds of each house agree that it is necessary; but the number of senators must never be less than one-third of the representatives, nor greater than one-half.

The governor of the state is chosen by the same electors, who choose the senate and house of representatives. He is elected for three years, and cannot be re-chosen until after the expiration of that term. He has the appointment of all officers excepting those of treasurer, sheriffs, and coroners, who are nominated by the assembly. He has the privilege of pardoning offences, except where the sentence has been pronounced in consequence of impeachment. He must be above thirty years of age, must have resided in the United States more than twelve years; and in that particular state more than six. He is assisted in his government by the speaker of the senate, or in his absence by the speaker of the house of representatives. The judicial power is composed of a court of chancery, and several inferior tribunals.

The judges are nominated by the governor, and retain their places during good behaviour: they are subject to impeachment, whenever two thirds of the house of representatives and two thirds of the senate deem it necessary, agreeable to the forms already noticed. In cases where there is not sufficient grounds for an impeachment, the governor may displace them on the representation of two thirds of each house. The justices of the peace are appointed by the governor for seven years. The legislative assembly in the state of the Delaware vote for the election of president and vice-president of the United States.

The population of the state of Delaware was estimated in the year

year 1790 at only fifty thousand and ninety-four inhabitants, of which number eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven were slaves; and in consequence the state sends but one member to the Congress of the United States. There is no doubt but at the next numeration there will be more than a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle it to send two members to Congress.

The militia of the state is formed of one brigade from each county: each brigade is composed of three regiments. The Presbyterians are the most numerous and powerful sect in the state: they have twenty-four churches. The Episcopalians have fourteen; the Anabaptists seven: besides which, there are a great number of Quakers and Methodists throughout the country, especially in the counties of Kent and Suffex. The exports of the state of Delaware amounted in 1791 to the sum of one hundred and ninety thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight dollars—in 1792, to one hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and seventy-two—in 1793, to ninety-three thousand five hundred and fifty-nine—in 1794, to two hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and eighty-five—in 1795, to one hundred and fifty-eight thousand and forty-one—and in 1796, to two hundred and one thousand one hundred and forty-two dollars. The commerce of the state of Delaware is chiefly in corn and wood. The only custom-house in this district is at Wilmington. The greatest part of the flour made there is bought by the merchants of Philadelphia, for exportation.

The taxes in the state of Delaware have hitherto been rather improperly levied. The total amount of the sum necessary for the exigencies of the state was divided into twenty-one parts: the county of Newcastle paid eight; Kent seven; and Suffex six. The counties are divided into hundreds. Each township elected annually a collector; who being furnished with a list of persons liable to be taxed, assessed them according to the vague estimation of their incomes, without paying any regard to the nature of such incomes. Uncleared land, persons under the age of twenty-one, those who had just finished an apprenticeship,

prenticeship, and slaves who had just obtained their freedom were exempted from taxes. Poor people having many children were taxed in a smaller proportion; but their incomes were always estimated at twenty dollars. Bachelors, whether they had or had not any known property, were taxed as having an income from twenty-four to forty-eight dollars. A court of appeal, elected for three years, one-third of which was changed every year, decided upon the complaints of such as thought themselves furcharged. The commissioners who composed this court received a dollar and one third for every day on which they were employed. The collectors received seven and a half per cent on the sum collected. As the amount of all the state taxes for the counties and hundreds of the state of Delaware did not exceed one or two per cent on the fortunes of each individual, no body murmured; but this mode of assessment was not the less disgraceful to a free country, for it was arbitrary.

During the last sessions the assembly attempted to wipe away this stain: it was accordingly decreed, "that in future the assessors should make out a statement of all the taxable property in each hundred; that the capital arising from land should be estimated at one hundred pounds value for every eight pounds of rent; that the capital arising from houses or estates in towns or villages should be estimated at one hundred pounds for every twelve pounds of rent; and that the rents both in town and country should be taken at their real value:

"That slaves of both sexes, from the age of eight to fourteen years, should be valued at from twelve to fourteen pounds; and male slaves from the age of fourteen to thirty-six at from fifteen to thirty-five pounds:

"That slaves under eight years of age, male slaves above forty-five, and females above thirty-six, should be taxed in lesser proportions; but the male slaves who are artisans always in proportion to the value of their labour:

"And, that plate should be estimated at eight shillings and six pence per ounce; and lastly, that all other personal property not expressly
exempted

exempted from taxation, should be assessed in proportion to its value in ready money, according to the opinion of the assessors."

This new mode of taxation, which fixes the principles on which the assessment is to be made, still leaves too much to the discretion of the assessors: it is not yet carried into effect.

The annual amount of the taxes varies very little in the state of Delaware; it averages from thirteen to fifteen thousand dollars. The state has no surplus treasure, but is free from debt.

On the general division of the expences of the war, made by the commissioners of which I have so often spoken, the state of Delaware was indebted to the United States six hundred and twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-eight dollars. This sum is much more than they are willing or able to pay; in fact, this species of debt will never be paid by any of the states upon which it has been imposed. The small extent of the state of Delaware entirely prevents it from enlarging its resources; and it has already been proposed by the senate to unite it to a part of the state of Maryland on the east of the Chesapeake. This proposition, which has not yet been agreed to by the house of representatives, will no doubt be objected to by the state of Maryland, which will not willingly dismember itself to add to the stability of the state of Delaware; whilst on the other hand, the latter would not be desirous of sinking entirely into the state of Maryland. This measure would also meet some opposition from the smaller states, who at present are compensated for the inferiority of the number of their members in the house of representatives by the equal number of representatives they send to congress, of which compensation this measure would deprive them.

A motion was made in the legislative assembly this year, to declare all the children of slaves born after this period free, and to give freedom to all slaves now under the age of twenty-eight, when they attain that age; and that all above that age should remain slaves for life. The motion was carried in the house of representatives, but as the majority of the people of the country evinced great disapprobation of the measure,

measure, it is expected that it will be thrown out next year by the senate; and that slavery, which every one condemns here, will remain precisely as it is, even without any preparatory act towards its gradual abolition.

The smallness of the state, its vicinity to Philadelphia, its situation on the edge of the bay, or the river Delaware, affords the negroes very easy means of running away from their masters; which I am told they very frequently do.

The laws relative to slaves are very humane in the state of Delaware. Every master who uses his slaves cruelly is fined, and the murder of a negro is punished with death. If a white man strike a negro, who is not his slave, the master of that negro may bring the offender to justice, and punish him by a fine. Till within these two years the slaves were, for all offences, tried by two justices of the peace and six freeholders; they are at present tried by the ordinary judges, and by a jury if the offence is capital. They are in every other respect well treated, and well fed. The price of a good negro is two hundred and seventy dollars.

The criminal law is that of England, with a very few alterations.

The seat of government is at present at Dover, the most central town of the small state of Delaware; until 1794, it was at Wilmington.

A collection of the laws of the state of Delaware is now printing; this is the more necessary, as there are many useful laws, which have never appeared in print. The English during the war plundered the town-houses of this state, as well as every other; and sent the original records to the governor-general at New-York. After the war it was agreed that they should be returned; but many of them were previously destroyed.

ROAD TO NEWCASTLE, AND NEWCASTLE.

Half a mile from Wilmington, you cross the Christiana in a very small ferry-boat, which, however, carries over several stages every day. The two fore-horses are taken off and placed behind, which fills the whole boat, the sides of which are not six inches high. Every thing in this country displays great want of fore-sight; stages and ferry-boats, as well as politics, are made for the moment. A prudent man foresees many dangers, which the inhabitants of this country are prevented by habit and carelessness from seeing. Whenever, therefore, an accident happens, nobody is prepared for it; every one is agitated and alarmed, but no remedy is applied.

The country on this side of Newcastle is a continued flat; it is, however, better cultivated than that on the other side of Wilmington. The soil appears to be light. The land is laid out in meadows, a few corn fields, and several fields of maize, which are all enclosed: there is very little wood land, and very few good trees. The houses are rather better than the land; some of them are very handsome. Newcastle is composed of seventy houses, some of which are of brick, and are built adjacent to each other: the wide streets and the grass plots give it the appearance of an English village. Being the county town, it contains the sessions-house and the prison. The town is built on the Delaware; it does not, however, carry on any direct foreign trade, but confines itself to the coasting trade with Philadelphia.

Newcastle, when in the possession of the Swedes, was called New-Stockholm. When the Dutch conquered it, they called it New-Amsterdam; and when the Duke of York took possession of it he gave it the name which it has since retained. It is the oldest city of this state.

A fund having been raised by way of lottery, sanctioned by the state, for the purpose of building quays at Newcastle, that place now affords

shelter to vessels in the winter, and begins to rise from the state of decay into which it had sunk.

Oak is sold at Newcastle for five dollars a cord, and hickory for nearly seven dollars. The population of the county of Newcastle amounts to about eighteen thousand free people, and three thousand slaves. The frequent communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and the great traffic between the two cities, have occasioned the establishment of a more speedy means of conveyance of goods and passengers, than by the ordinary land and water carriage.

Four small sloops constantly sail to and from Newcastle and Philadelphia. Regular stages convey the passengers to French-Town, on the Elk-River, about twelve miles distant from Newcastle. Goods are carried there in carts. Other sloops sail down the Elk-River, which empties itself into the Chesapeake, eighteen miles from French-Town, from whence they proceed to Baltimore. The expence of the passage from Philadelphia to Newcastle is three quarters of a dollar, three quarters of a dollar by the stage to French-Town, and one dollar and a quarter from French-Town to Baltimore. This route is impassable during the three or four winter months, at which time the river Delaware is generally frozen.

Newcastle is the true point from which all the Philadelphian ships take their departure. When they are laden, they drop down thither with their pilot, and take in their poultry and vegetables, where the captains who remain at Philadelphia to settle their accounts at the custom-house join them by land, and from whence they sail with the first fair wind.

ROAD TO WARWICK.—THE RED LION.—MIDDLETON.

All the country is extremely flat until you arrive at the Red Lion, an inn much frequented by stages and travellers. The fields are very extensive: some wheat is sown here, which is beginning to shoot; but the general produce is maize: there are some meadows sown with clover,

clover, and a small share of timothy-grass. A few quickset hedges are here and there to be seen, but they merely evince to an European the possibility of thus enclosing the fields in this country. Such is the manner in which they are here planted and kept, that they serve merely to relieve the eye, fatigued with the gloomy enclosures of dead wood. They seldom dig any ditch at the foot of the bank on which the quickset is planted, or if they do, they cut it so narrow and perpendicular, that it is incapable of carrying off the smallest current of water. The thorns are planted in single rows; when grown they are lopped at the bottom, and become small trees, which are easily broken down and overthrown by the cattle. Time will no doubt teach the inhabitants of America the great advantage of this sort of hedges, which would save an enormous quantity of wood, in a country where its scarcity begins to be already felt: they will learn that the first expence of planting and preserving them would be abundantly repaid by their duration through an endless period, in which no further care nor expence would be required.

This will certainly be the case some day or other; but it is astonishing, that, notwithstanding so many farmers are continually arriving from Europe, and particularly from England, where the utility of quickset hedges and the method of raising them are so well known, the people of this country have not yet profited by their experience. Indolence, and a want of sufficient funds, are, without doubt, the two principal causes which retard so necessary an improvement. The woods of the state of Delaware and the eastern shore of Maryland abound with thorns similar to our hawthorns, of which excellent and agreeable hedges might be made.

The road from Wilmington, through Newcastle, divides itself at the Red Lion inn: one road leads to DOVER, and to the south of the state of Delaware, the other to CHESTER-TOWN, and into the south of the state of Maryland: we have chosen the latter route;—I say *we*, for I travel in company with Mr. Guillemard, who is so kind as to accompany me the few first days of this little journey. Land in the

neighbourhood of the Red Lion is sold at about twenty dollars an acre; the soil is rather light, but good. This inn is furnished with all sorts of provisions from Newcastle, from which it is seven or eight miles distant,

The road from the Red Lion to WARWICK runs through the same sort of flat ill-cultivated country. The soil, however, becomes stronger and better. Some large farm-houses are to be seen on the right and left of the road; they are surrounded with little huts for the negroes, from which circumstance it may be supposed a considerable number of them are employed here.

MIDDLETON, the only village between Warwick and Newcastle, is composed of about twenty houses, some of which are of brick; it is the last village in the state of Delaware, which, however, extends to within a mile of Warwick, that is to say, three miles beyond Middleton.

WARWICK.—CULTIVATION AND DISEASES OF CORN.

We crossed some small creeks to day, which turn a few mills and some forges. They fall into the Delaware either directly or in conjunction with others which they meet in their course. The small creek of Bohemia, near Warwick, is the first which we have met with that runs as far as the Chesapeake. The village of Warwick comprizes only five or six houses; it is in the state of Maryland, and in the county of Cecil. The farmers complain much of the injury done to their corn by the Hessian fly. As this disease is very common in the east of Maryland, I shall defer a more full description of it until I have received some better information on the subject. I shall only observe at present, that from the conversation of two farmers, whom I saw at the inn, it appears to me that the Hessian fly chiefly attacks such corn as grows on a poor soil, and that several veins of earth in the same fields, which are of a better quality than the rest, are free from them. These farmers were of opinion, that if the lands were well dunded,

dunged, and kept in good order, they would not be liable to the disease. If this assertion may be depended upon, it should have induced them to attend to cultivation ; but this opinion, as yet, has not made one farmer more attentive. The corn of this country is also subject to the rust, and to a disease called the stab, which reddens a part of the ear, and destroys the grain. The observations of the inhabitants, who are neither profound nor persevering in their researches, have not ascertained the cause of this last disease of the corn, nor even its nature. They think, however, that the damp arising from fogs is one of the principal causes. The corn is sometimes sown here mixed with plaster-of-Paris, or with ashes, but they do not cleanse it before sowing, which is apparently one cause of the various diseases to which it is subject.

Land is sold here according to its quality, from fifteen to forty dollars an acre. The laborious part of cultivation is generally performed by negro slaves. The price of such as are good workmen is at present from three to four hundred dollars a negro: they may be hired of those masters who do not employ them, but let them out at sixty dollars a year. Labourers are also to be procured among the white men, whose wages are from one hundred to one hundred and ten dollars a year. These latter are always better fed than the negroes. The farmers, most of whom have their own negroes, or hire them of slave owners, seldom employ white men, except in the time of harvest, when they pay them a dollar and a half a day, and find them in provisions. The landlord of the inn where we stopped, who is a farmer, and who hires negroes, not having a sufficient number of his own, prefers them to white men ; he assures us they will work as well, if properly looked after ; and that the whites require as much attention in this respect as the negroes. He observed, however, that those whites who consented to work with the blacks were of the lowest kind. He has a large field of clover before his house, every acre of which produces him yearly sixty hundred weight of fodder in three crops. He has not held this farm more than one year: it consists of two hundred acres ; only sixty of which are good land.

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As there is no market at Warwick, meat is only to be procured of the farmers; who, before they kill their oxen, calves, or sheep, ensure a sale for them in the neighbourhood. During this day's journey we have met with good dry roads. Those which we travelled yesterday were rocky, miry, and cut to pieces by carriage-wheels. The weather to day is very fine; it is a true European spring day; comfortably warm and pleasant. The leaves of the willow trees begin to expand; the turtle-doves woo their mates; and the birds warble their songs. Blackbirds are more common in these parts than any other species.

CHESTER-TOWN, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH JUSTICE IS ADMINISTERED THERE.—OBSERVATIONS ON SLAVERY.

Between Warwick and George-Town, you pass the small creek called *Head of Sassafras*. At the head of this creek are some mills, which are turned by its water, collected in a large pond; the natural declivity of the creek being very inconsiderable. This small creek has several branches, which we have passed, and which unite together five or six houses at the head of each. Neither these nor two or three other creeks which we have before crossed, flow through valleys, but through hollows; which do not alter the appearance of the ground, or interrupt the perfect level of its surface. All the land in this neighbourhood is of a rich and fertile soil. The fields are still more extensive than those which we saw yesterday; the generality of farms are larger, and the appearance of the country is better; but we constantly meet with proofs of the little attention bestowed on cultivation. The colour of the soil, in many places, indicates that it contains iron; which settles in the ponds, and on the surface of the earth. Among the mills of the *Head of Sassafras*, there are some iron-mills.

The road to Chester presents little variety; it is a continual flat, and the fields are stripped of their trees, as are all those which we have seen since we left Philadelphia.

Chester,

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Chester, where we arrived on the thirteenth of March, is situated in a valley, much larger than any we have yet seen. The college, which is a large building, on the summit of a hill, commands a view of this little town. This building is in a deplorable state of decay, although it is not yet finished. There is no glass in any of the windows; the walls have fallen down in many places, and the doors are without steps: yet this is the second college of the state, in which there are only two. This establishment is endowed with three thousand three hundred and thirty dollars a year. It maintains a president and three masters; the number of scholars, however, is not more than forty or fifty, though for sixteen dollars all the branches of learning which are taught there may be acquired. Boarders pay eighty or ninety dollars for their board. Twelve or fifteen hundred dollars have already been expended on this building. It is constructed on a plan large enough to receive five hundred scholars. Funds are wanting to complete it, and like almost all the public buildings in America it will be in ruins before it is finished. There are no free-schools in this state, but few day-schools, and still fewer grammar-schools, where people in easy circumstances can send their children. A proposition was made at the last meeting of the legislative assembly, to establish a grammar-school in each county, at the public expence; but this proposition, which has not yet been determined upon, will not be carried, because in the first place nobody feels, or appears to feel, the advantages of a superior education; secondly, because the small number of those who are sensible of those advantages do not suppose that much good will result from a single school in each county; and lastly, because the proposed establishment does not include any provision for the education of the people, at least not for that part of the people who are unable to pay for it; and who, doubtless, are entitled to share with the other members of the community in the advantages of an education purchased with the public treasure.

Chester contains about one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty

thirty houses, almost all built in one street; a few of them are brick houses, but the greater part are of wood: among the latter are some rather handsome, well painted, and large. The principal street—and, as I have said, there is scarcely more than one—is built on a gentle declivity, sloping towards the river. About the middle of this street, built on a large space of ground, stands a church; the windows and the walls of which are not in a much better condition than those of the college. A minister is maintained by subscription, who receives about three hundred dollars: as he is also president of the college, with a salary of eight hundred dollars, besides a residence, he may live very comfortably: the contributions of his parishioners would not afford him a subsistence. Near the same spot stands the hall of justice.

Chester, as the chief town of the county of Kent, is the seat of justice: courts are held here twice a year, as well as all the courts of common pleas for the state of Maryland; they are held by a chief judge, or a judge of the district, who presides successively in similar courts in the four counties, of which the district is composed; and by two assistant judges, who only sit in the county-court. Mr. *Samuel Chew*, the brother of my respectable friend *Benjamin Chew*, of Philadelphia, is one of the assistant judges. I waited upon him at his house; and as he was then in court, I went thither to him. This building is by no means to be admired, either for its exterior, which is falling to decay, like all the public buildings of this city, or for the decorations of the hall of justice, which is not in a better state of repair than the outside of the building.

But here, as every-where else, the institution of juries inspires one with reverence: the jurymen here appear attentive, and anxious to decide with equity. Wherever this benevolent institution is established, we exult to see the interests, the honour, the lives of men committed to the charge of their equals; whom passion does not blind; whom the partial knowledge of obsolete statutes does not prejudice; who, having simply to pronounce on matters of fact, require no other guide than the dictates of common sense, of which few men, especially few plain

plain men, are destitute. The forms of justice here are less satisfactory than in England; where the judge himself notes down the depositions of the witnesses, and the principal arguments of the counsellors, and repeats them to the jury before they pronounce their verdict, carefully disengaging the simple facts on which they have to decide from every thing irrelevant. The judges here do not take that trouble; which is generally more necessary here, as the counsellors are garrulous, ignorant, and full of chicanery. Yet still the juries seldom pronounce an unjust verdict; and, as one proof at least of their zeal and attention in the discharge of their duty, I must remark, that during my short stay in this city, a jury has been inclosed twenty-four hours before they agreed in their verdict on a cause the issue of which did not involve more than fifty dollars. The proceedings of the court at Chester appeared to me to be conducted with more decorum than in Philadelphia, or any of the American states which I have visited. All the attendants are uncovered: silence is preserved: and the only indecorum is occasioned by the counsellors, who wrangle, interrupt, and often abuse each other; and appear here, as almost every-where else, calculated rather to perplex than elucidate the questions which they argue.

House robberies are very frequent in Maryland; five or six trials for this offence occur almost every sessions. Murders are very rare. The judges attribute the multiplicity of robberies to the free negroes, who are numerous in the state of Maryland: I have heard the same accusation preferred against them in all the states where slavery is permitted. Such a charge is consequently a strong argument with the slave-holders against the abolition of slavery; but the evil, if it exists, as I am led to believe it does, is still to be attributed to the state of slavery, in which these newly-freed men have been previously kept, and from which they have been emancipated without any preparation for a state of freedom.

It is natural to suppose, that a slave, harassed by continual labour, driven by the scourge to toil in the open fields whether he is healthy

or sick, considers liberty merely as a release from labour. Whilst he was a slave, food of some sort or other was always provided for him, without the least care on his part; since he was aware that no industry, or attention of his, would procure him either better food or clothing. Labour therefore brought nothing but fatigue, and he became of course indolent and careless. The first moments of his liberty are enjoyed in a cessation of toil; for the lash no longer resounds in his ears: he feels the wants of nature; no education has been bestowed on him but that of slavery, which teaches him to cheat, to steal, to lie; and he satisfies those wants, for which industry has not provided, by pilfering the corn or provisions of his neighbours, and becomes the receiver of goods stolen by the slaves.

Though such are the necessary consequences of freedom, *thus bestowed* upon a slave, they should by no means operate unfavourably with those who are desirous of the gradual emancipation of the negroes; who conceive that by a careful and liberal preparation for such a benevolent measure, adapted to the number of negroes in the country, and many other circumstances, the greater part of the evils described may be avoided, and may at length be entirely prevented, if not in the present, at least in the future generation. But how can we hope for so general a spirit of philanthropy among men who look only to their present interest, of which they imagine it destructive?

In the state of Maryland, slaves are tried in the same courts as the whites; they have also the privilege of trial by juries. The punishments for the blacks are very severe; but the manners of the people are mild, at least in that part of Maryland where I am at present, and prevail over the rigour of the laws. I was witness to a fact which proves the humanity of the judges, and their desire to render equal justice to the accused, whether whites or slaves. A female negro is now in prison accused of having poisoned a child, and of having attempted to poison her mistress. Her mistress, who is her accuser, being a woman of considerable consequence in the country, and allied to a family of great influence in the county, the judges, jealous of the effects of that influence

influence on the jury, have availed themselves of the power they possess of referring the trial to the general court of the district, which is held sixty miles from Chester, that the accused may enjoy every possible chance of a fair and impartial trial.

No measures have yet been adopted in Maryland for the gradual freedom of the slaves: some well-meaning men hope to lead the attention of the legislature in a short time to the subject, but the opinion of the country seems by no means favorable to it.

The laws of Maryland empower the judges to alter the sentence of death into a milder punishment; which is that of sending the convict to labour for a longer or a shorter time in the public works at Baltimore. I am not of their opinion who admire this provision of the law; which, on the contrary, appears to me extremely reprehensible, as it may, and often must, render the judges partial in the eyes of the public: whereas, in every well-regulated state, the judge should merely be the passive organ of the law. In the state of Maryland how easily may each judge, in administering justice in his own county, be swayed by his natural disposition, by an acquaintance with the families of the criminals, or by a momentary impulse of passion! at least, how liable is he to be suspected of such partialities! The judge of the district receives eight hundred dollars a year; the assistant judges only three dollars a day during the sessions. The juries and the witnesses receive one dollar and a third a day.

Near the justice-hall stands the prison. It is a small new building, which has not yet even a staircase. There is a yard in which it was intended the prisoners should walk for the benefit of the air, but the walls of it are so low, that the prisoners are prohibited from walking there, as they might easily escape. Debtors are confined in a separate apartment of the same prison. The other prisoners are kept together, and in irons: there were but four there when I saw the prison, one of which was a negro, who, in attempting to escape from the window, fractured his leg in such a manner, as to render amputation necessary. We entered this prison, and visited the whole interior of

the building without the gaoler, who was absent, and who had left the keys in the doors, in such a manner, that we, or any other persons who had come to the prison, might have released all the prisoners. This carelessness, this negligence, is, generally speaking, characteristic of the country. The gaoler receives eighteenpence a day for the maintenance of each prisoner; the whole of which pittance ought certainly to be applied to that object; but it is to be suspected, and indeed we were assured, that this is not very scrupulously done.

At Chester, as almost every-where else in America, the burial-place is in the middle of the town; here, however, to the danger of contagion, always great in warm climates, is added indecency; for the burial-ground is in the high street, near the prison; it is without walls, or any other inclosure to conceal it; and is not distinguished by any marks, which might inspire the respect due to every place set apart for the burial of the dead. The sadness which this indifference has occasioned me, will perhaps be ascribed to prejudice; but where is the son, or the husband, who could behold without shuddering the grave of the father, or the wife that he loved, trampled on by beasts? Reverence for the ashes of the dead appears to me as natural as respect for the aged; which perhaps some may also denominate a prejudice; but it is a prejudice of which few, I think, would have sufficient *energy* to divest themselves, though they may stile that corruption of the understanding, and of morals, *energy*, which throws off all restraint, which spurns the sentiments of nature, and renounces every ancient feeling and opinion merely on account of their antiquity.

A poor-house for the county is established at Chester. I have already repeated, that my opinion is unfavourable to the establishment of this sort of houses. This, however, is kept in as good order as any private house. The poor are well fed, and have the appearance of being very healthy. The building of the house cost about five thousand six hundred dollars. The annual expence for eighty-two paupers, old and young, is four thousand dollars, which is about forty-
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fix dollars and a third per head. The overseers of the poor in each hundred of the county have the power of admitting into the poor-house such persons as they deem proper objects. The children are put out apprentices when they are of a proper age; and as they are bound to remain with their masters till the age of twenty-one, no money is advanced by the house to the masters. Hitherto the negroes have been excluded from the poor-house: which is certainly a just exclusion, as far as it respects slaves, as their masters ought to take care of them; but which ought not to be extended to free negroes, negresses, and their children. It was said by the governors of the poor, that if they admitted the claims of these people, their house would be filled by them, as their improvidence is greater than the whites. It is difficult to admit this reasoning of economy as an excuse for so inhuman a refusal. Prejudice against the negroes, and particularly against the free negroes, is the true cause of this unjust decision; which reduces the old, infirm negroes; and their children, to subsist upon private charity, and in failure of that precarious source, frequently exposes them to the utmost want and lowest state of wretchedness. The poor's-rates in the state of Maryland are levied upon each county. Every county has not a poor-house. In several they administer relief to the poor at their own houses, but every-where the same regulations are adopted relative to the distributions of the public money.

Chester is built on a river of the same name, which rises in the state of Delaware. This river is about three quarters of a mile wide, and is navigable in boats ten miles above the town; after which it becomes a small creek, the stream of which is barely sufficient to turn a mill. Chester is thirteen miles in a direct line from the Chesapeake; but the land is so flat, that the river before it reaches its mouth runs a zig-zag course of thirty-five miles. It is navigable to Chester for ships of from eighty to ninety tons. One vessel of this burthen belongs to this port, and is employed in the commerce of the West-Indies; I saw also some smaller ships, and some boats without decks, which

which are employed in the navigation of the bay, and particularly in voyages to Baltimore. All the towns that are situated on the rivers which fall into the Chesapeake employ similar vessels, the numbers of which have been greatly increased within these few years, as the corn which was formerly carried away by the Philadelphian merchants, or by the Brandywine millers, is at present sent to Baltimore, where lately several good mills have been built: grain is likewise sent to Elk-Town.

Corn is raised in large quantities in this part of Maryland: it is esteemed the best and heaviest of any which is grown in the United States, but, as I have before observed, it is subject to the attacks of the Hessian fly, which often destroys half the harvest. It seems to be universally admitted here, as well as in Warwick, that such corn as is sown in soils either naturally rich, or made so by dunging, is exempted from this disease, as the blade shoots fast and becomes very soon strong, and impenetrable to the attacks of this destructive little fly. Besides the rust and the stab, the corn is likewise sometimes injured by a species of fly, known in Virginia by the name of *Widles*, which renders it necessary to thrash it immediately it is cut; but this disease is by no means so general here as in the lower parts of Virginia, though it is not long since they have suffered by it in this part of Maryland, where, however, they have as yet neglected the precaution of threshing the corn as soon as it is cut. The conviction of the advantage of enriching the land has not induced the farmers to bestow more dung upon their fields. Such land as is cultivated in the usual way produces only from five to six bushels of corn an acre, or from eight to ten bushels of maize; whilst such as is well dunged produces six or seven times more: the latter is, besides, less subject to injury from the damps than the former. It is, however, to the human species that the constant damps of this boggy and flat country are most pernicious; the fogs and vapours of the months of July and August are particularly noxious. Bilious and intermittent fevers are epidemical in Autumn, and attack more than an eighth of the white inhabitants.

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Many people sink under these disorders, the general effects of which must be destructive, as it is rare to find an inhabitant who has attained the age of sixty-five. The negroes are less affected by these disorders than the whites, and in general live longer. The preservation of their health is attributed to their constantly sleeping in the kitchens, where they are preserved from the damps, which penetrate into all the houses, even during the most unpleasant heat.

Chester has a market regularly twice a week, which is well supplied with provisions. Beef, mutton, and veal, costs from six to eight pence per pound. The rent of the best houses in Chester does not exceed one hundred dollars, and living in general is cheaper there by one half than at Philadelphia.

There are about fourteen or fifteen stores at Chester, one of which is kept by Mr. John Chew, another brother of my friend at Philadelphia. The goods are in general brought from Philadelphia, where they are obtained cheaper than at Baltimore, notwithstanding the expences of carriage, which amounts to nearly one per cent. They are sold at twenty or twenty-five per cent above the price of the shops in Philadelphia. When it is known that the greatest part of the storekeepers at Chester frequently buy their goods at a half, and always a quarter, below the market price, it must be supposed that though they transact little business they make great profits.

Free negroes for agricultural labour are easily procured at eighty dollars a year; slaves may be hired at fifty dollars. Some planters prefer white labourers and free negroes to slaves, as less troublesome and more profitable. A cow is sold here for fifteen or twenty dollars; an ox, for forty; and a horse for labour, for one hundred. Carriage horses often cost six hundred dollars the pair. The county of Kent, of which Chester is the chief place, contains thirteen thousand inhabitants, of which five thousand six hundred are slaves; it furnishes but few cattle for the markets of Baltimore and Philadelphia, as almost all its produce is consumed within itself.

COLONEL

COLONEL THYLMAN.

Having crossed the river, we entered Queen Ann's-County, which affords no more variety in the nature of its soil or its cultivation than those I have passed. I was informed that I was in the worst part of the county, and that the more distant parts are fertile and produce great quantities of corn, which I am induced to believe, as every body agreed in the report; and as it is well known that the county exports a large quantity of corn, and sends a great many cattle to Baltimore market: but all the land which lies near the road twenty-two miles on this side Colonel Thylman's is poor and barren, which is attributed to its having been drained by the long growth of tobacco here previous to the almost total relinquishing the cultivation of that plant in this part of Maryland. These sorts of soil produce from four to six bushels of corn an acre, when they are not infested with either the Hessian fly, with smut, by the stab, nor by the wide. The houses by the side of the roads are of the most miserable kind, and the inhabitants appear by their exterior as poor as their lands. These habitations consist of bad log-houses, as small as those which are met within the midst of the most distant woods.

The little village of Church-hill, containing a dozen old houses, and two or three churches, the one episcopal, and the other methodical, is the only one to be met with on this side Centerville, the chief town of the county; this place is situated upon a small elevation above Corfica-creek. The county built the sessions-house and the prison; there are some other habitations here, consisting principally of taverns and warehouses, making in the whole about twenty houses tolerably well built of brick, but at a considerable distance from each other, without having any cultivated fields near them: there is a mill of considerable size, built upon the creek. A little further in the country there is an episcopal church, which the inhabitants in the neighbourhood who are in easy circumstances attend regularly: I have seen many horses and carriages attending at the door. As to Church-hill, the

the small village which I passed, the episcopal church there is but thinly attended; almost all the inhabitants frequent that of the methodists.

From Centerville to Colonel Thylman's the soil seems to be a little better; there are some farms which appear to be for the most part the habitations of planters; but those poor little houses are much more numerous. The whole country is covered with cattle of a very poor condition, which are always, during winter and summer, left in the fields and in the woods: they are of a very small species. Hogs are more abundant in Queen Ann's-County than in the county of Kent, and more scattered about in the roads and in the fields. Sheep are also considerably plentiful in this part of Maryland, but they are small and long-legged; in general they produce only two pounds of wool, which sells at two *schellings* a pound.

The house of Colonel Thylman is upon the river Chester; it is in a very flat situation, from whence a great mass of water is seen, which is, however, only the bay of the river Chester parted by the isles of Eastern, Neck, and Kent-island.

Colonel Thylman has a property of three thousand acres of land contiguous, of which he uses about one thousand for growing corn and maize, and for meadow ground. He appears to know all the faults of the agriculture of his country, and to be convinced of the advantage resulting from a change, but he sees so many difficulties attending it, that the amendments he makes are only partial and few, though well informed, by the reading of good English books, of all that is necessary to be done in order to establish a good and rich tillage. Custom almost every where prevails over light and knowledge; people will not, they dare not, act contrary to others: and in the business of agriculture, where this custom has a greater empire perhaps than any-where else, the great expences which are necessary to the introduction of a great change for the better, aid this general disposition to follow the common routine.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE POPULATION OF
LOWER MARYLAND.

The population of white people in the east part of Maryland, diminishes instead of augmenting. In a country abounding in slaves, the whites do not apply much to labour. Their ambition consists in buying negroes; they buy them with the first sum of money they get, and when they have two of them they leave off working themselves: this small number is not sufficient to keep their lands in good order according to the tillage of the country, bad as it may be. The small farmers among the whites thus leaving off labour augment their expences, and their affairs are soon in a bad condition. These, and those who had never been able to purchase negroes, find themselves in an inferior situation to their neighbours who have many slaves: displeased with their station, they soon think of establishing themselves in a country where land is cheaper, and where they shall not be so much surpassed by proprietors so disproportionably richer than themselves. So that all these small farms, the supporting of which becomes every year more chargeable, because the wood for making the fences for enclosure is more scarce, and hand-labour at a higher price, are put to sale, and are bought by rich planters, and those who have sold them go to establish themselves in Kentucky, in Tennessee, and in the countries of the west. By this the province does not gain in agricultural improvements what it loses in population; its lands are not better managed; their produce is not increased but often diminished, because the purchaser of them looks rather at a good foundation for his property, that is to say, a sure augmentation of property than an increase of revenue.

Here, as in other places, when the utility of negro slaves to the interests of the master is closely examined, compared with the employment of every other kind of labour, it will be found that in reality it has none. The old men and women, children, and pregnant females, must

must be fed and clothed, and taken care of in sickness. Nothing is more common than to see the proprietor of eighty slaves unable to bring thirty to work in the field at the same time. Ten workmen, hired by the year, will perform at least as much labour as these thirty slaves, and the master has nothing to do but to pay them. There are already a great many masters aware of this calculation, and many perceive the inconvenience of slaves, who, as I have said, cause all the white labourers to quit the country who would apply themselves to work if there were no slaves. Masters are embarrassed with their negroes, the population of whom would otherwise augment in the southern states in the same proportion as that of the whites in other parts of America; but while they all perceive the inconveniency of slavery, they are the first to oppose the measure of the legislature's making a law for the gradual abolition of slavery.

The proprietors of negroes complain already that since their population has increased, they are less submissive and more turbulent than they were before. These symptoms ought to teach them the necessity of doing something speedily towards putting an end to this state of slavery, which will be sooner or later very dangerous to the masters; but they fall asleep over this as they do over other dangers; and in this case, as in all others, it is acknowledged that foresight is null and void among the people of America.

The fields are in all this part of Maryland often of the extent of from sixty to eighty acres. Those who understand good tillage know how much this great size of fields must be detrimental to it, in a country where neither the horses, the beasts, nor the swine, are kept in the yards, and where consequently dung cannot be procured for fields of four acres, much less for fields of such great extent, which even with plenty of dung can never be regularly and well dunged. So that the harvests, even in the better soil, are poor. They are here with respect to dung as they are with slaves; they perceive the advantage of using it in the same manner as they perceive the incon-

venience of keeping negroes, but the conviction of what is best has no more effect in the one case than in the other.

Some farmers justify the largeness of their fields by the dearth of materials for fencing them. It is true that five panes or squares of this fencing will take rather more than a cord of wood, and that five squares will fence no more than about sixty feet, and that they ought to be renewed every three years. When it is considered that a cord of oak costs at Chester four dollars and a half, and also that every farmer who makes only three hundred squares of fencing, which is but little, since it is only an extent of seven hundred and twenty-two fathoms, or 4332 feet nearly, and that he could sell this wood so employed for sixty dollars, it will then not be surprizing to see so many fences in a bad condition, nor that so many small farmers are displeased with their possessions on account of this expence alone. This calculation is made every-where: all the world knows the advantage of hedges as fences, every body sees some of them in the country; the thorn is in every wood, and there are living fences without being regularly planted. Besides, wood sensibly diminishes in this part of America as in every other. It is cut down every-where, and made use of by every body; it is every-where wasted, and no-where replanted; even the trees that have been cut are not permitted to bud and grow again, because the cattle are suffered to run over and destroy them.

Queen Ann's-County contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants, of whom seven thousand are slaves: the number of free negroes is very considerable.

The county of Talbot, to the south of that of Queen Ann, is fertile, and produces plenty of corn and cattle, they are conveyed into Chesapeak-bay by the river Chesapeak. The manner of tillage is the same.

The counties of Dorchester, Somerset, and of Winchester, afford also some corn, but the greatest part of them is covered with wood, particularly

particularly with cedars and pines, the carriage of which is effected by the rivers Crantikoke, Wicomeko, and Pokomeko, and is, in every respect, like to that of the woods of the county of Sussex, of which I have spoken in the state of Delaware.

Caroline-County, situated between that of Talbot and the state of Delaware, is the most sterile of the eight counties of this part of Maryland.

A plan of a canal is in agitation, which is proposed to take place in the waters of the river Chaptank, in order to join the Delaware and the Chesapeak. It is at present only a project, but the legislature has ordered an account of the places to be taken. It is said, that the opinion of men the most acquainted with these affairs is favourable to its execution, and it is hoped that it will be accomplished. The division of the waters of this peninsula, which run either into the Delaware or into the Chesapeak, is made by a range of marshes which reach through the whole extent of the state of Delaware, and of which the position is a little more elevated than the rest of the country. It is remarked, that the soil of these marshes is more sandy, and of an inferior quality to that of the rest of the peninsula; and that the bushes and shrubs which are commonly found upon the highest mountain are also to be met with in this marshy country.

The inhabitants in easy circumstances of the east part of Maryland are polite and hospitable. Mr. Chew treated me in the most kind and obliging manner, and had a friendship for me which this excellent family have continued to preserve during the whole time I have been in America. The people of this country are of gentle manners; it is towards the interests of their farms that their cares and attentions are generally turned, and the sale of the produce of the soil is the only commerce to which they apply.

In political opinions they are federalists, but without any other predilection for England, than that which proceeds from the great attachment which they have here for the ancient president, who in the last years of his administration traced this path with credit. The people amuse

amuse themselves with the writings of *Fenn* and *Porcupine*; but they say already that the latter is a *black-guard*, who wishes to deliver America up into the hands of the English. There is no great advancement made in politics any-where. The young men are much taken up with fox-hunting and racing.

ISLE OF KENT.—PASSAGE OF THE CHESAPEAKE.

After passing a day agreeably at the house of Colonel Thylman, one of the most amiable and polite men, and of the best company, which I have yet met with in America, I proceeded on my way towards *Kent-Island*, where I proposed to embark for Annapolis. The country is everywhere flat, and the land has been much used for the cultivation of tobacco, which is now abandoned: the houses are miserable. Twelve miles from the colonel's, after having passed through a mean little village, consisting of six or seven houses, honoured with the name of *Queen's-Town*, I passed the *Kent-narrow* in a small ferry-boat, and I travelled seven miles further in the flat isle of Kent, where the land was of the same nature as that which I had just left. The inhabitants there appear to be still poorer. Captain Calvert keeps a tolerably good inn at the point of the island, and two good small sloops for the passage. But these sloops cannot approach nearer to the shore than within half a mile. It was necessary to take my horse with me in a boat absolutely flat, from whence he was hoisted into this little vessel. The awkwardness of the negro sailors and of the captain in this affair, made us think that the horse and we should have lost our lives on this occasion. Happily we came off with but little injury, and after a passage of an hour and a quarter over twelve miles, the breadth of Chesapeake-bay at this place, I and my horse arrived safe at Annapolis the 3d of April.

The passage for a man and his horse costs two dollars, when there are no other passengers; when there are many, the price of the passage is only a dollar and a half. This little voyage is commonly performed

in

in two hours: we went in less time because the weather was admirable.

ANNAPOLIS.

The prospect of Annapolis is extremely agreeable upon arriving there from the bay. This city is built upon the side of the *Severn*, upon a little hill, which, without being much elevated, commands a little of the flat country which surrounds it. Annapolis was formerly the principal city of Maryland, and there was some commerce carried on there. Since the revolution it retains the name of the metropolis of the state, and continues to be the seat of the government, but Baltimore has drawn all the commerce from it. The capitalists, or those who would become such, have quitted it to go and reside at Baltimore; and the inhabitants are in general families in easy circumstances, who have property in the neighbourhood, officers of the government, and gentlemen of the law, attracted by the vicinity of the courts of justice. The population of this town diminishes every year; the houses are for the most part built of brick, and are spacious, many of them are very large, and have fine gardens, in better order than any I have yet seen in America.

The state-house is one of the largest public buildings in the United States, and its interior the most complete and finished, at least as far as the plan is at present executed. This structure, which has already cost one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, will probably require from fifteen to twenty thousand more before it is completed, which it will soon be, as the legislature grants every year the necessary sums for this purpose. It contains apartments for the tribunals, for the assemblies of the executive council, and rooms for the principal officers of the state, except for the governor, who has a house built by the state. It has a large cupola with a lantern at the top, which is ascended by a commodious staircase, and from whence there is a prospect as far as the Atlantic, beyond the Chesapeake; of the peninsula of Delaware-bay; and of the little point of Jersey, which separates it from Annapolis.

The

The college is another very considerable building. It has an endowment of five thousand dollars, which is raised by certain duties of the state, such as licences, fines, &c. but of the west part of Maryland only. There are a hundred scholars there, and it is said that the masters of it are very good. The English, the learned languages, the French, the mathematics as far as astronomy, some philosophy, and some common law, are taught there.

A church large enough to contain three times the number of inhabitants in Annapolis shews, that at the time it was built there was no suspicion of the present depopulation of the city, which does not contain more than two thousand inhabitants.

Annapolis is, however, as to society, one of the most agreeable cities of the United States; hospitality, and an obliging sincerity, are in no part so general; all the families are united, and a stranger, always well received among them, soon finds himself at his ease there.

I had a letter for Mr. Cooke, one of the most celebrated counsellors in the state. He is esteemed as one of those who unite the greatest talents to goodness, to virtue, and to kindness. He is said to possess that delicacy in his profession, which has always appeared to me to be necessary to make that of a counsellor the principal, and the most respectable, of all others. He never undertakes a doubtful case; and his fortune permits him to do his duty in just causes without emolument, to those clients who are not in a situation to pay him. Can there be, for a man of talents and morality, a situation in life preferable to that? Always the advocate of justice, labouring without ceasing to have it administered, in the manner such a clear and virtuous conscience sees it in; what employment of life can be compared to this? Here I point at the speculators in lands, in the funds, and upon the ruin of others, &c. &c.—call me a fool for avowing it.

Mr. Carrol, one of the richest inhabitants of the United States, has also a house at Annapolis, and many others in the state: he has in general the favourable opinion of the people. Mr. Cooke introduced me to Mr. Ogle, to the house of Dr. Murray, and to many others.

others. All that I have seen of the men and women of this city leads me to think it one of the places which a stranger would be most inclined to choose, if he did not catch the disease of the country—the thirst for speculation.

Politics are here what they are in that part of Maryland I have just quitted. At present the people here are held in admiration by the successes of Buonaparte, and I am very glad to have arrived at this period, in a city which is rather disposed to English opinions than to favourable ones of my country.

A separate peace with the emperor is wished for, which would compel that of England. It is by far the dearest of my wishes; but let us hope and speak of something else. The inhabitants of Annapolis say that the situation is healthful, yet they confess that they are subject to fevers in autumn. The country has not the appearance of being so unhealthy as that of the other side of the bay; but it is too much surrounded by water and creeks of a slow current, to be depended upon as a salutary abode.

The county of Ann Arundel, of which Annapolis is also the chief place, is peopled with about thirteen thousand freemen, and eleven thousand slaves. Wheat, maize, oats, and tobacco, are cultivated here. Iron is found, and three or four forges and furnaces for great works have been established here during some years.

A cord of oak wood costs at Annapolis four dollars and a half, that of hickory five and a half. Virginia coals have been burnt here about two years.

The market here is very badly provisioned; it is very often without beef; when there is any it sells at eight pence a pound, and mutton and veal at ten pence. Fish, and especially perch, rockfish, and shads, abound in the proper season for them.

I learnt at Annapolis that Mr. Carroll in his large plantation near Ellicott's mill had attempted to cultivate the vine, without success, though he had employed vine-dressers whom he had expressly sent for from

France. From this they conclude here that the vine cannot prosper, and that the wine cannot be good. This proves that the nature of the soil and of the climate require some particular care and attention, of which good observation, and longer experience, may lead to the discovery of the secret; but it is impossible to suppose that the soil of Maryland is incapable of producing good grapes.

THE HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, AND LAWS OF MARYLAND.

Annapolis being the seat of government, it appears to me proper to place here what I have to say of the history and constitution of Maryland.

The northern states of America owe their establishment to the persecutions which the Presbyterians suffered in England.

Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, a Catholic, received at his request in 1633 a charter from Charles the First, who gave to him and to his heirs the property of the countries to the north of the Potowmack. This charter granted to Cecilius Calvert endowed him with the power and authority of making laws both civil and criminal, of raising taxes, and granting honours.

The enacting clause of the charter stated an intention of extending the Christian religion: Charles the First therein engages for himself and his heirs, *never to lay upon the inhabitants of these new colonies any interior tax by an exterior legislature.*

The first colony, composed of about two hundred gentlemen of fortune and rank, and the same number of their partizans or domestics, all Catholics, landed in the beginning of 1633 near to the mouth of the Potowmack, in Chesapeak-bay. They gave to their establishment the name of Maryland, some say in honour of the virgin, others that it was in honour of Queen Mary, wife of Charles the First. They made their establishment in concert with the Indians, of whom they bought lands, and with whom they lived in great cordiality.

They

They received for their establishment more succours from these savages than they could expect; they provided them with game, and the Indian women taught them how to make bread of maize, &c.

Lord Baltimore established his colony upon laws of entire toleration for every sect of the christian religion, without preference for any, and also upon those of civil liberty. This colony received successively many new emigrations from Europe, and a considerable number of puritans whom the laws of Virginia drove from their infant settlement, in consequence of which it increased very much. An assembly of freemen formed in 1638, in concert with Lord Baltimore, a kind of constitution for the formation of laws which should not be enforced till after they had received the sanction of two houses, and the approbation of the governor.

In the midst of these wise establishments it is painful to learn, that slavery took root in this colony in its infancy, for an act made by an assembly of *freemen*, in giving a definition of the *people*, pronounced that *they consisted of all the inhabitants, the slaves excepted*.

This colony was disturbed successively by troubles, which were quickly appeased by Lord Baltimore, of whom it appears that prudence and excellent conduct in all situations never failed him.

After the death of Charles the First affairs changed. Cromwell was acknowledged by this province, which was then dependent upon England. Lord Baltimore was obliged to take refuge in Virginia. The Catholic religion was excluded after the English religion was established by law. In short, after many vicissitudes, and after the restoration of Charles the Second, Lord Baltimore was re-established in the property of the state of Maryland, where his heirs were fixed till the last revolution, in which a part of their possessions was confiscated.

The constitution of 1638 was revised in 1650, and underwent some changes, was suspended during the troubles, but after those were blown over it was restored to full vigour, and remained so till 1776, when the present constitution was made.

By this constitution the general assembly is composed of a house of delegates, and a senate. Each county chooses four members of the house of delegates: there are seventeen counties, and the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore nominate two each. The house of delegates is renewed every year. The conditions required to become a member are to be twenty-one years of age, a citizen of the state, a resident of the county of one year standing, and to be possessed of a property of the value of thirteen hundred and thirty dollars. The electors of the representatives are required to be twenty-one years of age, and to be freemen, possessing a personal property of eighty dollars, or fifty acres of land. There are fifteen senators who are chosen for five years, by two electors for each county, chosen by the electors who choose the representatives. Seven senators out of the fifteen are required to be of the eastern part of the state, and eight of the western part; their functions all cease together. In order to become a senator it is required to be twenty-five years of age, to have been a resident of the state during the three years preceding, and to have a property of two thousand six hundred and sixty-two dollars.

The executive power consists of a governor and five counsellors; they are chosen by the majority of the two houses united. The same conditions required to become a senator are required to become a counsellor.

The governor is required to be twenty-five years of age at least, to be possessed of property to the amount of thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty-two dollars, and to have been a resident of the state during the five preceding years.

The governor, with the advice of the council, appoints to all places, except to those of sheriffs, treasurers, and coroners. He has the power of expelling those from office who are in, except the judges. He annuls or mitigates sentences, and is military chief by land and sea: he is elected for one year only, and can only be re-elected for three years in seven. His place is filled in case of absence or death, by the counsellor of the oldest standing. Every person before he enters into any official

official functions is required to take an oath that he is of the Christian religion.

With very few exceptions, very reasonable and of small extent, all property in Maryland is subject to taxation. The legislature has made a valuation of the lands in each county, and according to different rates, which vary from half a dollar to four and a half. Slaves are valued according to their age and sex, from as low as forty dollars up to one hundred and twenty. The lots in towns are valued in proportion to their rent; a hundred dollars when the rent is eight: the houses at a hundred dollars for every sixteen of rent.

Independently of these general taxes, every advocate at the time of his admission into a court pays eight dollars, and so for every year he continues his profession. The licences for keeping taverns pay eight dollars; those for selling spirituous liquors sixteen. Every marriage-licence pays a tax of a dollar and two thirds.

There are besides these a great many other taxes, upon legal proceedings, upon judgments, upon decisions of the court of chancery, and upon those of the judge of the office of lands, &c. &c.

When the state has an occasion for taxes, the legislature which votes them appoints in the same bill five commissioners for the county. These commissioners assemble, divide the county into districts for taxation, and appoint an assessor for each of these districts. It is the duty of these assessors to make use of all legal means to know the taxable property of every individual. False returns made by proprietors are punished by an augmentation of the tax, to the double, or triple, according to the nature of the case.

The bases for the valuation of lands, and other property mentioned above, direct the assessors in ascertaining the quota of the tax to be paid by each individual. Their labour is submitted to the five commissioners of the county, who afterwards appoint the collectors; these deposit the money they collect into the treasury-chest of one of the two parts of the state, according to the situation of the county where the tax is raised, for the more ready execution of their duty, under the inspection.

inspection of the commissioners: the collectors are required to give security. The goods, movable and immovable, of taxable persons may be seized by the collectors, in default of payment; and those also of the collectors are liable to seizure, for negligence in their collection. The commissioners receive a dollar and a half for every day they are employed. They fix the salaries of the assessors, which cannot exceed sixty-six dollars: the collectors are rewarded with four per cent of what they receive. The state has not laid a tax since 1786; it amounted in that year to two hundred and eighty-four thousand dollars, and the expence of collection was only two and a half per cent. The taxes upon the profession of an advocate, and upon licences joined to those which are produced by legal processes, by fines, &c. with the increase of the interests of the capitals of the state, have been sufficient to pay all the expences of government, which are estimated from seventy to eighty thousand dollars per annum. The state has no debts except that of a hundred and fifty-one thousand dollars by the Union, estimated by the commissioners whom I have so often mentioned. It has in the English funds fifty thousand pounds sterling, which were placed there before the revolution, of which England acknowledges the claim, and to which even the English minister has given countenance; but Maryland has not yet been able to obtain payment from the bank in which these sums are placed. The state is deprived of this income by particular reasons of state, and by the negligence or bad conduct of its agents in England. So this capital of fifty thousand pounds sterling has been increasing by accumulated interest during thirty years. The taxes for every county are not the same, but they are taxed at the mean rate of a dollar and a half for two hundred and seven-seven dollars in value of all taxable property.

The towns have also their particular taxes, according to their wants; that of Baltimore amounts to four dollars for every two hundred and seventy-seven dollars of taxable property.

Every one acquires the rights of a citizen of the state of Maryland, by only making oath before a public officer of his profession of Christianity,

Christianity, and of allegiance to the laws, and to the state. The power of possessing every species of property, and of enjoying all the advantages of a native citizen of the state, is the immediate consequence of this oath, except the right of performing public functions. Foreigners are exempt by the law from taxation for two years, and during four years if they be traders, workmen, or manufacturers.

I cannot speak at any length of the system of the laws of Maryland, because I have not been able to procure a collection of them, notwithstanding the obligingness of the persons to whom I applied. I have spoken in another place of those of which I had a knowledge as far as I could obtain it.

The importation of negroes from Africa prohibited by the law ceased there in 1763. The introduction of negroes from other states is forbidden by a recent law, with the necessary restriction for the emigrants who bring them as domestics.

ROAD TO FEDERAL CITY.

The company of Mr. Yates, an English merchant, whom I had seen in the society at Annapolis, and who went to *Upper Marlborough*, induced me to prefer this road, notwithstanding the inconveniency of three passages over rivers, which I could have avoided by taking that of *Bladensburg*. The country from Annapolis to South-river rises a little, at least it is divided by small elevations, which are not much more than banks, similar to the other side of the bay. The landscape is embellished with handsome country-houses, and with farm-houses, almost all of brick, which are more frequent here. The lands are not stripped of trees, like those on the other side; and as at this season the fruit-trees begin to blossom, they are more distinguishable by their colours than at any other time of the year. The lands as far as South-river are cultivated for corn, which is grown almost every-where; for maize, which is not planted so early; and the rest is laid out into meadows.

dows. In other respects, there is every-where the same negligence of tillage, wooden fences, and what is more disagreeable and fatiguing to a traveller, a great number of gates to open. South-River is passed by a very good ferry-boat, at about two miles from its mouth in the bay; the passage is a league, the breadth of the river more than a mile, and its navigation does not extend three miles farther. At the head of the navigation there is an inspection or excise office for tobacco, which is carried on by the same means as in Virginia, but with less care than upon James-River. The prospect in passing the South-River is rich and agreeable; the ground rises and falls in gentle undulations, and is well furnished with trees. The nature of the country beyond the river is the same, and much more variegated than on this side. At present they are preparing the lands for the planting of tobacco. After having worked the land it is thrown into small hillocks: this is the mode of their actual labour in the fields. During that time the tobacco sown upon beds prepared for that purpose, as I have observed in speaking of Virginia, begins to rise up. In some fields it is kept covered under leaves, or dry branches of trees. In others where the fields are closer, or where there is a natural sloping in the land in a good situation, it is not covered. The cultivation of tobacco, which had been very much neglected during several years, is more followed this year on account of the high price it bears in Europe; but the soil has been so long worked with this exhausting produce, and is so badly manured (for manure is absolutely necessary for tobacco when the soil is not newly broken up), that it is not capable of producing good crops. The corn is here very seldom attacked by the Hessian fly, and the cultivators of this side of the bay are equally unacquainted with the cause of their being exempt from them as those on the other side are with the reason why they are tormented with them.

During the last three days the weather has been what would be called very hot in summer, and there have been four days, during which

which it was so cold as to require a great coat to ride in. These sudden and irregular variations in the temperature are extremely incommodious.

The woods upon the road are but few, and these few which remain are cutting down to make room for the sowing of tobacco. New land that is tolerably good will produce two crops of it following each other successively; but after that it would be incapable of producing any thing without manure. In every place upon my journey I have observed the greatest quantity of land, which I have seen to be in an exhausted state: never any manure, no restorative tillage, no change in the productions, nor any of those simple processes in agriculture which tend to invigorate the soil. Independently of the expences of making, and the customs to be overcome in establishing an order of things so essentially useful, the planters give as a reason for continuing their bad system of culture, the necessity there is of obtaining large crops of maize for the provision of their numerous slaves. This reason, which can arise only from want of reflection, or from laziness, may serve to prove however that the inhabitants of Maryland begin to feel some inconvenience from their negroes.

The river of *Potakent*, which is passed at Mount-Pleasant-ferry, is but about a hundred fathoms wide there, but this point is seventy-five miles from its mouth in the bay, and it is only five miles from Mount-pleasant, where it ceases to be navigable for vessels of two hundred tons burden.

Green trees, of which there are but few to be seen in the east part of Maryland, at least in the counties which I have passed through, are much more abundant on this side; but not so much so as in many other states. The cedar, the Scotch-pine, the cypress, and the spruce-tree, are the most common. There are also some pines called *pins du Lord*, but their number is but small.

Upper-Marlborough is three miles from Mount-Pleasant-ferry: it is the chief place of Prince George's county. The court of justice was sitting on the day I passed there; and the only inn of this small village

contains, or entertains, all those whom business or curiosity always draws to a court. It was then crowded, and the certainty that it would be so had taken Mr. Cook from Annapolis, for the purpose of engaging me not to stop till I came to the house of Mr. Dixes, five miles further, for whom he had given me a letter. This mode is very much practised in Maryland and Virginia, where hospitality is the general character; and the delicacy of an European, which at first seems backward in profiting freely by this hospitality, soon becomes reconciled to it, when he sees how simple and natural it is, and how the masters of houses who load a traveller with kindness seem to be pleased with him for having given them an opportunity of treating him in that manner. All agree in saying that this disposition is more general in Maryland and Virginia than any-where else; but it is my duty to repeat that I have found it common throughout America.

Embracing the favour of Mr. Cook's letter, I went to Mr. Dixes's; a young woman carried it to him, and in a little time after I was introduced into the parlour of an old man who could hardly walk; but he received me in the best manner. He is not the master of the house; it belongs to the widow of his brother, with whom he lodges, and to whom I was immediately presented. She is a woman of about sixty years of age, of very agreeable manners, with the deportment and tone of the best company. I was recommended to the old man; his infirm state seemed to claim my most assiduous attention; it is of him then which I have the most to observe. This good old man, of ninety years of age, spoke with great animation, and particularly against France. He is a catholic, a priest, and a jesuit: these titles are certainly sufficient to justify the passion with which he expressed himself upon every thing relative to that country, *except the priests and the nobility, who, said he, deserve to have an abode in another country.* "I was reading," said he, "a French book when you came in, and one of the best in your language; though I detest your country, peopled long since with atheists and villains, I like its language, for there are here and there good French works, better than in any other language."

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I was curious to know what my good old host regarded as the masterpiece of French literature. It was the mandate of the archbishop Christopher of Beaumont against the decree of the parliament of Paris for the proscription of the Jesuits. "Oh! sir," added he, "your people are the dregs of nations, a race of miscreants. It is for the punishment of their sins that God has permitted the present revolution; it is a scourge which he has in his hand to chastise that infidel people, and which he will never lay down till his wrath shall be appeased, and that will probably be a long time first, for he has a great many sins to punish." It was not my intention to hurt the feelings of this old jesuit, who all this time offered me wine, asked me in the most cordial manner to dine with him, and engaged me to pass several days at his house. I only represented to him, in a gentle manner, that it appeared to me that the wrath of God would not be confined to the chastisement of the French people; and that they might also be considered as a scourge which God would make use of to punish some other powers, such as the emperor for example, upon whom the late victories of Buonaparte fell, and our holy father the Pope, who at that time was in such danger, and who nevertheless was surely not a sinner. "O! sir," replied he, "all this is only a temporary evil to our holy father; God will declare himself in his favour when he thinks it a proper season for that purpose: but he will never pardon this race of atheists and rascals; and you will soon see them dispersed and annihilated, unless that God will suffer them to be recalled to the faith and practice of their fathers: but I fear that the goodness of God cannot go so far towards a people who have so long continued to amass such enormous crimes upon their heads. "In short," continued this exasperated old man, "do you desire to know the true cause of the French revolution? A great number of our brave catholics here see it in the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau; but I think otherwise. They were doubtless very worthless men, whose writings have spread very bad principles, but that is not the cause of the French revolution; it

arose entirely from the destruction of the society of Jesuits. A people who has committed such a crime was a foolish and abominable race, and who would destroy of course all power, all property, and overthrow all the laws, since they had destroyed an order of men so useful, so sacred, and so obviously the favourites of God." I was scrupulous of contradicting my aged host, otherwise so obliging, whom I should have so little convinced, and whom my opinion would have so badly recompensed for a good reception. It was necessary to deplore a little with him the destruction of such a holy society, the destruction of the principle of all virtue, and of all order, and to acknowledge that the true cause of the French revolution was in the abolition of the Jesuits, where, till then, I confessed I had been so little enlightened as not to have sought for it. I had also to attend to a young babbler of a priest, who was not willing to grant that the destruction of the Jesuits was the most hideous and the most unpardonable of crimes. In this manner I pleased my old Jesuit, and amused myself by contradicting the young pedant, until dinner-time. It was Wednesday in passion week, the dinner was therefore very sparing, quite catholic, and consequently not very restorative to a traveller. I do not know whether my friends will excuse me for making such a long article of this dotard; but at least it will be an additional proof to this indubitable and well-known truth, that interest and the passions are the spectacles through which men view the greatest events. Marcel saw the interest of kingdoms and the great secret of diplomacy in the art of dancing, in its propagation, and as he said in a minuet; and the old Rev. Mr. Dices saw the French revolution in the destruction of the Jesuits.

As to the rest, the manner of treating the injuries of my country excepted, it is impossible to have shewn more kindness for me than old Mr. Dices did, and to have been more obliging and more civil than Mrs. Dices, his sister-in-law, who is really amiable, and appears to be altogether a very good woman.

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I had met in passing over Mount-Pleasant-ferry a young man, who understanding that I intended to go to Federal-City, proposed that we should travel together, and promised to meet me at the house of the old jesuit. He was faithful to his appointment. Two other inhabitants of Federal-City were with him, so that by their company I was eased of the inquietude common to strangers travelling in Maryland, lest they should lose their way, for there are no direction posts by the road side to point out the true way, and the houses are so thinly scattered, that a traveller may wander about a great deal without having an opportunity of being informed of the right road.

The politics of my new travelling companions were very different from those of the house I had just quitted. "Is it true," said one of them to me, "*that France has declared war against America?*" "I believe nothing of it," answered I; "France loves America sincerely; she has a little quarrel with the government, but she wishes for nothing more than the happiness and prosperity of the people of America."

"These reports of a declaration of war are false, and spread by the merchants who wish to raise the price of their commodities, or by the English who wish the Americans to hate the French." "Ah! sir, they will never succeed in that; and should France be in the wrong, she has rendered us services sufficient not to be treated so rigorously: and as for me, if this country should go to war with France, I would go over to the side of the French, and take my friends with me."

"And I also"—"And I also," said the other two. "If an American were to fight against a Frenchman," said they in the course of their conversation, in which I took part only for the sake of supporting it, "that would be like fighting against his father." "And worse still," said another, "for our father has only given us life, and it very often happens that he does not give us any money. France has given us liberty, advanced us millions when our paper currency was in great discredit, and that at a time when she was not sure that we should ever be able to repay it; and she has lent us troops and ships. These
villanous

villanous English merchants with us to forget all this, that they may sell us their merchandize the dearer, but they will not succeed in their design."

The affection which these brave fellows so plainly manifested to have for France was united with an attachment for the unfortunate M. de la Fayette; and it is remarked, that it is the same throughout America, and that the sentiment of hatred for France, and indifference about la Fayette, are also found united in the opposite party. "Is it not shameful," said my fellow travellers, "that the United States should have done nothing for that brave man who has rendered us so many services? If the president had demanded him from the Emperor, it is certain he would have given him up to us, for he belongs to us." "Without doubt," added they, "the president thought that he did well in not demanding him, but he would have done better if he had, and also if he had not made that infamous treaty; and be assured, sir, that we are very numerous in every part of America who think the same."

I detail this conversation, to which I affirm that I add nothing, in the first place, perhaps, because it gave me pleasure, and then because it is, whatever the English may say of it, the expression of the sentiments of a great majority of the people of America; sentiments which France ought carefully to maintain without abusing them, and which, in the mean time, she would put an end to by alienating them, if she were not to conduct herself with justice and liberality towards America—if she does not speedily put a stop to all the piracies which are exercised at this time by her commissioners in the West Indies, at which every honest Frenchman revolts who is a friend to his country, under whatever denomination he may come.

I could every day recount similar examples, for there are but few taverns at which I stop where I do not hear the same expressions of attachment, from which I become every day more persuaded of the necessity of spreading in this country wise and moderate writings, which should display the actual political situation of France with the United

United States, and shew that she is the friend of America, and that it is her interest always to be so.

The country from *Upper Marlborough* to *Eastern-branch* rises successively, and every-where presents the same range of barren and bad cultivated lands. From the tops of the mountains which border upon the *Eastern-branch*, the river *Potowmack* is seen far beyond *Georgetown*, and as far as *Alexandria*. The *Eastern-branch* is also seen in its course for five or six miles; and, in short, there is a prospect of the whole site of the new city, the public and private buildings of which may be distinguished as they rise: this view is sublime and beautiful, but sufficiently confined by the heights beyond the *Potowmack* to enable the eye to embrace the various objects of it without being lost in its immensity.

The county of *Prince George*, of which *Upper Marlborough* is the chief place, is peopled by about twenty-two thousand inhabitants, of which twelve thousand are negro slaves. Tobacco is cultivated here in a considerably large quantity, and is reckoned the best in *Maryland*.

It may be remarked, that in this county, as in almost all the others in this state, the old towns or villages are built at the place where the rivers begin to be navigable, because tobacco being formerly the only article of exportation, it was necessary that the warehouses for inspecting it should be placed in such situations, and they have served as a pattern to other houses.

The *Eastern-branch* is passed in a tolerably good boat, a little too flat, and a great deal too small for the quantity of horses which are taken into it. I passed in this boat with ten horses and a carriage, and was uneasy till I arrived on the other side. The passage over this river is from three quarters of a mile to a league. After having crossed it you enter into *Federal-City*, that is to say, in its site, for at present there are only a few houses to be seen in this capital of the United States—in this metropolis of North America.

But as *Federal-City* is by its destination, or at least by the project of its destination, a principal point in the territory, as well as in the interior

terior policy of the United States, I shall speak of it at some length, and in such a manner that the history of this great project may be well comprehended; and of the means employed for its execution, of its situation, actual and designed, as well as a mature examination of all the circumstances enable me to foresee.

FEDERAL-CITY.

A little time after the constitution of the United States was made, its partizans—and no one was then accused of not being so—saw, that to make the system of confederation complete it was necessary to establish a general seat of government in a central point of the United States, independent of every particular state, and of which the sovereignty should belong to the Union. As the general government exercised a judicial authority apart from that of the several states, the vicinity of its tribunals to those of a particular state, which, having a jurisprudence of its own, might inflict a different punishment from that of the Union for the same crime, and even on the same spot, was a great inconvenience, and was to be remedied. The advantages resulting from the residence of the general government in a particular state might be the occasion of jealousy among the states, and cause the dissolution of the Union; and this source of discontent it was necessary to remove: neither Philadelphia nor New-York was placed in the centre of the states; and the deputies of the southern states being removed at a greater distance from the seat of the government than those of the north, this circumstance might be a cause of dissatisfaction to the former, and interrupt that harmony it was so important to preserve. To conclude; the sovereign government having something of a fiction in its existence, its establishment in a territory belonging solely to the Union, and in which it could exercise all acts of sovereignty without any mixture of other sovereign authority, would give it a greater appearance of reality: such were the principal reasons which were in fact plausible for adopting the scheme of placing the residence of the general

general government in a territory absolutely ceded to the Union. In July 1790 the Congress passed a law to this effect, in which the following are the principal provisions:

1st. To authorize the general government to accept, for the permanent seat of its residence, a territory which shall not exceed ten miles square, at the confluence of the Potowmack and the Eastern-branch, or *Connogechque*; but with a reservation to the state in whose limits the territory at present is, of the exercise of its sovereignty without impeachment by this law, till the actual establishment of the general government in such territory, unless the Congress shall provide otherwise by a subsequent law.

2d. To authorize the president of the United States to appoint, and continue with salaries, three commissioners to survey, measure, and describe the limits of such district, with the limitations above provided; the said commissioners to act under the direction and control of the president of the United States.—Two of the three, at least, agreeing to each act.

3d. To authorize the said commissioners to purchase or receive the cession of such lands on the east bank of the Potowmack as the president of the United States shall judge proper for the use of the general government; and to enjoin the said commissioners to have in preparation on the first Monday in December 1800 the buildings necessary for the reception of the Congress, the president, and other officers of the United States; the whole to be erected upon plans adopted by the president.

4th. To authorize and enjoin the president to accept donations of money, which may be contributed towards the defraying the expences of such acquisitions and buildings.

5th. To declare, that on the first Monday of December 1800 the government of the United States shall be transferred to such district and place as is before mentioned. To require, that the several offices attached to the government shall, in like manner, be trans-

ferred to the same place, under the superintendance of those who at the time being shall be at the head of such offices; and that thenceforth the business of such offices shall be transacted only in the said place: and to assign for the payment of the expences occasioned by such removal the duties on importation and tonnage to the extent necessary.

This law, which passed while the Congress sat at New York, provided also, that the government of the United States should be removed to Philadelphia, to remain there till the first Monday of December 1800, the period of its installation in its permanent residence.

The Congress had been previously assured of the favourable disposition of the States of Virginia and Maryland towards this plan; both one and the other having, in preceding sittings of their legislatures, offered to cede the part of their territory necessary to its completion. The seat of the government certainly could not be better chosen: it was not only central, but was at a distance from all danger of being disturbed by a foreign power, in any case of war; and was a situation favourable for the erection of a great commercial city, with ample means of being furnished with provisions, and in a fine and healthy spot.

As the states of Virginia and Maryland had an evident advantage in the establishment of the government in the place chosen by this law, they were active to forward the execution of the scheme, towards which Virginia gave the union the sum of a hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and Maryland, seventy-two thousand dollars. The proprietors of lands on the spot chosen for the new city had an interest still more immediate in the plan. They gave the union the absolute property of the half of the lots of which the city was to be composed. They also gratuitously ceded all the ground necessary for streets and squares, with a reservation of eighty dollars to be paid for every acre employed in forming public gardens. The lots remaining in the hands of individual proprietors, and those that became the property of the federal

federal government, were to be so distributed that individuals and the government should equally divide the advantage and inconvenience of the respective situations of the several lots.

In March 1796 the Congress passed a law, by which the commissioners were empowered to borrow, with the sanction of the president of the United States, the sum of three hundred thousand dollars, to defray the expences of the establishment ordered by the law of 1790, with provisos, that they should not borrow more than two hundred thousand dollars in the same year, nor pay more than six per cent for the loan; that the sums borrowed should be redeemable in 1803; and that the lots in the city belonging to the government, not sold, and destined to be so, should be the pledge for the loan, and the means of its re-payment, the United States undertaking to make good the deficiency, if there should be any. The same law enjoined the commissioners to make a return every six months to the secretary of the treasury of expenditures of the sums thus borrowed.

The commissioners, therefore, had at their disposition a hundred and ninety-two thousand dollars, the donations of Virginia and Maryland; and three hundred thousand dollars, the loan authorized by the Congress, independent of the produce of the sale of lots, the property of the general government, which they were empowered to sell, with certain restrictions imposed by the president of the United States.

The navigation of the Potowmack was interrupted in many places below Cumberland, to the distance of a hundred and ninety-two miles from the seat of the new city; but more especially at fifteen miles above George-Town, where there was a great fall, and at a place six miles nearer, where there was a less considerable fall. A company had been incorporated by the states of Virginia and Maryland, in 1784, by the name of the *Potowmack Company*; with a grant of tolls on different canals they had undertaken. The adoption of the scheme of establishing the general government on the banks of the Potowmack, gave new activity to these undertakings, which had begun to languish. In 1795 the shares of this company, which at its establishment

amounted to five hundred, at four hundred and forty-four dollars each, were increased to six hundred; and thus the company had the disposal of two hundred and seventy thousand four hundred dollars to improve the navigation of the Potowmack. The states of Virginia and Maryland were moreover particularly interested in the success of the company, by being proprietors of a great number of its shares.

When the undertakings of this company shall be finished, the produce of an immense extent of country, which at present is conveyed by land to Philadelphia and Baltimore, will find a more ample, ready, and less expensive market through the means of this great river; and Federal-City will acquire new resources both for its consumption and its commerce, adding greatly to the natural advantages of its situation.

The point of land which separates the Potowmack from the east branch, and which is within the site of the new city, is, at different times of the year, not only difficult, but dangerous to double: and the East-branch presenting the greatest depth of water, and the safest anchorage for ships, it became an object of importance to join the Potowmack to that branch by a canal; besides, that such a canal would be of great advantage to the new city. Two lotteries were authorized by the state of Maryland, in 1798, for the forming such a canal; each lottery consisting of a hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, of which a profit of fifteen per cent, that is to say, twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was granted to the canal.

Such were the means employed for the establishment of Federal-City, whose site extends more than three miles along the banks of the Potowmack, and the East-branch; and includes four thousand one hundred and twenty-four acres square.

In America, where, more than in any other country in the world, a desire for wealth is the prevailing passion, there are few schemes which are not made the means of extensive speculations; and that of the erecting of Federal-City presented irresistible temptations, which were not in fact neglected.

Mr,

Mr. Morris was among the first to perceive the probability of immense gain in speculations in that quarter; and, in conjunction with Messrs. Nicholson and Greenleaf, a very short time after the adoption of the plan purchased every lot he could lay hold on, either from the commissioners or individual proprietors; that is to say, every lot that either one or the other would sell at that period. Of the commissioners he bought six thousand lots at the price of eighty dollars per lot, each containing five thousand two hundred and sixty-five square feet. The conditions of his bargain with the commissioners, which was concluded in 1793, were, that fifteen hundred of the lots should be chosen by him in the north-east quarter of the city, and the remaining four thousand five hundred wherever Mr. Morris and his partners chose to select them; that he should erect an hundred and twenty houses of brick, and with two stories, on these lots within the space of seven years; that he should not sell any lot before the first of January 1796, nor without the like condition of building; and finally, that the payment for the lots should be completed within seven years, to commence on the 1st of May 1794; a seventh part to be paid annually—that is to say, about sixty-eight thousand dollars yearly, the purchase money for the whole being four hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

The lots purchased by Mr. Morris from individuals amounted to nearly the same number, and were bought at the same price. The periods for payment varied with the different proprietors, and are not of importance in this general history of Federal-City.

The sale made to Mr. Morris was the only one of like extent made either by the commissioners or individuals. Expecting a higher price, the commissioners waited for a time when demands for habitations would be more numerous. The private proprietors acted on the same principle, and both one and the other, in the sale made to Mr. Morris, considered it chiefly as the means of hastening the completion of the city, by the inducement he would have to sell part of his lots, and so augment the number of persons interested in the rapid progress of the

the undertaking. Mr. Morris, in fact, sold about a thousand of his lots within eighteen months of his purchase. The building of a house for the president, and a place for the sittings of the Congress, excited, in the purchasers of lots, the hope of a new influx of speculations. The public papers were filled with exaggerated praises of the new city; accounts of the rapidity of its progress towards completion; in a word, with all the artifices which trading people in every part of the world are accustomed to employ in the disposal of their wares, and which are perfectly known, and amply practised in this new world.

Mr. Law and Mr. Dickinson, two gentlemen that had lately arrived from India, and both with great wealth, General Howard, General Lee, and two or three wealthy Dutch merchants, were the persons who bought the greatest number of lots of Mr. Morris; but none more than Mr. Law, who purchased four hundred and forty-five lots. The lowest they gave was two hundred and ninety-three dollars per lot—or rather five pence for each square foot, of Maryland money; for all the lots were not absolutely of the same extent. Many of the lots sold for six, eight, and ten pence per square foot; the last comers constantly paying a higher price, and the situation of the lots also making a difference in their value. Some of the more recent purchasers, in order to have one or more of the entire squares into which the whole was divided, or for other purposes of their speculations, made their purchases of the commissioners, paying at the same rate for them. The bargains were all clogged with the same conditions to build as that of Mr. Morris. The number of lots sold in this manner amounted to six hundred. Each of the purchasers chose his ground according to the opinion he had of its general advantages, and of its being in a neighbourhood that would the most readily be filled with houses. The neighbourhood of the president's house, of the *Capitol*, of George-Town, the banks of the Potowmack, the Point, and the banks of the East-branch, were the places chiefly chosen by the first purchasers.

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The opinion that the ground marked out for the whole city would soon be filled was so general, and the president of the United States and the commissioners were so much of the same opinion, that in their regulations they prohibited the cultivating any portion of the ground otherwise than for gardens; or to build houses with less than two stories, or even to build houses of wood.

These regulations were, however, speedily afterwards withdrawn; and the original proprietors had liberty to inclose and cultivate at their pleasure the ground they had not disposed of.

Mr. Blodget, one of the most considerable and intelligent speculators of Philadelphia, having purchased a large quantity of lots, under the pretence of forwarding the building of the city, but more probably with the real motive of disposing most securely and advantageously of his acquisitions, made two lotteries for the disposal of them. The principal lot of the first was a handsome tavern, built between the capitol and the President's house, valued at fifty thousand dollars; the three principal lots of the second were three houses to be erected near the capitol, of the respective value of twenty-five thousand, fifteen thousand, and ten thousand, dollars. These lotteries were made before the prohibition of the state of Maryland to make private lotteries, without the authority of the legislature. They were powerfully patronized by the commissioners, who considered them as the means of advancing the building of the city. It appears that these lotteries were attended with the effect proposed to himself by Mr. Blodget, that of gaining a large profit on the disposal of his lots, and that he was the only person not deceived in the transaction.

The speculations of Mr. Morris, and the succeeding purchasers, had not the same rapid success. After the plan of the city had been for a while admired for its beauty and magnificence, people began to perceive that it was too extensive, too gigantic, for the actual circumstances of the United States, and even for those which must follow for a series of years, admitting that no intervening accidents arrested the progress of their prosperity. It was discovered that the immense
extent

extent of ground marked out for the city would not be so speedily covered with houses as was expected; and every proprietor of lots intrigued to get the neighbourhood of his lots first inhabited. From that instant the common interest ceased, and the proprietors became rivals. Each began to build in his own quarter, with the hope of drawing thither the new-comers. Each vaunted of the advantages of that side of the city where his property lay, and depreciated others. The public papers were no longer filled with the excellencies of Federal-City, but with those of one or other of its quarters.

The commissioners were not altogether clear from this venal contest. Two of them possessed lots near George-Town; and if that had not been the case, their habits and prejudices relative to the city would have determined their opinion as to the advantage of beginning to build in one quarter or another, and would not have permitted them to remain indifferent spectators of the emulation of the several proprietors.

There were four principal quarters to which different interests had drawn the greatest number of houses. The inhabitants of George-Town, who had purchased a great many lots in their neighbourhood, maintained that a small town already built was the proper spot to begin the new city, by facilitating and augmenting its resources. They boasted of the port of George-Town, and represented the commerce already belonging to the place as a favourable opening to the general commerce of the city.

The proprietors of lots near the Point declared that situation to be the most airy, healthy, and beautiful in the city; advantageous to commerce, as it lay along the banks of both rivers, and as being a central situation between the capitol and the President's house, from each of which it was equally distant.

The proprietors of the East-branch contemned the port of George-Town, and the banks of the Potowmack, which are not secure in winter from shoals of ice; they decried the Point, which, placed between the two rivers, was far from being able completely to enjoy the advantage

vantage of either; and boasted of their own port, because of its great depth, and its security from ice, and from the most prevailing winds. They vaunted of their vicinity to the capitol, which must be the common centre of affairs, it being the place of the sittings of the Congress, and in which all the members must meet, at least once in the day, and from which their distance was not more than three quarters of a mile.

The proprietors in the neighbourhood of the capitol contended, that Federal-City was not necessarily a commercial town; that the essential point was to raise a city for the establishment of the Congress and government; that the natural progress was, first to build houses round the capitol, and then to extend them towards the President's house, which, although of a secondary consideration, was nevertheless next in importance to the capitol; and that every effort should be made, for the convenience of Congress and the facilitating of public affairs, to unite, by a continuation of streets and buildings, these two principal points of the government.

Thus each proprietor supported with his arguments the interests of the quarter where the mass of his property lay; but he built notwithstanding with great caution, and with a constant fear of some of the opposite interests prevailing.

The commissioners, to whom was entrusted the erection of public edifices, were accused by the proprietors that lay at a distance from George-Town of paying an undue attention to the completion of the President's house, which was in their neighbourhood; of designing to establish the public-offices there, and, consequently, to neglect the capitol; in a word, of being partial to George-Town to the injury of the three other quarters of the town.

Each of these opinions relative to the spot at which they should begin to build the city might find advocates, even among disinterested people, regarding only the public advantage; but the public advantage was no motive of any of the rival parties.

This state of things continues at present. The President's house

is sufficiently advanced to be covered in this year; that wing of the capitol which is at present begun (for the plan of that edifice is so extensive, that the execution of two thirds of it has been abandoned to an indefinite period), may, perhaps, be covered in during the succeeding year; and about a hundred and fifty houses are scattered over the vast surface traced out for the city, each of the four contending quarters having from thirty to forty, for the most part very distant from each other.

The publicity of these circumstances is no doubt one of the principal hindrances of an accession of new adventurers. The same causes have checked the efforts of the present proprietors; among whom Messrs. Morris, Nicholson, and Greenleaf, are moreover embarrassed by the state of their affairs, having pledged their property for the payment of their debts, and being in fact disabled from making the necessary advances to retrieve their affairs, or even to fulfil the conditions of their contract in building. Last year they built, or began, forty houses of brick, in different parts of the city.

From the concurrence of these circumstances, it is to be expected that few houses will be begun this year. This at least is the general apprehension of the persons most interested in the growth of the city. Few lots are at present sold; there is more public fear, but especially more jealousy among the proprietors, than any other disposition; and these are not favourable to the prosperity of the new establishment. Federal-City has also enemies in the state of Pennsylvania, who reluctantly see the Congress on the eve of departing from them; and even in many parts of the states of Virginia and Maryland, who regret the sums which the public expenditure will draw to this point, each being eager more immediately to partake of the advantage.

He who contemplates the subject, without interest and passion, having cast his eye over the limits of this great plan for a city, need not enter into the particular circumstances that aggravate the evil, to augur unfavourably on the promptitude of the execution of the plan, or even of its practicability. The idea of forming a city for the seat of the ge-

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neral government, having no dependence on any of the states, is at once grand and delightful. The site of the city, as I have already observed, is well chosen; if indeed it had not been more politic to place the Congress at a distance from a maritime city, to preserve it from the real danger of the direct influence of commerce on its deliberations. The plan of the city is both judicious and noble; but it is in fact the grandeur and magnificence of the plan which renders the conception no better than a dream.

The plan of the city, I have already stated, includes four thousand one hundred and twenty-four acres. Of these, seven hundred and twelve are allotted to sixteen streets, severally bearing the names of the sixteen states; to other streets of less magnitude, squares, and public gardens. The three thousand four hundred and twelve acres which remain, being the property of the original proprietors and the Union, contain twenty-three thousand lots of houses, exclusive of three thousand feet of lots set aside for quays, whose price the commissioners have fixed at sixteen pence per foot, in the front, with about eighty feet in depth, some of which, but very few in number, being already

The capitol is at the distance of one mile and a half from the President's house; and three quarters of a mile, at least, from the nearest part of that quarter on the banks of the river, where the interests of commerce will draw merchants, if ever they establish themselves in any number in this city, together with the different descriptions of persons depending on them. Exclusive of the inconvenience of the great distance between the place where the Congress holds its sittings, and the President's house, which will be every day more felt, it will require more than three hundred houses to fill the interval, without extending the buildings on either side. Houses must also be built round the capitol, and round the President's house, to supply the necessities of these establishments. Thus, to estimate the houses to make the junction between these two points at five hundred, would be

to make the computation too low; and, after all, this would form only a single street, of which there is not even a single house built.

This quarter, no doubt, is a convenient residence for the members of Congress, and a fit place for the building a few shops and taverns; but it is not the spot on which either people of business in general, or those who prefer the most agreeable situation, will be drawn. It is beside the quarter where the present proprietors have the least inducement to build, the greater part of their lots being situated at a distance, and if the interval is not filled, the communication between these two important points will be impracticable in winter; for it is scarcely to be supposed that the government will pave and light the streets at their own expence.

Two thousand houses would not fill one of the other quarters of this vast city, so as to connect it with either of the two principal points, the capitol, or the President's house; and if even any one of the quarters was filled up, the other quarters, which the present possessors of lots are deeply interested in completing also, would be destitute of habitations, or would be so separated from the quarter that should be completed, as to be nothing better than so many villages perfectly cut off from the town.

Cities have, indeed, in general commenced with a small number of houses, to which others have been successively added; but here there are two centres, at the distance of a mile and a half from each other. And it is to be considered that this city ought to be already formed for the reception of the Congress, the President, and the foreign ministers. It ought to be completed so far as to afford these public characters the accommodations to which they are entitled; and which they will be the less disposed to sacrifice, as they have been accustomed to enjoy them in Philadelphia to the whole extent of which America is susceptible.

When it is said, as I hear it continually repeated here, that the actual residence of the government will promptly draw after it all the accommodations

commodations necessary, it is forgotten that those who are the members of this government, and their dependants, little taken with the idea of this key-stone of the arch of federalism, will not patiently see themselves deprived, even for a while, of the most simple conveniences of life. And when persons, paying little regard to the convenience of these public characters, rely on the faith of Congress, and expect to see the government transferred to Federal-City in 1800, they do not reason with more foresight; for, even if that should happen, which I expect, but which many doubt, that the government of the United States will be established in Federal-City in 1800, to discharge the engagements of the Congress, and in some degree to justify the public expenditure of money there, the general discontent of those who compose the government would render this merely a temporary measure, which would be succeeded by still more disastrous effects than the continuation of the seat of the government where it is. There is less public spirit in this part of the world than in Europe; or at least of that species of public spirit which sacrifices particular interests to the general welfare, or even to the vain-glory of accomplishing a great national work. What are called convenience, ease, and comfort, are not perhaps exactly the same things that receive those names in Europe; but whatever extent the Americans give to these things, they eagerly embrace them, cleave to them, and will possess them at any price; and it must be acknowledged, it would not be greatly exaggerating the idea of comfort, to desire to be in safety from being plunged in the mud for want of pavements, or breaking one's neck for want of lamps. And these must be wanting in Federal-City for many years to come, from the too great extent of the plan, and the distance between the two centres of public affairs.

Usually, in the establishment of a city, the first proprietors and the first inhabitants heartily concur in the success of the enterprize. In this place all the strength of the community is lost. There is no common effort, because the interests of the several individuals are really different. Those who purchased lots of the commissioners with a condition of building,

building, endeavour to relieve themselves from the condition. The unfortunate situation of the affairs of Messrs. Morris, Nicholson, and Greenleaf, has, in fact, relieved them from it. Those who purchased shares from them avail themselves of their incapability to sue them, and neglect the condition of which those unfortunate men are guaranties to the government. The commissioners act with more or less indulgence to the proprietors of lots, sometimes waving, and sometimes enforcing the obligation to build. They perceived, that if even the conditions were strictly executed in the six or seven hundred lots they had sold, they would not yield more than the same number of brick houses, which being scattered through the great extent of the city would contribute in no important degree to its completion.

In the case of a town growing in the same spot from motives of commerce, it would naturally commence in the quarter most convenient to trade, and would increase with more or less rapidity in proportion as its advantages were felt. Each of the new inhabitants, having a complete interest in the improvement of the place, and coming with an entire free will, would cheerfully submit to the inconveniences of a new-formed establishment, with a conviction, that one by one they would disappear, since the natural advantages the situation afforded to commerce, being the basis of the establishment, it could not fail of success, and meanwhile the increasing gain of the individuals would contribute to their patience. In Federal City the case is quite otherwise. It has no other base than the Union of the several states; and if this foundation is not already destroyed, it cannot be denied, that it is at least shaken in that degree to excite distrust in all speculations that must rest on its solidity for their success. Commerce is no more than a secondary object in this city, and such of its inhabitants as are engaged in commerce, are, for the most part, at such a distance from the quarter that is the seat of the government, that two or three large towns might stand in the space between them. The majority of the members of Congress will come to this city with a dissatisfaction to the plan; and a disposition to decry and exaggerate its defects.

defects. Such among them as we may suppose to be inimical to the federal government, and consequently to the establishment of this place, will find in the enormous public expences already incurred here, and those still greater that must hereafter be incurred, an ample field for their opposition; which will gain accession of numbers from the inconvenience to which all will be subject. It is impossible to overlook the influence which in every country in the world the tempers and views of individuals have on public affairs; or if overlooked, it is miserably to misunderstand human nature.

There are, moreover, a multitude of powerful reasons that give probability to the opinion, that the Union will not remain unbroken for a great number of years. There are so many symptoms of its dissolution, that it is idle to imagine that Federal-City will arrive at the execution of the tenth part of its plan, before that event, which a thousand circumstances may hasten, shall take place. The prevalence of these reasons with many Americans, who dwell on them either from an apprehension of their solidity, or a desire of their being verified, is in itself an obstacle to the growth of the city, without those difficulties it otherwise must encounter.

From this combination of circumstances, which I have endeavoured to detail as briefly as possible, no person can conclude, that Federal-City, laid out and even begun as it is, will ever reach that degree of improvement to render it even a tolerable abode for the kind of persons for whom it was designed.

We are not to be surprized that the authors of the plan gave it so great an extent, for it is probable it belonged to the dignity of their project to describe a vast plan which they left to time to fill up. But it is impossible to consider with too much astonishment the conduct of those who presided over the commencement of the city, which was of a nature to render impracticable a plan that time might sooner or later have forwarded, if political events had not interposed in opposition. We cannot sufficiently wonder, that they did not apply their efforts to one point; for instance, that they did not protect and encourage

courage the first buildings by the natural aid of George-Town, which, had they commenced in its vicinity, small as it is, would have been an important motive to an influx of adventurers. But if the poor vanity of commencing Federal-City independent of the resources of George-Town, ought to have prevented the commencement of buildings close to that town, no one place has been chosen for the commencement with probability of success. At present the mischief appears to me irreparable; at least, fatal to the objects which first gave birth to this establishment.

Five hundred thousand dollars have already been expended on the part of the public, and nothing is erected but the walls, timbers, and staircases, of a wing of the capitol, and the president's house. To complete these two buildings, and to erect others for the different departments of the administration, six hundred thousand dollars are still wanting, on the computation of the commissioners themselves; and even then there will be no courts of justice, prisons, churches, pavements, lamps, fountains, or public gardens.

No doubt it is possible, it is even probable, that some parts of the bank of the Potowmack, and of the East-branch, will draw inhabitants for the purposes of commerce, and that one or more towns will be established on those rivers; and this prospect may be a compensation for the purchasers of lots in those quarters, but it is nothing to Federal-City.

In collecting the information I have given my reader on this subject, and the little that I have to say further respecting it, and in impartially observing the passions and prejudices of the majority of those from whom I made my enquiries, I was led more than once to the comparison between the man who employs his property and time in clearing and settling a large tract of land, and the person who is engaged with others in the establishment of a new city. The former can succeed only by collecting round him a number of families to whom it is his interest to sell his lands at a low price, and to whose prosperity of course he contributes. The poorest man is for his purposes a good occupier of his grounds. In conferring benefits on others, he increases

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his own welfare and happiness; he multiplies three-fold, nay ten-fold, the value of the lands that he holds still in his own possession, by the neighbourhood of the inhabitants he has drawn around him. The happiness of others is the proper element of his success. If he is of a humane disposition, he finds a multiplicity of occasions to do good without injury to himself. It is indeed his interest to be benevolent. Every instance of his expenditure is also turned to the public advantage; it is a service he renders, a pleasure he affords, to his colony; and no expence judiciously applied is prejudicial to his fortune; on the contrary, it incessantly augments his wealth: as his colony increases, more wealthy settlers present themselves, and his lands sell at a price he could not have procured without the previous exercise of his benevolence. When his colony has made a still greater progress, the produce of lands formerly waste, is a new and real source of wealth to the state to which it is subject, and a new mass of productions for merchants and consumers. His condition is at once noble and delightful. He lives in the midst of husbandmen; consequently among men of the purest manners and dispositions, the furthest removed from vice of any among the human species. He is beloved and esteemed. And all these enjoyments he commands in a short period of time, and owes them all to himself. If before the commencement of his enterprize he was virtuous, he is become better by the very means he employed to enlarge his fortune. His heart is improved simply by the contemplation of the good he has effected. In a word, he is more happy than ever. There are many examples of this kind in America, and among the most eminent of them is Captain Williamson of Genesee, who by an undertaking of this nature has augmented his fortune as greatly as he has increased the esteem in which he was held.

He, on the contrary, who is engaged in the establishment of a new city, can rarely confine to himself the conduct of the enterprize. If he is not counteracted in the whole of his views, he is sure to be so in the greater part of them. The poorer inhabitants that he receives on his estate are of no advantage to him. They are even burthensome, as

they occupy the space that he wishes to fill with others, whose wealth may advance his fortune. Benevolence is banished from his system, by the necessary calculations of his interest. If those calculations induce him to expend sums for buildings, it is to erect taverns, shops, to open billiard-tables, and to create lotteries; in a word, to furnish the means of dissipation and pleasure—that is to say, the means of prodigality and vice. It is such objects as these that draw crowds of inhabitants to cities, and without them cities will never be extensive. When this adventurer sees his city increasing in population, it is only to see a conflict of interests, to contemplate jealousies daily arising, and enmities making good their footing. And when, at length, after years of innumerable vexations and incessant anxiety, he has gathered inhabitants to the extent he proposed, he has only drawn round him rivals and opponents, while he has done nothing for the real welfare of society. He may have increased his wealth, but he will not have added one to the number of his benevolent sentiments; and even such as he might have had before the commencement of his undertaking will be defaced by the spectacle he was obliged to witness, and the injustice to which he was subjected. If his mind is not wholly corrupted, it will be the residence of remorse; but more probably his heart will be hardened. It is to be feared, that some of my friends will laugh at my mode of viewing these things, but they have my sentiments in their native colours. If, in the comparison I have drawn, I had contemplated the founders of Federal-City, my picture of a new city would have been more disgusting, but would not have been the less just.

I have something more to add relative to Federal-City, although what I have said on the subject has already run to too great a length. The number of its inhabitants is at present very inconsiderable, and they are so scattered, that if they were less occupied with their speculations, rivalry, and hatreds, they could still form no society. They visit like people in the country, living at a distance from each other. The tradesmen and labourers for the most part reside at George-Town, where

where the inhabitants of the other quarters are obliged to send for almost all necessaries. The few shops that are in the heart of Federal-City are miserably provided, and excessively dear; and the workmen are the very refuse of that class, and nevertheless very high in their demands. Provisions are furnished almost by chance; and this is so absolutely the case with respect to butchers' meat, especially beef, that during the six days I passed there I never once saw any. Eggs are brought from time to time from the country, but neither constantly nor often. In short, I have not been in any of the obscurest parts of America, where I found provisions so badly furnished.

The stone of which the capitol and president's house are built is extremely white, and the workmanship is excellent; but I do not admire the architecture of those buildings. The stone is a species of granite, and is strong, yet not sufficiently so to resist the severest kind of frost; it is taken from a quarry near the Potowmack, at thirty miles below the city. At the same distance above the city are quarries of fine white marble, and of a red marble with veins; and also a quarry of slate. Lime-stone is found near the Potowmack, but at the distance of sixty miles above the city. The interior navigation, from the Potowmack to the East-branch, for the forming of which the first lottery is at present drawing, is not yet begun; but the workmen have orders to assemble for its commencement in a month. Two small creeks pass through the city, the water from which may be conveyed to any part. One, which is called *Tyber-creek*, has its source at some miles distance from the city; above which it is elevated seventy-eight feet, and may therefore be carried to any height that may be wanted in any of the buildings.

GEORGE-TOWN.

This small town, which is separated from the new city by a creek called *Rock-ball-creek*, stands upon several small hills, which render its aspect pleasing; but the communications between its several parts are

difficult. Some years since the commerce of this place was considerable, but at present it is much diminished.

In 1791 the total value of its exportation amounted to 314,864 dollars; in 1792, to 348,539 dollars; in 1793, to 364,537 dollars; in 1794, to 128,924 dollars; in 1795, to 196,790 dollars; and in 1796, to 159,868 dollars. Tobacco, corn, and feeds, form the chief articles of exportation from George-Town; it re-exports directly a very small quantity of foreign articles, and is even compelled to send to other ports that are better markets much of the merchandize brought from Europe in its vessels. Its imports have also decreased: in 1792 the value of them amounted to 99,873 dollars; in 1793, to 87,400 dollars; in 1794, to 139,964 dollars; in 1795, to 153,584 dollars; and in 1796, to 29,193 dollars. The shipping it employs in its foreign trade, is at present about 2,500 tons; and in its coasting trade nearly a thousand tons.

The diminution of the culture of tobacco is one of the causes of the decay of its commerce: in 1792 it exported 9,444 hogheads; and in 1796 no more than 2,461. But speculations in the lots of Federal-City is a more powerful cause of that decay. They have turned a great part of the capital of the merchants into that channel, and consequently diverted it from the trade of the place. Shares in the bank of this town, which were held by many of those merchants, have fallen through the same causes from forty dollars, their original price, to thirty. This bank, established by the name of *Columbia Bank*, had originally a capital of 400,000 dollars, divided into ten thousand shares. Its capital was augmented with 150,000 dollars, by an act of the legislature of Maryland in its last session: it is employed in the same services as all the other banks of America. The notes it has in circulation are for the most part of the value of a dollar, and they are current at Alexandria, and all the western parts of Maryland as far as Baltimore.

The stores of George-Town are usually furnished from Baltimore; it is at that port that the ships belonging to George-Town generally dispose of their cargoes in returning from Europe. The merchants of
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this place expect to see their trade revive, from the completion of the two canals of the large and little falls of the Potowmack, the remainder of the navigation of that river being cleared from obstacles. They then expect to be the medium of exporting the produce of the countries watered by the Potowmack and the rivers that fall into it, which at present can be conveyed to George-Town only by land, at as high a price as the conveyance of them to Baltimore, which from its situation has the advantage of the towns on the banks of the Potowmack, where the price of the carriage of flour by land is three dollars per barrel, it will be only eight shillings and six pence by water. This advantage will be communicated also to the East-branch in Federal-City, and Alexandria.

The merchants of George-Town persuade themselves that they will reap the greater part of the benefit of these navigations. Being placed the first on the route of those who will bring their produce from the countries above the city, and being provided with warehouses to receive goods, it will be a saving of money and time, in vessels coming down the river, to dispose of their cargoes at George-Town. They assert, that the port of this place, that is to say, the part of the river that may be converted to that purpose, will hold a great number of vessels with security; and the danger from shoals of ice, which they do not deny to exist during two months, they observe, may be avoided by vessels using the East-branch for that period.

The inhabitants of the banks of the East-branch trust to the depth and security of their river, to draw all the commerce of the place to themselves; and they do not doubt, that even the merchants of George-Town will soon find the advantage, and remove there. They are secure from the ice; and the interior canal between the Potowmack and them will, they imagine, directly afford them all the advantages of that great river.

The inhabitants of Alexandria pretend, that participating in like manner of the advantages of the navigation of the Potowmack through the canal, they have, moreover, the advantage of a commerce long established

established, and that is daily increasing—an advantage that is not to be counterbalanced by the difference of five miles more of sailing, which cannot deter vessels from proceeding to the market where they can both sell and buy to greater advantage.

Time will shew which of these three places argues with the greatest truth. I think the argument is in favour of Alexandria.

At George-Town there is a very handsome small Catholic college, maintained by private donations and subscriptions.

FALLS OF THE POTOWMACK.

An excursion that I made to the *falls* gave me an opportunity of seeing the canals, which are forming for the purpose of avoiding them, and are the undertaking of the *Potowmack Company*. The canal of the *smaller falls* is entirely finished; it is a mile and a half in length: four locks ten feet high, placed at its upper extremity, convey vessels down the river. The smaller falls are not strictly such; but the water is sufficiently checked and disturbed in its course to render the navigation impracticable, and the noise it makes is considerable. Above the smaller falls, at a place where the Potowmack is confined to a narrow passage between mountains, a bridge has been lately erected, of the same kind as the bridge of Merrymack, near Newbury-port, in Massachusetts: the same architect was employed in both. The bridge over the Potowmack is one hundred and twenty feet in the span; it is much admired here, because the people in this place have no knowledge of the arts, but is indeed disgusting for its heaviness, having an immense quantity of timber and iron wasted on it, that would have been spared in Europe, and with it a great part of the expence.

The canal of the *great falls* is also finished, excepting the locks, which are to be ten in number. The height of the falls themselves is seventy-eight feet, and the descent from the upper end of the canal to the lower end is about ninety feet. To make some use of the canal in its present state, till the locks can be constructed, large masses of earth
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are left to check the rapidity of the water; vessels proceed to the place where these are, and the barrels of flour, and hogsheds of tobacco, which are the principal articles brought down the river, are rolled down an inclined plane made of wood (for this temporary use), to vessels that wait for them below.

The great fall of the Potowmack is beautiful, and deserves to be visited by all who arrive in this neighbourhood; but if the traveller has seen that of Niagara, he will not be ready to compare any other with that sublime cataract.

The fall of the Potowmack is about half a mile across; it presents a very fine sight; and the effect of the rocks, with which the country everywhere abounds, adds greatly to its beauty. The inhabitants of its vicinity employ fragments of these rocks for the foundation of their houses, some of which indeed are entirely built of them. On the other side of the Potowmack, from the smaller to the great falls, the banks, though not very well cultivated, are pleasing, and abound with fine situations.

The state of Maryland is at present making a road along the banks of the river from George-Town to the bridge. This road is made in a very excellent manner, and will be pleasant when finished; it however appeared to me to be a little too narrow. The workmen employed in it are paid eleven dollars per month with their board; they are white men, and generally Irishmen, and new comers. Almost every year a vessel filled with Irish labourers arrives at George-Town.

Bricks are made at George-Town and Federal-City, and are sold for six dollars per thousand. Lime is at present sold for four dollars per barrel: as lime-stone is found in abundance, it is expected that when the navigation shall be entirely open, the price of lime will be reduced to one half.

George-Town is the county town of Montgomery in Maryland. The population of this county amounts to eighteen thousand souls; of which there are more than six thousand slaves. It is separated from the county of Prince George by *Rock-creek*. Thus all the new part of the city belongs to this latter county, and, by the provisions of the law
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relative to this subject, will continue to belong to it till the government of the United States is actually established at Federal-City.

MR. LAW.

All the time that I passed at Federal-City I resided with Mr. Law. Last year he very much increased his domestic felicity by marrying an amiable woman, who unites accomplishments, sweetness of manner, and a charming figure, to a sound understanding, and all the qualities that contribute to make the married life happy.

I cannot, however, felicitate Mr. Law on the speculation which induced him to purchase a number of lots in this new city, and to choose it for the place of his residence. It appears to me, that he might have made a more prudent and fortunate use of the great property he amassed by many years toil in India. He enters every day more deeply into the concerns of this city, without being able sincerely to predict his success. His fortune is superior to the greatest fortunes in America, and he might have lived on his own revenues with splendour, happy himself, and making others so. His temper, which is sincere, humane, and generous, qualified him for that mode of life; notwithstanding which, he has wilfully plunged himself into an abyss of cares, and all the contentions of this distracted city, which not only prevent the enjoyment of his fortune, but even endanger it. He is not himself very confident of success; and he is far from being avaricious; but his ardent temper is continually deceiving him concerning the issue of the unfavourable circumstances which he cannot overlook; and every day his obstinacy on this subject increases, continually leading him to new expences in this vexatious speculation. I fear he will not be so fortunate as he deserves to be.

ALEXANDRIA.

I went by water from Federal-City to Alexandria, which is a distance

stance only of six miles. The Potowmack, the whole way from one place to the other, is two miles in breadth; and its banks are well cultivated, and covered with a considerable number of houses. The Maryland side being more elevated presents a finer aspect. A succession of small hills and beautiful vallies, intersected with streams, and having clumps of trees, and even pleasure-grounds, scattered up and down, give it a very lively appearance. The opposite side belonging to Virginia is not absolutely flat, but the ground does not rise except at a distance from the river, and not in the same degree as on the Maryland side. It however does not want prospects which are charming. It is in going from Alexandria to Federal-City that the traveller has the best view of this country. The eye is not lost, as in the other route, in the immense extent of the Potowmack; which, continually enlarging, leaves nothing to be seen at length but the horizon. In this passage the country closes till the prospect is bounded by the chain of mountains which form the falls at fifteen miles distance; and in the intervening space, the eye rests on the sloping ground destined for the site of Federal-City, and where already there is a sufficient number of houses to ornament the scene. The mountains on the side of Maryland and Virginia, which decrease in approaching the Chesapeak, consequently rise and enlarge on the view in proceeding the other way. The division of the waters of the Potowmack and the East-branch, made by the point of land which is the site of Federal-City, is an object that arrests the attention, and whose grandeur deducts nothing from its beauty. It is unquestionably among the finest views that are to be seen on any river. It does not, however, make me forget those of *North-River*, in the state of New-York, which in my opinion are even preferable; without speaking of that most delightful scene of the passage on that river in the highlands.

This is at present the season when shoals of herrings appear on the coasts of America, and in the rivers communicating with the sea. I have constantly seen at every creek a number of people employed in fishing for them with long nets, which they drag for a while and then draw

the extremities together. There is seldom a draught at which they do not take thousands. The greater part of them are instantly cured. There is an immense consumption in every part of America of this species of food. Fresh herrings sell here for four dollars a thousand. Sturgeon is also very plentiful in the rivers of this country, but I do not think it is as good as the sturgeon in Europe. Alexandria is, beyond all comparison, the handsomest town in Virginia, and indeed is among the finest of the United States. It stands on a small plain, elevated however a few feet above the river, and so as not to be incommoded with the water. This town, which was begun about thirty years since, is built on a regular plan. Streets sufficiently wide intersect each other at right angles; and spacious squares add to its beauty, convenience, and salubrity. Almost all the houses and warehouses are of brick. Although all the buildings have not an appearance of magnificence, all are convenient and neat; and the houses are of two stories. The quays are large and commodious, and extend along the river every day.

This town increases very rapidly, owing to the flourishing state of its commerce, which, no doubt, will be still improved by the opening of the navigation of the Potowmack.

It is maintained by many of the inhabitants of Federal-City that the quays of Alexandria are not so safe for shipping as those of the East-branch, being more exposed to shoals of ice; and that small vessels, descending the Potowmack, and passing through the canal, will not venture again into the Potowmack as far as Alexandria. This opinion is not that of the merchants of Alexandria; who, beside, would very little raise the price of flour, which boats would bring down the Potowmack, if they were even obliged to reload them in larger vessels at the canal. Hitherto they have received the produce of the upper parts of Virginia by land, and the carts which bring them constantly arrive in great numbers.

Alexandria carries on a constant trade with the West-India islands; and also some with Europe. The price of flour here at present is six dollars

dollars and a half per barrel. The population of this town amounts to nearly five thousand souls, of which there are about eight hundred black slaves. It is situated at the distance of a hundred miles from the mouth of the Potowmack, in the bay of Chesapeak.

The value of the exportation of Alexandria amounted in 1791 to 381,242 dollars; in 1792, to 535,592 dollars; in 1793, to 812,889 dollars; in 1795, to 948,160 dollars; and in 1796, to more than 1,100,000 dollars.

There is a bank at Alexandria, and it is the only one in Virginia. It was established in December 1792 by an act of the legislature. Its original capital was 150,000 dollars, divided into 750 shares, of 200 dollars each. By a law passed in December 1795 it was authorized to augment its capital by the addition of 350,000 dollars, divided into 1750 new shares.

This bank, which was established on the same principles, and for the same purpose, as all the other banks of America, makes a dividend from four and a half to five per cent half yearly. It issues notes to the value of a dollar, which are current throughout all Virginia, at George-Town, and even for the most part in Maryland.

The establishment of a bank at Richmond was authorized by the legislature of Virginia in December 1792. Its capital was to consist of 400,000 dollars, in shares of 200 dollars each; but the subscriptions not filling, it does not exist.

JOURNEY FROM FEDERAL-CITY TO BALTIMORE.

The country from Federal-City to Bladensburg is beautiful; that is to say, nature designed it to be such, by the form, and multiplicity of the small hills with which it is covered. The ground is poor, and as ill cultivated as in most other places. Bladensburg is a small village decently built, where there is a place for inspecting of tobacco, little used at present; and a school of considerable reputation in the country. Bladensburg is situated on the upper part of the East-branch, at the

spot where it begins to be navigable. Not far from one of the streams which fall into that river is a fine spring of mineral water, which is separated from the bed of the stream only by a slip of land four or five feet in breadth.

From Bladensburg to Baltimore the country is every-where hilly, and often not unpleasing to the sight. It is filled with woods, but of a very small kind; and which is permitted to remain only for want of hands to clear the ground, or rather for want of capitals to enable the proprietors to employ the negroes on it.

It is said that the ground is better at some miles' distance from the road. At Vanville the price of land is from six to twelve dollars per acre. It produces from seven to eight bushels of corn; from twelve to fifteen, of Indian wheat; from ten to twelve, of barley; and twenty of oats, because this last kind of grain is sown on the best land. I received similar information at Spurries, twenty-five miles farther on.

At eight or ten miles from Vanville I passed the two branches of the Potukent, which are there very narrow, and over which are thrown wooden bridges, the worst and most dangerous I ever saw. The western branch separates the county of Prince George from that of Ann Arundel. Not far from these two streams are the iron-works of Snowden, and a flitting mill. The country abounds with ores, which is found on the surface, as well as in the bowels of the earth, and in all the streams. The *Patapsko*, which lies between Spurries and Baltimore, at eight miles from the last place, is not more than thirty toises in breadth. I passed it in an excellent ferry-boat, which is dragged over by the help of a rope. At this ferry the *Patapsko* ceases to be navigable; and here, consequently, according to the custom of the country, there is a place for the inspection of tobacco. It has a small village built around it, which is called *Elkridge-landing*.

It is on the *Patapsko* that Baltimore is built, or rather on an arm of that river. The mouth of the harbour is not more than two hundred toises across, and is consequently easy to defend. A fort is erected on a small eminence at the point of land which separates the harbour from

from the river. It is, like all works of the kind in America, poorly constructed; but a little labour and expence would render it what it ought to be.

BALTIMORE.

I found Baltimore larger than when I was here last year. Several quays which were only begun, and some even no more than projected, were entirely finished; and large and handsome warehousés of brick entirely built from the ground. In every quarter of the town buildings increase; and there is an air of business and plenty throughout the whole.

There are no vessels built at present at Baltimore, for the same reasons that put a stop to the building of vessels in other parts of Maryland and Virginia. Baltimore has, notwithstanding, lost in the course of the year a great many ships at sea. This port continues to trade to the West-Indies; and some of the merchants engaged in that commerce have not been unsuccessful.

The value of the exports of Baltimore in 1791 amounted to 1,576,588 dollars; in 1792, to 1,843,225 dollars; in 1793, to 3,084,545 dollars; in 1794, to 5,312,209 dollars; in 1795, to 5,542,051 dollars; and in 1796, to more than 8,500,000 dollars. But that this astonishing increase in the exportation of this port may not be exaggerated, the augmentation in the price of the produce of the West-India islands must here, as in every other part of America, be deducted from the value of the exports. There are no merchants here as rich as those of Philadelphia. The fortunes of this town are in their infancy. Luxury is not only less in individuals, but is less general.

I am told, that the number of corn-mills built within ten miles round Baltimore exceed sixty. Some that I saw near the town were as handsome, upon as large a scale, and as complete as any at Brandywine.

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There are two banks at Baltimore. One is a branch of the bank of the United States; the other is a bank belonging to the town, which was incorporated in 1791, by a law of this state, with a capital of three hundred thousand dollars. The stores of Baltimore partake with Philadelphia in supplying those of Kentucky, the territory of the west, and Tennessee. Philadelphia, however, would not enter into this competition with Baltimore, were not its commerce more extensive, and its stock and capital larger, so that purchasers find a greater variety of assortments of every kind there. It is said also that the spirituous liquors sold at Baltimore are more adulterated than even those sold by the merchants of Philadelphia. The merchants of Baltimore allow the traders of Kentucky from twenty to five-and-twenty per cent profit on their articles, and give a twelvemonth's credit.

Baltimore, however, may expect to lose some of the branches of its commerce from the following causes:

1st, The entire opening of the navigation of the Potowmack, by bringing down the corn and other produce of the parts of Virginia and Maryland watered by that river and others which flow into it, will give that branch of commerce to George-Town, Alexandria, and Federal-City; Baltimore being obliged to procure these articles by land-carriage.

2d, A scheme is undertaken for joining the Potowmack above Cumberland with one of the branches of the Monongahela, which falls into the Ohio; which, if it succeed, will take from Baltimore the market of Kentucky, and even of Pittsburg, as articles will then be carried to those places by water through Alexandria and George-Town.

3d, If the scheme of uniting the Chesapeak-bay with the Delaware-bay by a canal passing through the east of Maryland is completed, which appears to be probable, the corn of that part of the east, and even of the west, which at present is carried to Baltimore, would be carried to Philadelphia and Brandywine, where they would find an ample market; and the more so, as flour generally sells at Philadelphia for a dollar, or a dollar and a half, per barrel more than at Baltimore.

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The merchants of Baltimore, who are aware of these consequences, expect that at the same time the Susquehannah will be made entirely navigable; and in that imagine they will have a complete compensation. But it appears to me that they deceive themselves in these expectations; for the articles which are brought down the Susquehannah will probably take the route of the canal that will join the two bays when it is finished; and as Philadelphia is extremely interested in the completion of that canal, it is certain that the legislature of Pennsylvania will never consent to the works necessary to render the Susquehannah navigable—that river flowing chiefly through its territory—until the legislature of Maryland shall consent to the opening of the canal between the two bays, which is at present obstinately opposed by the merchants of Baltimore.

From these observations it follows, that Baltimore is ill situated for commerce; owing its present success merely to the want of other ports in the Chesapeak, and to the obstructions to navigation on all the interior rivers.

The commerce of Baltimore was raised from the funds of the merchants of Philadelphia, who in that place saw a convenient entrepôt between themselves and the back countries. It has since increased by the capitals gained by the merchants, who at first were only factors to those of Philadelphia; but the decrease of its commerce is not therefore the less probable.

I went to see one of the frigates of the United States here, and which is one of those that have been ordered to be finished: she will be launched in August. I thought her too much encumbered with wood-work within, but in other respects she is a fine vessel, being built of those beautiful kinds of wood, the *ever-green oak* and cedar: she is pierced for thirty-six guns.

An inhabitant of Baltimore has erected an observatory on a small hill on the other side of the port, from which, with a telescope, one sees to the distance of thirty-five miles into the bay. A flag is hoisted on the observatory, to announce the arrival of vessels. This little establishment

establishment is not only very grateful to the merchants, but in some degree useful, and is already encouraged with many subscriptions.

A public library is erecting by subscription at Baltimore: two thousand volumes, some good and some bad, are already collected for it. This is the only public library throughout Maryland.

Baltimore has afforded great assistance to the unfortunate Frenchmen who fled from the disastrous state of St. Domingo; individuals having considerably added by subscriptions to the donations made by the legislature of the state.

BUSH-TOWN.

The ground between Baltimore and Bush-Town is still worse, if possible, than that between Federal-City and Baltimore: the Hessian fly, which to the south-west of the town attacks the corn very little, lays it waste in this quarter; very little corn is therefore sown. Small grain, Indian wheat, and pasture, includes the husbandry of the country. It is beside very much filled with woods of a very useless kind, and very mean appearance.

At fifteen miles from Baltimore, at a place where I breakfasted with a farmer named *Webster*, land sells from eight to fifteen dollars per acre; there is very little that exceeds this price, and this is pasture-ground, improved by some years manuring. Webster has a small flock of sheep, whose wool he sells partly to neighbouring farmers, and partly to the hatters of Baltimore, at four shillings per pound. His house stands at a little distance from *Bird-River*, which appears to be rather an arm of the bay than a river.

A mill not far from Webster's house grinds the little corn that is grown in this part; and the flour is sent to Baltimore.

Bird-River is navigable for small vessels to a place about a mile from Webster's house; about a quarter of a mile above which it is not more than four toises in breadth, and is easily forded. This is a usual case with the several creeks and rivers of the country, and they are very numerous. I passed the *Long-Cane*, or *Great Gunpowder*, where there

there was water enough at that time to reach the girth of my horse; the *Little Gunpowder*, which I passed on a very miserable wooden bridge: this river supplies some iron-works and flitting-mills, known by the name of *Onion's-works*; the *Winter's-Run*, a small creek; and the *Bush-River*, which, like *Bird-River*, is only four toises across, and is not more than a foot in depth, at a place not more than a quarter of a mile from the spot where it is twelve feet in depth, and a mile in breadth. There is a handsome and large corn-mill on *Bush-River*, to which corn is brought from a great distance, the proprietors being rich and active. The flour is sent to Baltimore.

The *Little Gunpowder* creek separates the county of Baltimore from that of *Hartford*. The county of Baltimore, exclusive of the city, contains twenty-five thousand inhabitants, of which ten thousand are slaves. The population of the town of Baltimore amounts to fifteen thousand white men, and from six to seven thousand slaves.

This road has a mournful appearance, and is very thinly inhabited. The road is tolerably good for a horse; but almost impassable for carriages. Notwithstanding which, there are four stages that pass it every day; and it lies between two of the most considerable places for trade in America.

At the distance of a mile before I arrived at Bush-Town I passed through *Abington*, a small and poor village, which is remarkable for nothing but for the remains of a very handsome college, built by the Methodists, and which was burned down about two years since. It is asserted here, that this fire was occasioned wilfully; and when it is known that the Methodists, as well as the Quakers, exhort to the emancipation of the slaves, we cannot be surprized that they should be hated and persecuted in a country where the inhabitants are attached to the system of keeping slaves, by their education, habits, and a narrow view of their interests. It must be allowed that there is a great deal of enthusiasm among the Methodists; and I am inclined to believe that they are too general in their plans for the abolition of slavery, even to

guard sufficiently the interests of the slaves themselves. Nor are they very discreet in their sermons. But from all I have been able to gather concerning this sect, I am persuaded it includes many worthy and virtuous men, and even many men of talents. None of the Methodists possess slaves. Many before they were of that persuasion were proprietors of slaves, and freed them. There have been some who have freed three hundred negroes at a time; binding the children to masters, with the condition of their teaching them to read, write, and cypher, and of their serving only to the age of eighteen or twenty, when they were to be entirely at their own disposal. Bush-Town is in the county of Hartford, which contains fifteen thousand inhabitants, five thousand of which are slaves. *Belair* has been the county town of Hartford for some years past, but hitherto contains only the town-house, a prison, and a small number of wooden houses. It was made the county town for its central situation. Bush-Town was formerly the county town, and was at that time called Hartford.

JOURNEY FROM BUSH-TOWN TO HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

The country till I reached the Susquehannah was of the same kind as that through which I had already passed. In travelling twelve miles, I did not see more than four houses that were not miserable huts; and yet the farms are tolerably large, the ground being partly sown with Indian corn, and the remainder immense fields very rarely manured. The land is in general sandy and poor. From ten to twelve bushels of Indian wheat per acre is the usual produce, and from five to six of corn (where that is sown), when the Hessian fly does not infest the grain, it being as common in this part of Maryland as the on the other side of the Chesapeake. Some meadows, especially those that lie nearest the bay, yield forty hundred weight of hay per acre. There is some ground to be met with superior in quality, the produce of which is a third more than what I have named.

Throughout

Throughout the whole of this journey, I found that lands generally sell as at Bush-Town, from ten to twenty dollars per acre. Near the Susquehannah some rich meadows sell for thirty-five dollars per acre.

The rain which fell incessantly for two days, and detained me at Bush-Town, swelled the creeks so much, that at many places we passed, where the water is generally no more than four or five inches in depth, it was then more than four feet. The stage that goes between Philadelphia and Baltimore was compelled to remain four-and-twenty hours at Bush-Town; the *Winter's-Run*, which is usually no more than two feet in depth, having risen to fifteen feet, and there being no bridge over that river.

The Swan-river is the only one of any consequence between Bush-Town and the Susquehannah. It is of the same kind as the rest; that is to say, very narrow at a quarter of a mile from the spot where it is two or three miles across.

The land is tolerably good in the bottoms, and is sold for thirty-four dollars per acre; that on the heights sells only for ten and twelve dollars per acre. The wages of labourers are from eight to nine dollars per month, for the summer season, or ninety-two dollars by the year; and three shillings and nine pence per day when there is nothing particular to do, and a dollar and a half in harvest-time. They make a demand of half a dollar extraordinary for mowing.

HAVRE-DE-GRACE.

A few houses that stand together on the west banks of the Susquehannah bear the name of *Havre-de-Grace*. A company consisting of eight persons projected the establishment of a town there. A plan was drawn out, the ground was measured and bounded, and the streets laid out. The site included a thousand acres, divided into three thousand six hundred lots of houses. The projectors already enjoyed their town completed in imagination; or affected to do so.

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Their reasons for supposing it would be peopled with rapidity were the following :

1st, That the produce of the Susquehannah, navigable in both its branches for three hundred miles above Havre-de-Grace, could have no other outlet, at least for timber, which abounds along its banks as well as along the banks of the rivers that fall into it.

2d, That Chesapeak-bay, which commences at this spot, has at that place fourteen feet water without a rock or sand-bank beneath it; and that, therefore, vessels of a considerable burthen might there easily take in such articles as could not venture into the bay in the small craft that brings them down the river.

3d, That the road of Havre-de-Grace, being in that part of the town which lies upon the bay, would be secured from the shoals of ice, and in other respects perfectly safe.

Thus the proprietors of the ground of this new city imagined that the commerce of Baltimore, and even that of Philadelphia, would in part be transferred to Havre-de-Grace.

The navigation of the Susquehannah, however, although practicable, with great care, for small vessels and timber rafts, is not without danger, and does not admit of any larger vessels. It flows through the state of Pennsylvania, except for the last twenty miles of its course : and as the legislature of Pennsylvania entertains the project of joining the Susquehannah and the Schuylkill, by a canal which is already begun at Sweetara ; and as this plan has no other intention than to give Philadelphia the means of receiving directly the corn that the Susquehannah brings as far as Middleton; it is to be expected that even if this canal is not completed (which the inhabitants of Havre-de-Grace believe to be impracticable), the state of Pennsylvania will never employ funds to facilitate a navigation the profit of which will wholly belong to a neighbouring state. The depth of the canal that comes up to Havre-de-Grace is not, even below *Point-Concord*, considerable enough to admit vessels of great burthen ; and consequently
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not directly to carry on foreign commerce with advantage. I take this project therefore to be another dream, at least as to the extent given to it. This town, which may very well become an entrepôt, where the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore may establish agents, does not appear to be calculated for any higher destiny. Pamphlets are however circulated to praise the advantages of its situation, and consequently to attract adventurers. The company have sent an agent to Europe to sell their lots, the price of which is from a hundred to a hundred and fifty dollars, according to their situations. Notwithstanding the activity of these measures, and even the probability that this place will become an entrepôt, I am persuaded the tenth part of the site of Havre-de-Grace will never be covered with houses; or, to say the least, not for a great number of years. Many people assert that the situation is far from being healthy.

There are obstructions in the navigation of the Susquehannah eight miles above Havre-de-Grace, and within the territory of the state of Maryland. A canal which will remedy the evil is almost finished. The funds for defraying the expences of this canal were raised by subscriptions of individuals and the state of Maryland. The tide flows six miles above Havre-de-Grace; and herrings abound there as in the Potowmack. There are ten different fisheries established within that space on the west banks of the Susquehannah, where the shoals are the greatest; and five on the other side. The herrings are taken in large nets, from a hundred and eighty to two hundred fathoms in length, and from four to six fathoms in breadth. The nets are spread across the river by boats, a rope at one end being fastened to the shore, and the other end conveyed by the boat to a certain distance; and they are drawn by the help of a capstan. There is no other fish here but herrings and shad-fish; and the latter are found in very small quantities. The moment the herrings are taken, they are thrown into large casks with salt. The fishermen do not clean them, nor take off the heads, as on the Potowmack. Having been left five days in these casks, they are taken out, and packed in barrels, which

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at each end have a layer of salt; and then they are fit for sale. The fisheries, the curing the herring, and the packing them in barrels, employ from fourteen to fifteen men in each fishery, who have each fifteen dollars per month, with their provisions. Every barrel contains about five hundred herrings, and requires a bushel and a half of salt, which costs five shillings per bushel; the barrel itself costs five shillings and six pence: the nets last three or four seasons, and cost from two hundred to three hundred dollars, according to their dimensions. That part of the river where the fishery is established is taken of the proprietor of the adjoining land; and from thirty to fifty dollars annually are paid for a fishery, according to its situation; for the difference of a point in the land, or of the nearness of the current to the shore, makes a great difference in the size and quantity of the shoals. The season for fishing continues five or six weeks, during which the ten fisheries in the neighbourhood of Havre-de-Grace take about 12,000 barrels of herrings: they are sent as far as Baltimore: some are sold fresh to the inhabitants, who cure them themselves. A barrel of cured herrings is sold for five dollars and a half: fresh herrings are four dollars per thousand, which is the same price as on the Potowmack. Small vessels of about forty tons carry the cured herrings to Baltimore; they are generally built at Havre-de-Grace, and cost twenty dollars per ton for the hull, which makes them amount to thirty-five or thirty-six dollars per ton when they are ready for sea.

While I was visiting one of these fisheries I saw a net drawn, with an immense quantity of fish; enough, it was computed, to fill two hundred barrels: the fishermen calculate the medium quantity of a draught to be about forty barrels.

JOURNEY FROM HAVRE-DE-GRACE TO ELK-TOWN.

I have spoken in my journal of last year of the beauty of the banks of the Susquehannah at its mouth; these banks are lofty, diversified in their appearance, well cultivated, and covered with dwellings. At the entrance of the bay the prospect extends as far as the sight can reach;

ten miles higher up, on the side of Philadelphia, noble mountains of various beautiful forms bound the prospect.

In this part of the Susquehannah are immense flocks of wild ducks, known by the name of *canvas-back ducks*, and are esteemed delicious eating. This fowl, which in summer haunts the more northern lakes of the Continent, visits the Susquehannah towards the month of December, and remaining there till the frosts sets in, at that season proceeds to the Potowmack; when the ice disappears, it returns again to the Susquehannah for a week or two, and then departs for its summer haunts.

Having crossed the Susquehannah, I found myself in the county of *Cecil*, through the southern part of which I had travelled three weeks before from Warwick to a river called the *Sasafra*s. It was my intention to pay a visit for a day to *Philip Thomas*, one of the richest proprietors in this part of the country, and a partner in the Havre-de-Grace company. I was even on my road to his house, when I learned that he had been two days at Philadelphia; I therefore abandoned my design, and took the road to Philadelphia, through a country a little more pleasant, better cultivated, and better inhabited, than that between Baltimore and the Susquehannah; but by no means either rich or well peopled.

A small creek called *Principio*, which is no more than four toises in breadth in one spot, after a fall among rocks of about thirty feet, spreads to a mile in breadth, and continues to widen till it falls into the bay. Just below this fall is a cannon foundery belonging to Colonel *Youth*, one of the partners of the Havre-de-Grace company; this foundery is at present entirely employed in casting cannon for the frigates building by the United States: a hundred and twenty dollars for every twenty hundred weight of metal is the price the colonel receives for all cannon that are proof, which amounts to about three hundred dollars for a cannon of twenty-four pounds caliber. The colonel procures his ore from the neighbourhood of the place where Webster resides, at a little distance from Bird-creek; it is brought to *Principio* in boats.

boats. This ore does not yield more when melted than two fifths of its weight of iron; and the metal, on the mere inspection of it, did not appear to me to be good. The great number of cannon that burst in the proof, with the fragments of which the ground is covered, confirmed me in this opinion: the cannons however appear to be cast with considerable skill, and great care.

This is the second cannon foundry in the United States: there is, as I have said before, another situated in the state of Rhode-Island, and these are the only ones. They have been established by French founders, sent by the French government for that purpose about ten or twelve years ago: thus, for every thing that contributes to their safety, the United States are indebted to France.

Colonel Youth's foundry consists of a furnace with bellows, and a reverberating one. When he is not employed in casting cannon he manufactures pots, chimney backs, and other large works. The number of workmen at present amounts to fifty, who are paid from ten to twenty dollars a month.

The view of the fall is extremely picturesque and beautiful. The small vessels of from forty to fifty tons, which bring the ore, approach it within fifty fathom.

From several elevated points of the road from Elk-Town the bay of Chesapeak may be seen: you approach it even at *Charles-Town*, and at *Nordwajst*, a little village built on *Nordwajst-River*; which, like the others, is only a continuation of the bay. The small creeks, however, which we pass at the ford are innumerable. It is probable, that in a dry season they are not to be perceived, but after the heavy rains, which have fallen for some days past, they are almost all wide and deep.

ELK-TOWN.

This small town is the capital of Cecil-County, and contains about 100 houses, almost all built in one street, which leads to Philadelphia.

Elk-River is navigable only a mile below the town, and at which point

point there is also an assemblage of houses and warehouses, which may be considered as a part of the town.

Elk-Town has a pretty good trade in corn with Philadelphia, which is brought particularly from the eastern part of Maryland. From Elk-Town it is sent by land to Christiana-bridge, a village at the distance of twelve miles; and from thence conveyed on the Christiana to Brandywine and Philadelphia. It is asserted that 300,000 bushels are sent annually from Elk-Town by this route. The price of carriage to Brandywine is nine pence per bushel, and to Philadelphia eleven pence halfpenny.

One of the plans for joining the Chesapeak and the Delaware, by inland navigation, is to join the Elk-River to that of the Christiana. Another has for its object to join the *Bobemia* to the *Apoquimini*. A third is to make a communication between the river Chester and Duck-River; and the fourth would join the Choptank to Jones-River. Each of these plans is favoured by the inhabitants of the part of the county which it would pass through.

It is asserted that the state of Delaware opposes almost all, because a great number of horses belonging to the inhabitants are constantly and usefully employed in carrying corn from Elk-Town to Christiana-bridge. I can hardly believe that so trifling an interest can mislead the inhabitants, and especially the legislature of Delaware, in opposition to the important interests of the state.

The commercial interests of Baltimore, as I have before said, oppose this junction. To judge which of these four plans ought to be preferred, we should know the plan of the engineers, and the nature of the ground and the obstacles. If the difficulties were equal, that which would join the *Bohemia* to the *Apoquimini* appears the best, as being higher in the river Delaware. The small space of ground to be cut through to join the two rivers should likewise be taken into consideration, as rendering its execution quicker, and less expensive. As the part to be cut through is entirely in the state of Delaware, the acquiescence of the legislature of Maryland is unnecessary.

A general obstacle exists against all these projects;—which is, the difference in the height of the waters of the Delaware and of the Chesapeak.

This difference is occasioned by the rapid influx from the Gulph of Mexico, which, on account of the direction of the currents, and the narrowness of the bason, rushes with more force on the waters of the Delaware than on those of the Chesapeak, mixes with them sooner, and raises them higher; whilst on the other hand after having passed the capes of the Chesapeak, it immediately turns into a vast bason, and thus losing its force renders the rest of the bay from two to three feet lower than the Delaware.

But this variation in the height of the water of these two bays might be remedied by sluices at the points where the rivers would unite.

About a mile from Elk-Town is the boundary of the states of Maryland and Delaware. There are in the neighbourhood some meadows, which are kept in good order; situated in a good bottom, and sowed with clover and timothy-grass, which yields in two crops from eighty to one hundred weight of hay an acre. Ten hundred weight of hay sells here for six dollars and a half. These excellent meadows do not, however, sell for more than thirty dollars per acre: the price of other land is from ten to fifteen dollars.

Labourers are paid here six shillings a day, or eleven dollars a month; the greater part of them are negroes let out by their masters. In harvest time they pay them a dollar a day.

Elk-River as well as the other rivers abounds in herrings and ducks: this abundance is a great resource for poor families, who may procure by their own pains, or at a very low price, their food for almost all the year in these two sorts of provision. Some hogs, whose feed costs them nothing, as they let them run in the woods, provide the rest: but the consequence of this easy method of procuring food in abundance is, that, unless they have the intention of emigrating, they become indolent. Three weeks' work in harvest time, and the sale
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of the ducks which they kill, procure them as much money as they want: one or two acres of maize which they cultivate furnish them with bread; and a great number of them are therefore idle all the year.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON MARYLAND.

All that I have seen of the state of Maryland—and I have travelled through the greatest part of it during this year and the last—induces me to believe that its situation in many parts is inferior to almost all the other states of America.

Slavery, which gives a very great advantage to the eastern states over the southern, in respect to the cultivation of the ground, and such manufactures as the state of population in this new world permits, produces still more evils in Maryland than in Virginia and the Carolinas, as Maryland is less extensive than the three other states, and does not produce, like them, fine and rich crops of rice, cotton, and tobacco: added to which, the number of slaves in those states is greater in proportion than elsewhere. All the land, as I have before observed, is exhausted by the crops of tobacco which have been continually drawn from it since this state has been inhabited. The impossibility of obtaining more crops, at least from the greater part of the land, has reduced the cultivation of this plant to nothing; and the cultivation of maize, which is carried on in those parts which cannot produce any more tobacco, completely destroys them. The great number of slaves, however, who are to be maintained renders the cultivation in some degree indispensable; and the Hessian fly with which the wheat has latterly been attacked, likewise encourages the cultivation of maize: the leaves of this plant are very good food for horses; thus the advantages of its cultivation induces the planter to forget the damages which it occasions to the soil already irreparably destroyed, as well as the portion of labour which it requires from the time of sowing to that of harvest.

He sees, however, his crops of maize diminish annually; yet his negroes must be provided with food; and if he feels the necessity of improving his land by a proper cultivation, and particularly by manuring it abundantly, he is prevented so doing by the preponderating necessity of providing food, and by the want of the money necessary for these improvements. On the other hand, the inhabitant whose existence depends on his labour, blushes to *work as a negro*. If he has a small property, which he might by industry improve, he hastens, as I have before observed, to dispose of it, that he may purchase a settlement in some part of the country where he may obtain it at a low price, and where, by labouring himself, he will not be liable to be considered as an inferior being. This property is then bought by some rich planter, who suffers it to lie uncultivated, having already more land than he can cultivate. The white who has no property labours until he has saved sufficient to enable him to settle elsewhere, which he may soon accomplish, as he can easily earn from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars a year, besides his food. Some quit the country even before they have saved any property, and if they are good workmen, find an opportunity of establishing themselves with credit in a country where their feelings are not constantly wounded by lowering themselves to an equality with slaves. This is precisely the state of things in the eastern part of Maryland, and even in some of the western parts.

There are a few places in the west of this state where it is otherwise; such as in the counties of Frederick, Washington, and the *Allegany*; where the proportion of slaves is very small. The land there is fertile, and has not yet been drained; as they are new settlements, and as the temperature of the air will not permit the cultivation of tobacco. These three counties, where also the climate is healthful, are peopled with emigrants from other states as well as from Maryland. Some planters on both sides of this state have lately begun to improve their meadows, and also to cultivate large quantities of land. They manure the ground: and this first step towards improvement is doubtless useful,

ful, and well designed, as preparatory to a more complete system; but their beasts are always, winter and summer, in the woods, and are leaner than any I have seen; but the means of fattening them does not appear to occupy their attention, nor do they take any pains to abolish, even at a future period, that scourge—slavery—which, humanity and morality out of the question, is an insurmountable obstacle to the improvement of their lands, and consequently their fortunes; and which is a source of imminent danger to themselves and to the general tranquillity of their country.

I have said that in Maryland and Virginia, and even in Carolina, many planters are convinced of those dangers, and are desirous of having their fields cultivated and their domestic services performed by freemen rather than by slaves; but this conviction is not sufficiently strong to lead them to the resolution, which should operate as a preliminary to the destruction of the evil.

There are publications even in Virginia in favour of the emancipation of the negroes; they have, however, produced no more effect there than in those states of the south, where the great number of slaves and small proportion of whites render every measure against slavery extremely difficult.

They talk here of transporting all the negroes out of the country at once, either to Africa or to the southern parts of America, in order to found a colony. This measure would be so full of difficulties in its execution, and would be attended with so many unpleasant consequences, that it cannot possibly be carried into effect. The plan is supported by the fear which manifests itself in those who espouse it, that a mixture in the blood would take place if the negroes were emancipated; or suffered to remain in the country: “in future generations,” say they, “there would not be a countenance to be seen without more or less of the black colour.” This inconvenience would doubtless be great if it were certain; but it by no means appears so to me: wise laws might prevent this mixture, or render it very rare, without any further abridgment of the rights of individuals than is already

already made by many other laws, which, for the good of society, restrain the exercise of individual rights; nor would such a law be any evil to the negro race. Choice alone would for a length of time give a decided superiority to the white colour, even in the eyes of the blacks; and the preference would of itself prevent mixed marriages; the law, therefore, which should enforce this preference, would be easily carried into execution.

But it appears to me to be an error, to propose the emancipating all the slaves at one time. The respect due to the property of the masters of these slaves, hitherto acknowledged by the law, and to the maintenance of order in society, demands that this great work should be progressive. The objects of a law to free the slaves, are the well being of society, and the happiness of the slaves themselves; and if these are not attained, the abolition of the slave trade is the dream of a mistaken philanthropy. The great danger a slave has to encounter after his emancipation is, that of not being able to provide for his wants; and it is the natural consequence of the aversion to labour contracted by every slave, and the habit he has of seeing himself fed and clothed, without directly occupying himself with that care. But would not both the danger to the slave, and the injury to the master, be avoided by a law with the following provisions: 1st, To fix a price, that should be moderate and equitable, on the liberty to be given to a slave: 2d, To enjoin the proprietors of slaves to permit them to work two days in each week for their own emolument; and to furnish them with land, to raise crops that should be their own property; or where the master should have occasion for their labour on the days set aside for their own use, to pay them at the same rate as other workmen: 3d, To declare every slave, on paying the price at which he is valued by the law, instantly free: 4th, to declare all children of slaves, born after the date of the law, free; and all children existing at the time of the law, free at the age of twenty-one; with a clause, to compel the masters to provide for the education of the latter?

The emancipation of slaves being thus the result of their own labour, they

they will in some degree have acquired the habit of labour; and will no longer be strangers, as they now are, to the prudence and foresight necessary to their existence; nor will society have any thing to fear on that side from their emancipation. Being treated as other labourers, having the privileges of white men, what particular inducement can they have to injure society? I am not aware that I deceive myself; yet I believe that a law of this nature would render the emancipation of slaves a benefit to every class of society, especially in a country where the population of white men exceeds that of slaves; and I do not think the proprietors of slaves would have any reason to complain of such a law.

The population of the state of Maryland, according to a return made in 1790, amounted to 319,728 inhabitants; of which 103,036 were slaves. People here, who are the best informed, assert that the population of white men is not increased; but that the population of slaves is, on the contrary, greatly increased.

It is impossible to see, without astonishment, and indeed some degree of indignation, the ruinous state of the roads and bridges in Maryland. In the most remote parts of America, roads and bridges are not worse; and indeed in many of those parts of the country are even better. The negligence of the government of Maryland in this respect is an unpardonable injury, not only to the convenience, but to the security of the public. The canals seem to be a little more attended to; at least, companies and individuals engaged in carrying them on are more favoured by the legislature. Beside which, the number of navigable rivers with which Maryland is intersected, renders the carriage from one to another extremely short, and affords means of sale for the produce of this state that are at once easy and cheap; and an improvement in the general system of culture would increase the produce of this state to an immense extent.

Maryland boasts of having a particular species of white corn; and a particular kind of tobacco, known by the name of *kite-foot*; both of which

which are originally natives of America, and even of that part of this continent which at present forms the state of Maryland. The white corn grows in the more southern part of the eastern side of the state, where, however, it degenerates. The *kite-foot* is cultivated not far from the Potapsko; and is in great request, it is said, in Europe.

The religious sects of Maryland are as numerous as in the other states of the union. There are more Roman Catholics in Maryland than in any other part of America, the first settlers of this state being of that persuasion; but the Presbyterians, and still more the Methodists, are in greater numbers. A Roman Catholic bishop resides at Baltimore; in which city and its neighbourhood, and in Prince George's-Country, Queen's-County, and Charles's-County, it is that the Roman Catholics abound most. The Catholic Religion is rigidly observed by its professors here; and makes very few profelytes. In general, the spirit of religion is not more prevalent in Maryland than in any of the other states. The inhabitants are mild, obliging, and hospitable. Wherever a traveller goes he is well received; and is always pressed to make a longer stay in every house he visits. I have met with many persons of the upper class of excellent dispositions; and also many of the inferior class, especially in parts remote from towns.

It is asserted that the inhabitants of Baltimore are as selfish and inhospitable as those of Philadelphia; and I think that is probably the case, as the same causes every-where produce the same effect. I cannot, however, speak of the truth of this assertion from my own experience; and indeed I have reason to speak with respect of all those whom I had occasion to visit.

The political sentiments that prevail in the upper classes of Maryland are in favour of what is called federalism; but they are by no means violent. The former president of the united states is in high estimation here; notwithstanding which, the acts of his administration are not indiscriminately approved. There are some zealous partisans of the anti-federalists in Maryland; and they are to be met with even among the merchants

merchants of Baltimore. But politics do not seem much to occupy the country people of this state. Newspapers are neither so many in number, nor circulated to the same extent, as in Pennsylvania or New-York.

RETURN FROM ELK-TOWN TO PHILADELPHIA.

A storm of rain and snow, with violent gusts of wind, once more detained me a whole day at an inn in Elk-Town. I had the pleasure, however, of passing a part of the time with Mr. Philip Thomas, whom I had not found at home when I went to pay him a visit on the preceding evening, and who was then returning from Philadelphia. Mr. Thomas is one of those plain and kind people that a traveller is glad to meet with. I took my leave of him, with a promise that I would pass some time at his house as soon as it should be in my power; and perfectly convinced that he was desirous of my visit.

The country that lies between Elk-Town and Christiana is nearly the same as that through which I passed on my route from Havre-de-Grace to Elk-Town. Christiana-bridge is the only considerable place on this road. It is at this place that the corn that comes by land-carriage is put on board vessels for Philadelphia. At the distance of six or seven miles is a small town called Newport, situated also on the Christiana; which enjoys a commerce of the same kind, but less considerable, and merely to supply that part of the state of Delaware which lies nearer to Newport than Christiana bridge. At five miles further lies Wilmington. There are some parts of this road running along the Delaware and Christiana (that falls into it after running through a small plain tolerably well cultivated), which present a very fine prospect.

Having in the beginning of my account of this part of my journey spoken at length of Wilmington, and the road between that town and Philadelphia, I have not any thing to add on that subject, except that the heavy rains which had fallen for several days had rendered these roads, that are always bad enough, almost impassable.

During this little excursion, I observed transitions from excessive heat to cold, sometimes with the interval of a day, but very often in the course of the same day.

OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE MINERALOGY OF THE COUNTRY.

In pursuance of the plan I laid down for myself, of concluding the account of each of my journeys with a general outline of the mineralogy of the countries through which I passed, as far as the little knowledge I have of that subject extends; I have a few words to add on that topic.

The neighbourhood of Philadelphia to the south and west presents the same sand and earth as on the east and north. Near the town, however, and on the spot which separates it from the Shuylkill, where that river falls into the Delaware, is found black earth of a great depth, and covered with vegetation; and which, it is evident, has been recently left by the water. It has all the character of land perfectly new, and as yet scarcely raised from the bed of the river. It is constantly moist; and is frequently overflowed by the river. This land is used for meadows, and is in great estimation. It is acknowledged, however, to be extremely unhealthy. Between that and Wilmington the quality of the stone is quartzose; ochre is also to be found in an imperfect state; and iron-ore is perceptible in most of the stones that are found on the road.

Every appearance of the peninsula, that partly belongs to the state of Delaware, and partly to the eastern side of Maryland, also proves that it is land left by the water; and that at a period not long past: among these are the quality of the soil, its level, and its constant and extreme humidity.

In this part of Maryland there are few stones found on the sandy soil of the country. The trenching of the ground, or some natural accident, has in places, however, thrown up a species of strong gravel; in others

others a soft argillaceous schistus, and in others a stone mixed with iron-ore.

One of the most remarkable features of this peninsula is, that the rivers are divided by a succession of swamps, from which the water runs toward the Delaware or the Chesapeake, although the ground does not appear to the eye to be more elevated than the rest of the country. There is another fact still more extraordinary—the bushes and plants which grow in these morasses are of the same kind as those which are found on the highest mountains.

In the western part of Maryland, small round iron-stones are found in considerable quantities. The soil is for the most part sand, which covers a compact clay. As one approaches Federal-City the country is not so flat, the hills are more diversified, and are generally higher. On the site of Federal-City the banks and beds of the stream are covered with granite, like the borders of the Potowmack. The rocks that occasion the falls of the Potowmack are free-stone.

The banks of the Potowmack, below the falls, and especially from George-Town to a spot near Alexandria, exhibit the same appearance of successive terraces as those in Connecticut, of which I have already spoken; but not altogether so remarkable. The environs of Alexandria are filled with beds of large oyster-shells, like those that are so frequently found in Lower Virginia. Between Federal-City and Baltimore the ground is frequently full of iron-ore. Near the Snowden-works are rocks among which are sometimes found pieces of granite and feld-spath. In the neighbourhood of Baltimore the ground is sand with clay; and gravel is found considerably strong.

Between Baltimore and Havre-de-Grace is found argillaceous schistus, and the soil is of clay and of a red colour. On the banks of rivers and creeks and on the sides of mountains are masses of stone.

NATURE

NATURE OF THE WOODS.

The woods in the states of Delaware and Maryland produce no other trees than those that are found in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Oaks of every species abound in them, many of which are large and compact in the grain. They are used in carpenters' work, and furnish a great article of exportation. The black walnut-tree, which also abounds in these woods, is much used by cabinet-makers; and makes beautiful furniture. Every other kind of walnut-tree is found in the country, the fruit of which, as well as the acorn, feeds an immense quantity of hogs that run in the woods, the flesh of which being salted forms one of the most important articles of the exportation of these two states. The cypress and cedar cover the marshy land; where they grow very large. Almost all the different kinds of wood that are in great request in Europe are to be found in this latitude; but more especially in the western part of Maryland. I have in particular noticed the tulip-tree, of a great height near Federal-City; and remarkably fine *kalmia latiflora*, from twenty to five-and-twenty feet in height, between Federal-City and Baltimore. I also saw some of the latter near the Patapsko, whose bloom, of a beautiful pale red, was beginning to appear. The wood of the *kalmia* I have been told is used for the axle-trees of carts, for the handles of tools, and all other purposes for which wood of the hardest kind is preferred.

RESIDENCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

AS I am now on the eve of my departure from Philadelphia, and as it is not probable that I shall be here again before my departure for Europe, I shall set down whatever information I have been able to collect, respecting the city of Philadelphia and the state of Pennsylvania, in the several visits I have paid to this part of the United States.

ORIGIN OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

This colony was founded 1681, by the celebrated WILLIAM PENN, from whom it derives its name; and to the genius with which that great man conceived the plan of its government, and the wisdom and justice of his administration, is to be ascribed the rapid progress it made to a happy and flourishing condition.

The English government had given Admiral PENN reason to expect the cession of this country to him, in payment of a considerable sum due to him from the public. The Admiral died before any thing was done in the affair; and the petition presented by William Penn, after his death, to claim the execution of the promise, was long opposed by the agents of Lord BALTIMORE, proprietor of Maryland. It was not till towards the conclusion of the year 1681, that Charles the Second signed William Penn's charter.

At this time several spots on the banks of the Delaware were inhabited. They were at first part of the province of New York occupied

by Dutch settlers, and afterwards were in the possession of the Swedes; till, in 1664, they were finally united to the crown of England.

The motives mentioned in the preamble of the patent granted to William Penn are, the services of Admiral Penn, and the laudable intentions of his son to add to the grandeur of the British empire, by cultivating such branches of commerce in the territories ceded to him as would enrich Great Britain, and by civilising the savage nations of the country.

The limits of the lands ceded by Charles Second to William Penn, were, on the east, the Delaware, from a spot twelve miles to the north of Newcastle, to the fortieth degree of latitude, *in case*, the words of the patent are, *the river shall extend thus far to the north*; from this point a straight line drawn to the west, at right angles with the Delaware; and from that point, another line drawn to the south; and finally, a line drawn parallel to that of the north, and making the boundary on the south.

The patent gave William Penn, and his heirs, the entire property of the province, subject to the supreme authority of the crown of England; it ceded also the power of making laws, establishing a government, granting lands, and raising taxes.

The commerce of the new province was to be subject to the regulations of the British legislature, and was to be carried on only with England. William Penn was obliged to appoint an agent in London, to answer to the crown for any violations of the laws regulating British commerce; but it was provided, that in all disputes between William Penn, or his heirs, or the merchants of the colony, and the crown, the construction of the laws should be favourable to the former, and the King's ministers were enjoined to give them all possible aid and protection.

William Penn arrived at the banks of the Delaware in 1682, having with him a great many families of the people called Quakers. As he did not suppose, with the greater part of the founders of European colonies, that the place of his birth and the grant of his king were authorities for taking possession of the territories of savage people, without their consent, he treated with the natives for the lands with such equity, that he
not

not only concluded his negotiations without obstacles, and acquired the friendship and confidence of the Indians, but also conciliated the minds of the Dutch and Swedes already established in the country. The conduct of the Quakers, who accompanied Penn, was of the same equitable character; so that the new settlers, far from being disturbed by the Indians, received every aid those poor people could give them. And so deeply rooted was the veneration of the Indian tribes for William Penn, that to this day, when those unhappy victims of European policy are daily driven from their habitations farther back into the wilds of the country, and have too often to complain of other acts of injustice, they are accustomed to quote the tradition handed down to them of William Penn's humane and equitable conduct. Nor do they ever place an entire confidence in any treaties with Pennsylvania, or any other state, or even the Union, unless some Quakers are present at the conference;—"the descendants of William Penn," they say, "will never permit us to be deceived."

In 1683, William Penn began to lay the foundations of Philadelphia, at which time he formed a plan for the building of that city, which has since been followed with great exactness.

The country lying along the Delaware to the south of Newcastle, was a little time afterwards granted by the crown to William Penn; and the county of Newcastle was ceded to him by the Duke of York.

The inhabitants of this new colony amounted, in 1684, to no more than four thousand. In 1685, ninety vessels arriving from Europe, with emigrants from France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Finland, Denmark, Scotland, Ireland, and England, the population was increased to sixty-six thousand, of which nearly the half were English.

The wisdom of the administration, but still more entire liberty in civil and religious matters, brought a great influx of inhabitants, even from other parts of America, to Philadelphia; and the city was still farther increased in growth, by conditional grants of ground, and other political aids given to adventurers.

In 1682, William Penn assembled the inhabitants of this new colony at Chester; with the concurrence of whom he framed a constitution, that vested the legislation of the state in the governor, assisted with a provincial council and a general assembly. The council was composed of seventy members, chosen by the people. The governor or his deputy presided in the council, and had three voices. A third of the council was re-elected annually. The general assembly was at first composed of all the inhabitants, but was soon reduced to two hundred, and it was provided that it should never exceed five hundred.

In the discourse pronounced by William Penn on this occasion, he laid down a maxim, whose truth ought to be incessantly in the contemplation of every free people;—"Whatever," he said, "be the form of a government, the people always are free when they share in the legislative power, and are governed only by the laws. In these two circumstances is the security of all freedom; without them, there can be nothing but despotism or anarchy. The legitimate objects of government are, the people's respect for the laws, and their security against the abuse of power. On these principles it is, that the people are free, even in obedience, and the magistrates honoured and respectable, for the impartiality of their administration and their own submission to the laws."

In 1683, William Penn offered a new constitution to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of which they accepted. The number of representatives was now diminished; and the prerogative of putting a negative upon laws passed by the assembly, given to the governor.

* Some disputes between Lord Baltimore and William Penn, concerning their respective property, obliged the latter to go to England. In his absence, the administration of the government was committed to a council, who abused their power, and excited discontents, that Penn, while he remained in Europe, could neither prevent nor allay. The crown therefore resumed the government of the province, which was committed to the care of the governor of New York.

About this period a new constitution was established in Pennsylvania, differing

differing from the former chiefly in this—that the general assembly were now annually elected.

In 1699, William Penn arrived from England, and again took the reins of government; and it was in 1701, when he was about to embark once more for England, that the constitution of this province was established on the footing on which it rested till the revolution of America.

The three counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex, (which at that time were known by the name of the *three lower counties*), refusing to accept this new constitution, William Penn granted his right in them to EDMUND SHIPPEN, and five others, and these counties were erected into a separate government. They had an assembly distinct from that of Pennsylvania, in which, however, the governor of Pennsylvania presided: and these three counties at present form the State of Delaware.

William Penn purchased from the Indians, by successive treaties, the country as far as the Susquehanna, and even beyond, and all that tract of land extending from Duck Creek to the mountains. He died in 1718, esteemed, beloved, and regretted, by every one who had occasion at any time to have dealings with him. After his death his heirs, the proprietors and governors of the province, endeavoured to extend their power, and soon began to claim exemptions from taxes for the lands the family of Penn had reserved for itself. The house of representatives opposed these pretensions with unremitting steadiness; and the history of Pennsylvania, from that period to the late revolution in America, is nothing more than a record of disputes between the governors and the house of representatives. Every question that came before the assembly was the occasion of a dispute; and the mutual jealousy of these authorities prevented the establishment of necessary regulations, which the representatives of the people had not leisure to propose, or were unwilling to subject to the governor's negative.

CONSTITUTION.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AFTER
THE REVOLUTION.

At the time of the revolution in America, the constitution of Pennsylvania was changed. The proprietors were then absent; and the people, by their representatives, established a constitution, in the following manner.

The legislative authority was delegated to a house of representatives, chosen annually by the several counties. To become an elector, it was necessary to be an inhabitant, a descendant of Europeans, and free—to have arrived at the age of twenty-one, and to have resided a year in Pennsylvania.

The number of the representatives was to be proportioned to the population of each county; the only qualification to be a candidate for representative was, a residence for the two last years in the same county, but no representative was eligible to be re-elected till after an interval of four years. Every representative, before he took his seat, was obliged to read and sign the following declaration—*That he believed in one God, who created the universe, and governs it by his providence, and who rewards the good and punishes the wicked; and that he acknowledged the Old and New Testaments to have been written by divine inspiration.*

The house of representatives had the power of making laws consistent with the spirit of the constitution. All acts were to be passed by a majority of at least two-thirds of the members present; and laws were not to be in force till the expiration of one year from the time of their passing. During that interval they were to be published in the gazettes, that the people might have opportunity to know their nature, and that the public opinion might be made known respecting necessary amendments.

The number of representatives in 1789 were seventy-two.

The executive power was placed in the supreme council of Pennsylvania, composed of a president, vice-president, and fifteen members chosen by the people, one in each county. This council was chosen for three years, and a third was renewed annually by an election. The president

sident and vice-president were annually chosen, by an assembly composed of the house of representatives and the supreme council; but they were chosen among the members of the supreme council.

Another council completed the political body of this state; it was called the *council of censors*, and was composed of two members from each county, chosen annually by the people. The members could not be re-elected till after an interval of seven years. Their functions were, to guard the rights of the constitution; to enquire into usurpations of the legislature, or the supreme council; to enquire whether the taxes were equitably imposed, faithfully levied, and expended with economy; in a word, to see the laws justly administered. They had the power to summon any individual before them; to suspend the deliberations of the legislature; to examine its acts, and to recommend the annulling of such as appeared to them inconsistent with the constitution. They had, beside, the power of calling a convention to change the constitution, to which they had authority to propose such reforms as they should deem necessary. In the case of their calling a convention, they were enjoined to give notice of it in the gazettes, during six months previous to its meeting.

As democratic as this constitution was, there were many who still wished for further innovation; and while it was in existence, the State of Pennsylvania was divided by two factions, one of which was called the *constitutionalists*, and the other *republicans*. The latter demanded two houses, on the plan of the majority of the United States. The contest for power was eager; and the public interest, as is too often the case, was sacrificed to the interests of parties. Finally the republicans prevailed; and in 1790, the constitution at present in force was framed by a convention.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The constitution of Pennsylvania, like those of all the other United States, separates the executive from the legislative power.

The legislature is composed of a house of representatives and a senate.

The

The members of the house of representatives are chosen in each county by the electors, with the exception of those who are returned by the citizens of Philadelphia.

The number of representatives for a county is in proportion to the population, but each county returns at least one. To keep the number in each county correspondent with the population, an account of the inhabitants is taken every seven years, according to which the legislature declares the number that each county shall return.

The number of representatives is never to exceed a hundred. The house of representatives is elected annually. The qualifications for members are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenship, acquired three years previous to the election; and a previous residence of three years in the county.

The senate is elected for four years; but a fourth of the senators is renovated annually.

The senators are elected by districts, formed by several counties, according to their population; but no district is permitted to return more than four senators.

The number of the senators is never to be less than the fourth part of the house of representatives, nor ever exceed the third.

The qualifications for a senator are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; the right of citizenship; residence for four years in the state; and a residence of the year preceding the election in the district.

The governor is elected for three years, and is not eligible to continue in office more than nine years in twelve. The qualifications for the candidate for the office of governor, are—the arrival at the age of thirty; and the right of citizenship of seven years standing, and seven years residence in the state.

The qualification of residence in the state is not necessary to a candidate for the office of governor, or member of either of the houses of legislature, when he has been absent on the service of the Union or the State.

The same electors chuse the governor and the two houses of the legislature.

lature. The qualifications of an elector are,—the arrival at the age of twenty-one; two years residence in the state previous to the election; and the payment of taxes for the last six months. The sons of inhabitants paying taxes are exempt from the last qualification.

Laws for the imposition of taxes must originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may make amendments in them.

The treasurer of the state is annually appointed by the legislature.

All other places under the government, civil and military, are filled by the governor; who appoints also the sheriffs and coroner in each county, from two candidates presented to him by the electors.

The governor has the prerogative of granting pardon to convicts, or of mitigating their sentence.

The acts of the legislature must receive his signature, to have the force of a law, which signature is to be affixed to the act within ten days of its being presented to him; except in the case of his refusing his assent, when his refusal is to be accompanied with a declaration of his motives. The motives of refusal are to be taken into consideration by the two houses; and if two-thirds of each persist in passing the act, the governor is to place his signature to it, notwithstanding his objections. It thenceforth becomes law, and he is to provide for its execution.

The judicature is divided into five tribunals; 1. the Supreme Court, composed of a chief-justice and four other judges. This court holds its sittings at Philadelphia, in January, April, and September; in the first of which months, the sittings last for three weeks, and in the two others for fifteen days.

2. The Courts of Oyer and Terminer, composed of one of the judges of the supreme court, and judges of the district, the county being divided into five districts for the purposes of this jurisdiction. The judges make the circuit of the district, and take cognizance of both civil and criminal causes.

3. The Court of Common Pleas, composed of a president who is one of the judges of the district, and justices of the peace in the county.

This court is held in the county, and takes cognizance only of civil causes.

4. The Court of Quarter Sessions, composed only of justices of the peace, and held every three months in the county.

5. The Court of Errors and Appeal, composed of a president who has no other function, and the judges, who are presidents of the several courts of common pleas. This court is held every year at Philadelphia, beginning its sittings on the first of July.

The Supreme Court, and the Courts of Circuit, have the powers of the Court of Chancery vested in them.

The respective judges are appointed by the governor, and cannot be displaced but by a sentence of the senate, upon an accusation from the house of representatives; or, where the accusation is not of a criminal nature, by the governor, on the requisition of two-thirds of each of the two houses of the legislature.

The concluding chapter of the constitution of Pennsylvania contains a declaration of rights, established on the purest principles of civil and religious liberty.

No test is required from persons holding public offices, except a declaration to uphold and defend the constitution. No profession relative to religion is demanded of them. The declaration is made upon oath, or simple affirmation, according to the pleasure of the person making it; and this seems a necessary provision in a state in which Quakers are as numerous as in that of Pennsylvania.

Votes at an election are given in writing; and the judges who preside, before they receive a vote, are to make an entry of the name and qualification of the voter, that the same person may not vote twice, or vote without the right of suffrage.

The tranquillity of Pennsylvania has been undisturbed since the establishment of this constitution, except in the instance of a partial insurrection in 1794, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

This state is blessed with a high degree of prosperity. Population increases.

creases in an astonishing progression. Commerce is more flourishing than in any of the other states; and every corner of it is peopling with emigrations from Europe, or from the other states of the Union.

THE LAWS IN GENERAL.

By the grant of Charles Second to William Penn, it was provided, that the laws of England relative to property, and also the laws relative to crimes, should be in force in Pennsylvania, till others should be formally substituted by himself, and the freemen of the new province, or their deputies.

In the establishment of this colony, the common law of England, and several of its statute laws, were naturally adopted; but many of these not being found in any written code of Pennsylvania, they are to be regarded indiscriminately as the common law of Pennsylvania.

When the revolution took place, these laws ceased to be obligatory, by the connection with England being destroyed. But they were confirmed in the first independent legislature by an express law, till they should be repealed by succeeding acts of the legislature. This wise measure was necessary in the agitation of a revolution, that scarcely affords the coolness and leisure required for the formation of a new code of laws, or even the careful revision of an ancient system. Many of the laws since that period have been repealed, or amended; those which are at present in force have been lately collected and published by Mr. DALLAS, secretary of the state of Pennsylvania, a lawyer of great eminence, and who is allowed, even by men of opposite sentiments in politics, to possess a clear judgment, and a profound knowledge in the laws.

THE CODE OF CIVIL LAWS, IN PARTICULAR.

I shall speak only of the most interesting of the code of civil laws, and in the first place, of that which regulates the property of persons dying intestate. This law, which was passed in 1794, revokes all preceding laws on the same subject, the last of which was passed in 1764.

By the existing law, the widow of a person dying intestate takes a third of all his personal property and an interest for life in the real estate. The other two-thirds are divided equally among the legitimate children, already born or posthumous; and after the death of the widow, the third of the real estate in which she had a life-interest, is equally divided among the children.

When the person dying intestate leaves no widow, the whole of the property is equally divided among the children.

When a person dying intestate leaves a widow without children, the widow takes half the personal property, and a life-interest in half the real estate; the remainder is divided among the nearest relations of the deceased; to whom also descends, at the death of the widow, the half of the real estate enjoyed by her during her life.

This law determines the preference to be given to the degrees of relationship; and regulates the manner of valuing, selling, and dividing the property among the co-heirs.

The abolished law of 1764, had given to the eldest of the sons of the person dying intestate, a share of the property equal to two of the other children.

The common-law of England is followed in Pennsylvania, in the disposition of the property of a woman dying intestate; the whole of the personal property belongs to the husband, and also the enjoyment of the real estate during his life.

If there are children of the marriage, or their representatives, they divide the property of the mother after the death of the father.

The liberty of disposing of property by will, without leaving any part to children, is entire in Pennsylvania, and is considered as a security for the good behaviour of children. It is very uncommon to find a parent making a bad use of this liberty; which appears, however, to be greater than a just man would desire. It is not unusual for a parent to leave his eldest son a double portion of his property, but public opinion condemns every disposition in which the eldest son is favoured beyond that proportion.

By

By a law passed in 1786, no divorce can be adjudged but in the following cases;—1. For inability in the husband, or incapacity of the wife to bear children.

2. For a preceding marriage of one of the parties, the former wife or husband being still alive, when the second marriage took place.

3. For adultery, proved by one of the parties.

4. For the voluntary absence of either of the parties, without reasonable cause, from the house of the married parties, during four succeeding years.

In each of these cases the supreme court has the power of pronouncing a sentence of divorce. The forms of proceeding are prescribed by the law; and it is provided, that they cannot be resorted to, by any husband or wife, except where the parties have resided one year at least in the state.

When a married person, on the report of the death of the husband or wife, after an absence of two years, marries again, such person is not to be judged guilty of adultery; but the husband or wife who has been thus reported dead, may, on his or her return, claim the dissolution of the marriage made during his or her absence, and the restitution of the wife or husband, provided the claim is made within a year after the return of such person.

A husband who consents to his wife's adultery is not intitled to a divorce; and where a divorce is obtained for adultery, the party convicted of the crime is not at liberty to marry with the person who was his or her partner in the guilt.

The law grants a separation, when the wife proves that she has been ill-treated by her husband; and compels the husband to afford a maintenance to the wife after the separation, not exceeding the third of his revenue; but every sentence of separation is to be revised by the high court of errors and appeals, if either of the parties chuses to appeal.

By a law passed in 1780, the children of slaves born after that period are declared free; but they are liable to serve the masters of their parents till the age of twenty-eight. The same law ordained the registering in the

the public books of certain officers, the names of the slaves then residing in the state; and such slaves as were not so registered were declared to be free. It provided that all slaves should be tried by the same tribunals, and with the same forms, as other citizens of the state; but it prohibited the testimony of a slave against a freeman. The proprietors of slaves were compelled by this law to provide for their subsistence, even in the case of their not being registered; and the manner was prescribed for the recovery of a slave who had escaped from his master. It was forbidden to engage any negro or mulatto above the age of twenty-one to be bound for any longer term than seven years.

A law that was passed in May 1788 explained and amended the law of 1780. Every slave brought into the State of Pennsylvania, either by an inhabitant of the state or any person coming to reside there, was declared free as soon as he entered on the territories of the state. No person could take with him, or send away to another state, a slave engaged only for a term, without the consent of the slave officially declared before a justice of the peace. A fine of one hundred and sixty dollars is to be paid for every offence against this provision of the law. The children of slaves born after the first of March 1780, who were subject to servitude till the age of twenty-eight, were to be enregistered in the books of the proper officers, in default of which they were declared free.

The trading in negroes was prohibited, under the penalty of the confiscation of the vessel employed in or destined to that traffic, and a fine of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. Every master of a slave, whether during his life or for a term of years, was prohibited, under the penalty of one hundred and twelve dollars, to remove husband and wife, or parents and their children, to the distance of more than twelve miles from each other, without their previous consent. Where violence is used by the master, or persecution or false pretences to effect the separation contrary to this law, the fine is doubled, and the offender to be imprisoned for six or twelve months. The granting liberty to a slave, whether he is so for life or a term of years, requires no other formality than the signature of the master declaring him to be free.

The

The common law of England is still in force in Pennsylvania, relative to the hiring of domestics, and the taking off apprentices. Parents may therefore engage their children as apprentices and domestics up to the age of twenty-one; and after that age young people may make agreements for themselves till they are twenty-eight. Provisions are made by the law merely to prevent abuses in these engagements. Among the rest are—the declaration before justices of the peace of the person engaged to be a servant or apprentice, that he engages himself voluntarily; a prohibition to every master to send servants or apprentices out of the state; and a fine imposed upon all persons offending against that clause, or retaining the persons so engaged beyond the term of the contract.

The law also authorises the engagement, for a limited period, of persons arriving from Europe, who cannot otherwise discharge the debts they have contracted with the masters of vessels for their passage.

The overseers of the poor may make engagements for the children of the poor as apprentices, but not for any term exceeding their arrival at the age of twenty-one; and provisions are made for the proper treatment of such apprentices and domestics by their masters.

It is under the sanction of the forms of this law that emigrants, arriving here from the French colonies since the French Revolution, have been able to retain their slaves. Having conducted them before magistrates, they engage them till the time when they shall attain the age of twenty-one, or twenty-eight; but the consent of the negro to this effect is necessary, without which they are declared free.

There is no law in Pennsylvania, directly enacted by the legislature of the state, relative to bankruptcies; on this subject the law of England is followed. That which relates to the insolvent debtors is encumbered with the inconveniences which such laws seldom avoid. It provides that insolvent persons, imprisoned for debt, shall be discharged and freed from farther pursuit, on a declaration made by them of the amount of their property and the relinquishment of it to their creditors. But if the debtor afterwards acquires other property, he may be again sued. It will be felt, that the debtor, being once enlarged, may secrete his new acquisitions from

from his creditor, or that he may be dishonest in his declaration concerning his property; but it will also be felt, that it is less difficult to raise objections to this mild provision of the law, than to substitute one that would protect the honest and unfortunate debtor, while it secured the creditor from frauds. The decay of morals in Pennsylvania renders a provision for this last-mentioned object necessary; and the legislature is engaged in framing a law for that purpose.

It was proposed in the last session to abolish arrests for debt, and to leave to the money-lender and the merchant the task of enquiring into the solidity of the funds for their repayment. The proposition was supported by a great number of the members; but was opposed by a majority, and thrown out.

Chicanery will find means to prolong the term of nine months, which is the term consumed by the regular forms in the recovery of a debt; and it is not unusual to see it thus employed in Pennsylvania.

By a law of Pennsylvania, cognizance is given to justices of the peace of all actions for debt not exceeding fifty-three dollars. The object of the legislature in this law was, to save expence in the most frequent actions for debt, and in which the parties were the least capable of defraying it; but an appeal to the superior tribunals is given to the defendant. This law met with much opposition before it passed, and chiefly from lawyers who imagined it would effect their practice; but experience has shewn the wisdom of the provision. There is scarcely an instance of an appeal from the decisions of the justices of the peace; and the expences of recovering debts before them are twenty times less than before the superior tribunals with the aid of advocates.

THE CRIMINAL LAWS.—PRISONS.

It is on the subject of criminal laws that philosophy has had the most noble and useful influence in Pennsylvania; and in this respect the government may justly serve for a model to the rest of the world.

I cannot proceed with this subject without repeating part of what I have said in another work, published with this title—*On the Prisons of Philadelphia*;

Philadelphia; to which I will refer such of my readers as require a more particular detail on this interesting subject.

Since the year 1793, no crime but wilful murder is punished with death. Other crimes are punished with imprisonment, for more or less time, and with circumstances of greater or less severity, according to the nature of the offence; the Governor in all cases having the prerogative to mitigate the punishment; for although it has appeared to the wise legislators of this state, that the certainty with which punishment follows crimes will greatly diminish them, the hope of obtaining pardon by subsequent good conduct has no less appeared to them a motive of substantial reform in criminals. They very properly thought that all punishment should have the amendment of the offender for its object, and ought even to furnish him with the means of reform; and this valuable maxim is the basis of the policy of the prisons in Philadelphia.

The administrators of the prisons have added this truly wise principle; that the imprisonment of a criminal being a reparation to society, it ought as little as possible to be a burden on its finances.

They have proposed, therefore, the following objects in their regulations:

1st. That the economy of the prisons should, as much as possible, tend to detach the prisoners from their former habits, and lead them to reflections on their condition, and consequently to amendment.

2d. That all arbitrary proceedings, and cruelty, and injustice in the jailors, should be carefully excluded, since they dispose the mind of the prisoner to malice and revenge, instead of begetting sentiments of contrition.

3d. That the prisoner should be constantly employed in some profitable labour, to wean him from habits of idleness, to defray the expences of the prison, and to provide some resource for the time when he returns again to society.

The convicts in the prisons are divided into two classes; the first are such as are convicted of crimes formerly punished with death, and their sentence always includes *solitary confinement* for part of the time of their

imprisonment. The quantity of solitary confinement is at the discretion of the judge, within these bounds—that it shall not exceed half of the time of the imprisonment, nor be less than the twelfth part. The other class of convicts are such as are sentenced for inferior offences; and who are not consequently condemned to *solitary confinement*.

The cells for solitary confinement are eight feet by six, and nine in height. They are always on the first or second floor of the prison, are vaulted, and detached from the rest of the building. They are warmed by a stove which stands in the corridor facing the cells. The convict, shut in by two doors of iron and grated, receives the benefit of the fire without being able to convert it to mischievous purposes. The cell is lighted by the doors leading to the corridor, and more immediately by a window. It has a water-closet, through which fresh water can be always turned at the pleasure of the prisoner. No precaution for cleanliness or health is forgotten. The cells, as well as every part of the prison, is white-washed twice a year. The prisoner sleeps on a mattress, and is well furnished with covering.

Thus delivered over to solitude, and the bitterness of reflection and remorse, the convict has no communication with human beings; except that once a day the turnkey brings him a coarse pudding made of Indian wheat.

It is not till after the convict has passed some time in this seclusion from society that he obtains permission to read, or to be furnished with such employment as his strict confinement will admit of.

The convict never quits his cell during the term for which he is condemned to solitary confinement, not even to walk in the corridor, except in the case of sickness.

It is left to the inspectors of the prisons to say in what part of the whole term of the imprisonment the time of the solitary confinement shall take place; provided the prisoner actually suffers the quantity of solitary confinement named in the sentence. It is usually inflicted when the convict enters the prison; because the severest part of the sentence ought in justice, as quickly as possible, to follow the crime; because the rigour

rigour of this seclusion would be unjustly increased if the prisoner had already enjoyed the common liberty of the prison; because the seclusion from society is designed to lead the prisoner to reflection on the crimes whose punishment falls so heavily on him; and, because the sudden and absolute change of food affects the temperament of the prisoner and inclines him to the disposition that precedes repentance.

The inspectors of the prisons place great confidence in the abstinence they impose on the convict condemned to solitary confinement; regarding it as the surest means of his amendment, by the change it effects in his ideas and temper. This notion seems to have influenced the founders of such religions as enjoin fasts and abstinence; and he who reflects on the power of our organs over the qualities of our mind will not fail to applaud the inspectors of the prisons in Philadelphia for the sagacity of their system.

A convict who is not sentenced to solitary confinement is, on his entrance into the prison, put into a common room with others. His clothes are taken off, and in some cases burnt; and a dress common to all the prisoners given to him. He is instructed in the regulations of the prison, and examined respecting the species of labour he is capable of pursuing.

The civil officer who conducts the convict to prison, delivers to the inspectors a paper containing an account of his offence; the circumstances by which it is heightened or extenuated; the facts that appeared on his trial; the crimes of which he has in any former time been accused; in a word, the entire character and history of the man as far as it can be gathered. The document is transmitted by the court that pronounced the sentence; and enables the inspectors to form an opinion of the prisoner, and to conduct themselves toward him as the case requires.

The labour allotted to prisoners is proportioned to their strength, and proficiency in the employment. In the prisons there are looms; carpenters' benches; and shops fitted up for shoe-makers and tailors. Convicts that cannot avail themselves of any of these, are employed in sawing, or polishing marble; preparing the cedar for pencils; grinding plaister

of Paris; combing wool; or beating hemp. The inspectors have lately added a manufacture of nails, which employs a great many hands, and produces a large profit to the prison. Convicts that are unable to endure hard labour, and are little expert at any thing, are employed in sorting wool, horse-hair, and flax.

The bargain for the labour of the prisoners is made between the jailor and the tradesmen of the city, in the presence of the convict. Out of his earnings, the convict pays for his board, his portion of the common expences of the house, and the use and wear of his tools; the rate of payment for these things, being necessarily governed by circumstances, is fixed by the inspectors four times in every year; it is at present fifteen pence per day, and an old man, who can do nothing but pick hemp, is able to gain one and twenty or two and twenty pence per day. There are convicts who earn more than a dollar per day.

Besides the money which the convict pays to the prison from his earnings, the law compells him to reimburse the state the expences of his trial, and to pay a fine which is always part of the sentence. The fine includes a sum to be paid into the treasury of the state; and in case of theft, a sum sufficient to pay for the stolen property. The money to be paid into the treasury is frequently remitted, but never the expences of the trial, nor the restitution of the stolen property. The county advances the money for the expences of the trial; and is repaid from the labour of the convict, if his family or friends do not pay it for him.

The women are employed in spinning, sewing, combing wool, and washing for the prison. They pay seven-pence per day for their board; and they can earn more than that if they are industrious. As their labour is not so hard as that of the men their food is less expensive.

The jailor does not here, as is too frequently the practice in other places, levy contributions on misfortune and misery. Nothing is demanded on the prisoner's entrance into prison, or on his quitting it; nothing for particular indulgences to the individual.

The smallness of the salary of certain situations in Europe seems to authorise those who fill them in the exactions by which they increase their revenue;

revenue; and it is difficult for persons of higher rank, whose office it is to superintend their conduct, to make rigid enquiries where they know the subaltern has not the salary to provide the necessaries of life.

The rapacious exactions to which I allude, are exercised by persons of the vilest condition in society; and they are often levied as an indemnity for the contempt and hatred which those persons encounter.

But here, where no prisoner is ever put in irons; where blows and even ill language is strictly forbidden to all persons who approach them; where the whole economy of the prison tends to make it a scene of reform; the office of jailor never wounds the delicacy of the most honourable characters. The salaries are very sufficient, even of the under jailors; the daily visits of the inspectors are a complete check upon the jailors, and not only excludes all exaction, but produces constant evidence that none can exist in the prisons.

Every prisoner has a small book in which are entered the bargains made in his presence for his labour, and the amount of the produce; and against this, his debts for the expences of his trial, the fine to which he is condemned, the sum to be paid for the use and destruction of his tools, his clothes, and his board; and the account is audited and passed every three months in the presence of the inspectors. A copy of the account is entered in a general register; and is also passed every three months.

The produce of the labour is paid into the treasury of the county, which thus becomes the banker of the prisoner, to prevent the suspicions that would arise if the jailor held the money in his hands. The jailor, in fact, is no more than the agent between the convict and his employer; and the price of labour in the prison is the same as out of doors; and the inspectors take care that no fraud is practised upon the convicts.

The jailor purchases the provisions in the presence of the inspectors. A certain quantity is allowed to each prisoner, and is weighed out before the cook, who is himself a convict, and is paid by his fellow prisoners for his labour.

To these precautions of incessant inspection, and of the ample salary of the jailors, which removes the temptation to fraud on their part, is

joined

joined the powerful controul of public opinion. The humanity and inflexible probity of the inspectors is so manifest, their desire of the welfare of the convicts is so unequivocal, and their care that no injustice be done them so constant, that to rob them would appear in the public eye a more detestable crime than any other species of robbery.

The rooms in which the prisoners sleep are on the first floor; each room contains ten or twelve beds, furnished with mattresses, sheets, and a sufficiency of covering; and every prisoner has a bed to himself. Each room is well aired and well lighted. The prisoners quit their chambers at day-break, and do not return till the hour of going to bed. They are then shut up without light. When the weather is severe, a little fire is allowed them; the whole of the building being vaulted, there is no danger of their burning it down; and if they should be tempted to set fire to their beds, they would do no more than subject themselves to perish, and if they escaped would be obliged to pay for the mischief done.

Every morning, before the convicts go to work, they are obliged to wash their hands and face. In summer they bathe twice a month, in a bath made for that use in the middle of the court. They are regularly shaved twice a week; and the barber, who is also a convict, is paid out of the fifteen pence per day deducted out of each prisoner's labour. Their linen is changed twice a week.

All heavy work is done in the courts; and light trades are followed in rooms on the same floor with their chambers, but in a separate part of the building. They are not shut in while they work; but each is under the superintendence of the rest. There are seldom more than five or six in one of these shops.

The under jailors, of whom there are four to each prison, are obliged to be continually in the courts, chambers, or corridors; in fine, among the prisoners.

All conversation is prohibited the prisoners, beyond what necessarily arises in the pursuit of their occupations. They are forbidden to reproach each other with their crimes, or even to speak of the cause of their imprisonment. The same silence is imposed upon them at table. Their
breakfast

breakfast and supper is a pudding of flour made from Indian corn, with which they eat treacle. At dinner, each is served with half a pound of meat, half a pound of bread, and vegetables. Their drink is always water. Never, on any pretence, are they permitted to taste fermented liquors, not even small beer. All such liquors are prohibited; and the prohibition is religiously observed. The excitement produced by fermented liquors is momentary, and deceitful; and as it would heat the juices of the convict, would consequently interfere with the system of temperance through which it is intended to effect a change in his disposition. The healthy vigour which is necessary for him, will be derived from the substantial but moderate food that is given him. Peals of laughter, songs, and shouts, are prohibited; not only as they would be inconvenient and disagreeable in the prison, but because they disturb the tranquillity which is to be cultivated and increased in the prisoner's temper.

When a convict violates a regulation of the prison, he is admonished for the first offence by the inspector, the jailor, or the under jailor. If he repeats his offence, he is sent into solitary confinement. This is a punishment which the jailor may himself inflict; but in every such case he is obliged instantly to send an account of it to the inspector.

When a convict is idle, and will not work, he is sent into solitary confinement; and this punishment is the greater, because he must redeem the time he has lost when he returns to labour, as the expences of the house are charged against him even for the time of his solitary confinement.

The four under jailors are all the night on duty; two of whom are in the room set apart for the inspectors, and the other two walk continually in the corridors. When there is any extraordinary noise, they waken the jailor, with whom they proceed to the chamber whence the noise comes, and conduct the offenders to the solitary cells. Such cases are very rare. It perhaps does not happen four times a year that a prisoner is punished; and no other punishment is inflicted in the prison but solitary confinement.

The

The jailors and under-jailors are not permitted to have either arms or dogs. They are even forbidden to carry a small stick, lest in a moment of anger they should strike a prisoner, and the tranquillity so much cultivated, and from which so much is expected, be disturbed. An under jailor who is found drunk, or who treats a prisoner a second time with unprovoked rigour, is immediately discharged.

The inspectors take occasion to converse with the prisoners; they endeavour to become acquainted with them; they give them advice and consolation, and labour to reconcile them to their own consciences. These conversations are not too frequent, lest they should produce the less effect. The appearance of the prisoners is generally calm and serious; it has nothing of that hard insolence, or the malignant scowl, or the mean servility, that we find in the prisoners of Europe. A prisoner here is at once reserved and respectful.

The female convicts are in a wing separated from the dwelling of the men. They are suffered to mingle with women that are prisoners for debt—an indulgence that is never granted the men. It is supposed that the example of women of a better order will tend to correct the manners of the depraved; and this is true; for in that sex modesty and an honest shame have always an influence which men, when they are once perverted, do not feel.

Washing is the only labour carried on in the court belonging to the women, of which they otherwise make use at their pleasure. The number of female convicts seldom exceeds five or six. Silence is less rigidly exacted from them; and they are not so strictly guarded as the men. One of them cooks for the rest; and they wait on each other in sickness; but sickness is rare among them.

The new economy introduced into the prisons has made a material change relative to diseases. Formerly there were from two hundred and sixty to three hundred and twenty patients, afflicted with the itch, in one quarter; and in the same interval, under the new system, they do not amount to forty. This astonishing difference is solely to be attributed to the change of economy. Formerly the licence that reigned in the prisons

prisons was the constant occasion of filthiness, drunkenness, quarrels, and disgusting diseases. At present there are no patients in the prisons, but some afflicted with the rheumatism, or the effect of accidents. In the four last years, only two prisoners have died, and they died of the small-pox.

If the disorder is not contagious, the patient is attended in his chamber; but if contagion is apprehended, he is put in a room by himself.

Every Sunday morning the prisoners attend a sermon, preached by a minister, whose zeal leads him to the prison; nor is it inquired to what sect he belongs. Liberty of conscience is as unrestricted in the prisons as it is throughout Pennsylvania. Yet as the inhabitants of the state are almost all of them Christians, a chapter is read to the prisoners from the Bible. The sermons in general turn more on morality than doctrinal points, and are applicable to the situation of the convicts. All the prisoners, of every kind and both sexes, attend the service, excepting those who are condemned to solitary confinement. In the evening there is another sermon; and pious books are given to those who request it.

The superintendence of the administration of the prison is committed to twelve inspectors. Six of these are replaced by a new election every six months, and the election is made by the inspectors themselves. The elections are thus frequent, that the duty, which is very painful in its nature, may not fall too heavily on individuals. But an inspector may be continued in office beyond his term, with his own consent.

The inspectors meet every week; and two of them, who have the additional title of *visitors*, are obliged at least to make two visits in eight days to the prisons. There is scarcely a day passes in which they do not make their visit; and frequently some who are not on that duty do the same. The inspectors are for the most part Quakers; and it is not to be forgotten, that it is to the society of Quakers that the public is indebted for the establishment, protection, and success of the new system.

To one of these people, whose name is CALEB LOWNES, is to be given the largest share of the honour of this great reform. The opinions of Beccaria and Howard easily took root in his humane heart. It

was he who animated his brethren with zeal for the enlightened system of these great men; it was he who exhorted a change in the prisons—who proposed to substitute humanity, joined to firmness, for fetters and stripes—who suffered himself to be treated as a wild visionary, without being turned aside from his pursuit, perfectly confiding in the success of his labour. It was he whose unwearied zeal gained over to his cause whoever was necessary to its protection; who obtained from the legislature those laws, I will not only say that humanity claimed, but that justice and an enlarged policy demanded. In a word, it is he who consents at every election to be an inspector, and is indeed the principal agent of that great work of reason and humanity. May God shower his blessings on the head of this benefactor of the human race!

The judges at first opposed this reform; except one among them, who, younger than the rest, and despairing less of the human character, embraced the reform with ardour. He associated himself to the labours of Caleb Lownes, aiding him with the advice of a man versed in jurisprudence; and, having shared the difficulties, he deserved to share in the glories of the undertaking. The name of this judge was WILLIAM BRADFORD. He was at that time the attorney-general of Pennsylvania, and was afterwards the attorney-general of the United States. He died lately, honoured with the universal esteem and love of his fellow-citizens.

This is an homage which I render the more readily to his memory, as it includes no censure on the other judges. While they withheld their sanction from the reform, they were influenced by doubts of its efficacy; and they were prompt in aiding the plan when they were convinced of their mistake; nor were they to be deterred by the opinion they had previously given;—a conduct that will not be thought little of, by those who have had occasion to contemplate the operations of self-love.

The prisons, under the new regulations, are subject to the superintendence of the mayor of Philadelphia, and judges appointed for that purpose. They form a committee, whose duty it is to visit the prisons once in every quarter. The same duty is imposed upon the governor of the
state

state of Pennsylvania, the judges of the several superior courts, and the grand juries.

These numerous visits are ordained by the legislature, to ensure the success of this humane plan, by watching over the interior economy of the prisons, if it were even possible for the zeal of the inspectors to relax. They have proved, however, a recompence for the trouble they have occasioned; they demonstrated the value of the new system; and induced the friends of humanity to overcome the obstacles, that in every country are thrown in the way of men who devote themselves to the overthrowing of abuses.

The inspectors have the right to present petitions to the governor, for the pardon of criminals; which they never fail to use, when they are convinced of the amendment of the convict, and of his having acquired a capital by his labour, or of having means of subsistence among his friends.

The governor of Pennsylvania never refuses a pardon, on the petition of the inspectors; even a murderer may hope to obtain it, although, in that case, it is never granted, unless the petition is signed by the relations and friends of the person murdered. The inspectors seldom present petitions in behalf of convicts of that class; they even use their prerogative with moderation for all others; but every prisoner knows that it may be employed for him, and his heart, warmed by hope, feels an interest in his becoming a better man. Who that is without hope, and without fear, was ever happily influenced in his conduct?

When prisoners are discharged, they receive the amount of the savings of their labour in money, if the inspectors are persuaded that they will make a good use of it, or in clothes, when the inspectors have not that confidence. Sometimes convicts dispose of the savings of their labour, while they are still in prison, in the maintaining their families. Such is the admirable effects of the new system, that of a hundred convicts discharged, either in consequence of pardons, or at the expiration of the term of their sentence, there are not two committed for new crimes; under the ancient system, the prisons were filled with old and known of-

fenders, who, like the criminals in Europe, left their prisons every time with newly acquired vices, and availed themselves of their liberty only to commit new depredations, and were again led back to prison, till they terminated their wretched lives on the scaffold.

I will here give a table of the number and classes of convicts for the four last years of the ancient system, and the four first of the new.

It would be a very desirable thing to add a table of the crimes committed, and the sentences passed, in the four years immediately preceding the amelioration of the penal code; but the registers of the prisons were carried off by the person who at that time had the custody of them.

It was not till the year 1790, that the law was passed that gave the new system to the prisons; and it was not till 1791, that it was put in execution.

TABLE

TABLE of the Number and Classes of Convicts during the four last Years of the Ancient System and the four first Years of the New.

PERIODS.	Numb. of Convicts.	Crimes of which they were convicted.														What became of the Convicts in that Period.														Places of Birth.				TOTAL OF CONVICTS . . .
		Murder	Man-Slaughter	Highway Robbery	Burglary	Theft	Forgery	Coining	Petty Larcenies. 1st Degree.	Petty Larcenies. 2d Degree.	Receiving Stolen Goods. 1st Degree.	Receiving Stolen Goods. 2d Degree.	Horde Stealing	Fraudulent Practices	Bigamy	Adultery	Concealing Prisoners	Disorderly Houses	Hanged	Died of Sickness	Killed in a Quarrel	Broken Prison	Escaped	Pardoned	Whole Term of Imprisonment was completed	Sent to the House of Industry being Executioner	Discharged on Condition of being Executioner	Sent to Hospitals during the Year. Sick	Nurses	Remained in Prison	Foreigners	Americans of Pennsylvania.	Negroes . . . . .		Country unknown . . . . .
ANCIENT SYSTEM.	From January 1787 to May 1788	163	23	8	2020	122	5	5	2	6	7	2	4	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	3026	57	37	2	2	1	1	94	2010	511	36	186		
	From May 1788 to May 1789	94	10	6	524	57	1013	82	3	4	9	3	4	5	5	1	3	2	2	22	5	25	29	56	45	1	53	4121	3	9	113			
	From May 1789 to May 1790	108	20	6	420	113	3	3	2	3	3	1	5	1	1	3	2	3	1	14	6	33	33	45	1	2	84	15	8	134	134			
	From May 1790 to June 1791	114	39	8	420	113	3	3	2	3	3	1	5	1	1	3	2	3	2	5	7	67	67	45	1	1	90	1519	212	13	161			
	Total	480	9222	9	3977	374	5	6	41326	610	3	1	527	3	1	6	510	8	7	17144	182	167	3	3	3	6	321	7158	1065	69	594			
NEW SYSTEM.	From June 1791 to June 1792	44	12	9	1	2	42	7	1	1	1	1	7	2	1	1	2	2	2	4	42	15	28	1	1	4	37	9	7	4	65			
	From June 1792 to June 1793	25	17	19	2	111	40	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	15	28	1	1	27	5	4	6	61				
	From June 1793 to June 1794	40	10	11	1	1	34	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	22	1	1	1	1	5	37	32	7	10	61			
	From June 1794 to March 1795	35	14	7	1	47	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	5	39	1	1	7	3	56		
	Total	144	5146	5	3161	6310	4	3	1	1	1	1	527	3	1	6	510	8	7	17144	182	167	3	3	3	6	135	17192	222	23	243			

SUMMARY OF THE TABLE.

Crimes and Offences.		Under the Ancient System.		Under the New System.		Crimes and Offences.		Under the Ancient System.		Under the New System.	
Murder	9	527	205	5	1	Brought forward	527	527	205	1	1
Man Slaughter	39			3	5	Receiving Stolen Goods. 1st Degree.	26	26	5	5	5
Highway Robbery	39			16	3	Horde Stealing	10	10	27	27	27
Burglary	374			163	3	Fraudulent Practices	3	3	1	1	1
Theft	3			10	6	Bigamy	1	1	6	6	6
Forgery	5			10	5	Adultery	5	5	10	10	10
Coining	4			4	5	Concealing Prisoners	10	10	2	2	2
Petty Larceny. 1st Degree.	13			1	1	Disorderly Houses					
Petty Larceny. 2d Degree.	13			1	1	Total	564	564	243	243	243

OBSERVATIONS ON THE FOREGOING TABLE.

1. In the four first of the eight years named in the table, criminals were committed to the prisons of Philadelphia, only from the county and city of Philadelphia; in the four last years, criminals were sent from every part of Pennsylvania to the prisons of Philadelphia.

2. Of the three hundred and twenty-one convicts that were foreigners and white men in the first period of four years, one hundred and thirty-one were Irish, and eighty-four English or Scotch. In the last period of four years, of one hundred and thirty-five convicts that were white men, ninety-two were Irish, and nineteen English or Scotch. The Irish, therefore, in both periods, were more than two-thirds of the foreigners, and nearly the half of the whole number of prisoners; and part of the prisoners concealing the name of their country, it is reasonable to suppose there were more Irish than were entered as such in the register.

3. In the first period of four years, seventy-three criminals were convicted of new crimes, after having been discharged, and some of these even for the fifth and sixth time; while five only, belonging to the last period of four years, were convicted of new crimes after being discharged.

4. Under both the old and the new system, crimes have been multiplied in Philadelphia and its environs, in a proportion greatly exceeding that of all the rest of the state of Pennsylvania.

In the four years, therefore, of the new system, more than two hundred have been restored as useful persons to society, who, under the old system, and under a penal code of laws resembling that of almost every state of Europe, were destined either to be the scourge of their fellow creatures, or to be kept secluded from them, or to be delivered over to violent deaths.

Criminals were not only rendered more useful, but were in reality more severely punished. The greater part of them would have readily, in the first instance, preferred death to solitary confinement; and all were infinitely more satisfied with the disorder and vice of the old prisons, than with

with the humane and just, but uniform and steady administration of the new. It is in despite of themselves that they are restored to society; but how much reason have they and their families to be grateful to the legislature that has snatched them from their miseries? I refer such of my readers as would know more of this interesting subject to my former work, from which I have been able at present to give a very incompetent extract.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE POLICE.

The last law relative to the regulation of the poor was passed in the year 1771. It appoints overseers of the poor, both in Philadelphia and other cities of the state. It ordains the levying of taxes for their provision; recommends the establishment of houses of industry; and regulates the manner of removing poor families who become burthensome, and have not acquired the right of being relieved in the city where they reside.

The right of being relieved is acquired by a year's residence; and payment, during that time, of the poor rates. Domestic and apprentices acquire the right simply by a year's residence. All persons who have not acquired the right, and are declared by the overseers of the poor to be in danger of becoming chargeable to the city, are conveyed to the place of their birth; the overseers of the poor of which place are to reimburse the city that has thus conveyed them the expences of the journey. Every father or mother, grandfather or grandmother, or child, of poor persons not able to gain their livelihood, is obliged to provide for them, if they have the means, on the penalty of five dollars and a half for every month that they neglect this sacred duty. An appeal is allowed to the court of justices of the peace, from the sentence of the overseer of the poor, who, in the first instance, decides in such cases.

A law of Pennsylvania, passed in 1789, gave every foreigner, although not a resident in America, the right of acquiring and possessing every species of property, as if he were a member of the state. This law, which was to be in force only for two years, was renewed at the end of that period, and no doubt will continue to be renewed till it is declared permanent.

ment. This law deserves to be placed among the most enlightened and politic of the state of Pennsylvania, and will, no doubt, induce foreigners to settle in that fine country, in preference to every other.

The laws relative to the Indian natives, that were passed by the assemblies of Pennsylvania, were characterised by the foresight and equity which governed William Penn in all his transactions with those people; but by the federal constitution, the congress only can pass laws relative to the commerce of the several states with foreign nations, in which description the Indians are comprised. Pennsylvania, therefore, since it was independent, has no particular law on that subject.

Liberty of conscience is more compleat in Pennsylvania than in any of the other states. It was so in the birth of the colony; yet, by a law of 1705, the inhabitants were compelled to profess a belief in Jesus Christ, in the Holy Ghost, and the Scriptures. This profession was necessary to place an inhabitant of the state out of the reach of persecution. The constitution adopted at the beginning of the revolution gave wider limits to liberty of conscience; and finally, the constitution made in 1790 declares, "that every man has a natural right, of which he cannot be justly deprived, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience; that no man can justly be compelled to observe any form of worship, or to incur any expence for public worship; that no human authority can, on any pretence, force the consciences of men; and that no preference can be given by law to any particular form of worship." It adds, "that every man, acknowledging the existence of God, and a future state of rewards and punishments, may hold any office in the republic of Pennsylvania."

In fact, there is no state in the Union in which religion and its ministers have less influence than in this state; its ministers here, as every where else, are willing enough to erect themselves into a body, and to influence the public opinion, but the number that favour their pretensions is so small, that it can scarcely be said to exist.

The laws that enjoin the observation of Sunday, are more regarded in Pennsylvania than in any of the northern states, because they are more reasonable

reasonable and moderate. They prohibit merely the felling of goods in an open shop, or in the markets; following the chace; or attending any public diversion. The law which prohibits games of hazard, and the fighting of game-cocks, are punctually obeyed, because it is agreeable to the manners and taste of the people; but that which imposes a penalty of three quarters of a dollar for drunkenness is far from being so strictly observed.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE MILITARY.

The law regulating the militia was passed in 1793. Every male, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, is in fact a soldier of the state. The captain of the company in the district enrolls every young man who attains the age of eighteen: a notice, which is served upon him by a subaltern of the company, is the only form required to enter him in the militia, in which he remains till he is five and forty. The professions which exempt males from this service are nearly the same as those that give the same exemption in the other states. White men who are domestics hired for a term, and apprentices, are exempt during the term of their engagement, except in the case of an actual invasion. The militia is composed of divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies. The brigades are formed of regiments, and never exceed eight, nor are less than two; regiments are composed of two battalions; and each battalion of four companies, which, according to the population of the canton, may be composed of any number, from forty to eighty men. Every battalion has a company of grenadiers, and another of rifle-men. A company of artillery, and a body of cavalry are attached to every division. A division comprises the militia of two or three counties, according to their population; and each county forms one brigade or more, as it is more or less populous. A division is commanded by a major-general; a brigade, by a brigadier-general; a regiment, by a lieutenant-colonel; a battalion, by a major; and a company, by a captain, lieutenant, and ensign. Beside the staff-officers of the regiments, a brigadier-general inspects the divisions. The general officers are appointed by the

governor; the lieutenant-colonels appoint their own majors; they are themselves, as well as the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, chosen by the soldiers, and non-commissioned officers of the regiment, battalion, or company, in which the vacancy happens. The commission of the officers is only for seven years. Every man enrolled in the militia, officer or private, trooper or foot-soldier, must provide himself with arms and equipage, under the penalty of a fine. When the commanding officer of a regiment declares a man not to be in a condition to comply with this requisition, he is supplied with arms by the state. The militia assembles twice in the year, either by companies or regiments.

The other articles of this voluminous law regulate the manner in which the service of the militia is to be performed; its pay, when employed by the state or the union, which pay is six dollars per month for each soldier. They determine the fines for every species of offence; the manner in which courts martial are to be composed and summoned. They apportion relief to every officer and soldier wounded in the service, and to the widows and children of the slain. When the militia is employed in the service of the union, it is subject to the laws of the Congress; but offences committed by individuals are taken cognisance of by courts martial composed of its own body.

The state of Pennsylvania includes twenty-three counties, and the militia is computed at a hundred or a hundred and ten thousand men.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE ADMINISTRATION.

Although the interior navigation of the State of Pennsylvania has not made such progress as that of New York, it is not for want of wisdom and foresight in the government. A law of 1778 declares the rivers Susquehanna and Delaware, and all the rivers and creeks falling into them, to be public and free navigations, and places them under the guardianship and protection of the government. It prohibits the creating any new obstacle to navigation, and enjoins the removal of all old ones. The same regulations were made successively for the rivers Monongahela and Youghiogany, and all others in the State of Pennsylvania. Commissioners were

were appointed to enquire and make reports concerning the means of removing all obstructions to the interior navigation, and to make communication by canals between the great rivers or lakes. The several companies who undertook to facilitate the navigation on the rivers, or to cut canals, were raised into corporations, and aided either by premiums from the state, or by an authority to establish tolls on the navigations or canals they formed; sometimes the state even gave them permission to raise money by lottery. In many of these undertakings the sums granted by the legislature were expended with utility to the state, by completing the work. In others, they were misemployed; schemes being adopted without a sufficient examination of their obstacles. But the legislature causes an annual return to be made to them of the condition and progress of these works; and it is not to be doubted that in a few years the interior navigation of Pennsylvania will be carried to the highest degree of perfection. We may reasonably expect to see Lake Erie and the River Ohio communicate with the Susquehannah and the Delaware. The number of land-carriages that would still, from invincible obstacles to navigation, in some parts be necessary would in fact be few, and their length greatly diminished. The numberless creeks of Pennsylvania, cleared of the obstacles to navigation, would afford for all the productions of the interior part of the country a sure, speedy, and cheap conveyance to the great rivers and lakes of the state.

The roads are made and kept in repair by a levy on the townships. A surveyor of the roads is chosen by the township. When a new road is to be made, the surveyors of the several townships, through which it is to be carried, superintend its completion, and they have authority to levy a tax for this purpose on the lands. The tax must not exceed six shillings and six-pence in the pound of the annual income of the land, according to the valuation made for the levying of other taxes. Before the taxes for the roads can be raised, they are to receive the sanction of two justices of the peace of the county; and the general court of justices of the peace take cognizance of all disputes that arise on the subject of this tax.

The surveyors are chosen annually; and receive five per cent on the

tax, and are paid besides eighteen dollars per day when they are actually employed in the duties of their office. They hire labourers for the roads; for the law which regulates this matter dispensed with all personal service on the high roads. They buy all the materials for making and repairing the roads; and their accounts are audited and signed every year by four commissioners chosen by the electors of the township.

This law, the principal provisions of which took place in 1772, was made only for seven years, but has since been constantly renewed at its expiration. Some of the clauses have from time to time been altered; the modifications however are included in the above statement.

The roads of Pennsylvania are in general better than those of the other states; especially the roads between the most populous towns. The bridges are also constructed in a more solid manner. The road from Philadelphia to Lancaster, made by an incorporated company, is not indeed so good as the turnpike roads of England, but it is in very good condition; and, although the tolls are so high that a broad-wheeled waggon pays nearly two dollars and a half between these two cities, which is a distance of sixty-six miles, no complaint is made, because the waggons require only half the horses they did before the road was made a turnpike, and perform the journey in half the time. The company that constructed this road is very flourishing; the shares, which at the first subscription cost three hundred dollars each, produce between eight and nine per cent, and bear a premium in their price.

LAWS RELATIVE TO FINANCE.

The law which regulates taxes was passed in 1795. Since the year 1789 no new taxes have been raised in Pennsylvania for the state, there being no other than taxes levied for the interior uses of the counties and cities; but the principles on which the county rates are determined and levied, would in all probability be followed in any tax that it might be necessary to levy for the state.

The inhabitants of every county elect three commissioners, who remain three years in office, except that one goes out every year by rotation, and

and a new commissioner succeeds him. The inhabitants of every township elect, every three years, an assessor and two assistants, to apportion the rates imposed on the township. The assessors make a return every three years to the commissioners of the county, of the names and dwellings (where it is possible) of the proprietors of lands, occupied or not occupied, and of the lands not yet cleared, and of the houses and spots of ground belonging to the town; of all the inhabitants of the township, marking their several employments, professions, or conditions; and also a list of all horses and horned cattle above four years old, with a valuation of them; and finally, an estimate of the proportion of the tax that may be laid respectively on all owners of personal and real property. The commissioners of the county examine and compare all the lists; and have authority to make alterations in the taxes, provided they do not alter the relative valuations of the several properties in the same township. The assessment made in consequence of these returns by the commissioners, forms the rule for the levying the taxes for the three succeeding years. The commissioners are never to lay more on the land than one per cent of their computed value. When they are obliged to carry the tax on land to the full extent of one per cent, they are to levy the following taxes:—on every freeman, without apparent employment, from half a dollar to ten dollars; on every labourer, a sum not exceeding two dollars; on every vintner, shopkeeper, or retailer of goods, from half a dollar to five dollars; on every broker, banker, merchant, lawyer, and physician, from one dollar to ten; on all other professions, from one quarter of a dollar to eight dollars; on every proprietor of slaves, a dollar for each slave. All the taxes that are not laid on land are regulated by that tax, and consequently diminish in proportion as the tax on land falls short of one per cent, which is its *maximum*.

The quantity of taxes being determined, the commissioners issue an order to the assessors to apportion and levy them on the individuals; but an appeal lies to the commissioners from their assessment. The tenants of the land are responsible for the tax on land, but are authorised to deduct it from the rent. Lands not cleared are subject to the tax; and if
the

the proprietor is not to be found, or does not pay the tax during three successive years, the commissioners may order as much of the land to be sold as is necessary for the payment of the arrears.

The commissioners of the county appoint the receivers of the county, and the collectors of the townships. Each commissioner is paid one dollar and a third for every day that he is actually employed in his office; the assessors one dollar.

The expence of the assessment and collection for the whole state is estimated at ten thousand dollars. The collectors are generally paid five per cent on the collection. The treasurer of the committee is paid a dollar for every hundred pounds which he receives and pays.

The law has provisions for the exact levying of the taxes; and imposes responsibility on the collectors and other officers; and imposes fines for neglect or fraud in the discharge of their duty.

The state, as I have observed, levies no new taxes. Its old duties are—on marriages, taverns, and public sales by authority, amounting annually from twelve to thirteen thousand dollars. The legislature suppressed, in 1795, the tax on carriages, and some other taxes, which were formerly imposed for the service of the state.

The annual expenditure of the state amounts to about an hundred and thirty thousand dollars; it consists of the salary of the governor, the secretary and other officers of state, and of the judges; the expence of the courts of circuit; the salary of the treasurer and his clerks; the expence of the office for the sale of lands; the appointments of the members of the senate, and the house of representatives; the salaries of some other civil officers; and the pay of some militia officers.

The revenues which, with the old duties, enable the state to provide for its expenditure without additional taxes, consist in the interest of a capital accruing from the sale of lands, for the most part placed in the banks. This capital amounts at present to one million five hundred thousand dollars; a million of which is in the bank of Pennsylvania, and five hundred thousand in that of the United States. These sums bear an interest according to the dividends of the respective banks;

banks; but it may be stated to be from nine to ten per cent. Arrears of duties, and arrears of purchase-money for the public lands, form another branch of the revenue of the state. The arrears of every kind come in very slowly. Several contradictory laws serve as an excuse to the creditors of the state for default of payment. These are also protected by members of the legislature, who have a personal interest in the delay. The government of Pennsylvania is indeed unwilling to employ its force, especially for the recovery of arrears. There are two instances which will sufficiently show the backwardness of the government to compel the payment of the imposts. There are ten auctioneers established at Philadelphia for public sales. Six of these have punctually paid the duties imposed upon such sales; the other four have not even condescended to give an account of their sales. The law enjoins every man of eighteen years of age to serve as a militia-man; and imposes a fine of a dollar every time that he is absent from the meeting of his regiment, and a fine of twelve dollars per month for all the time that he is absent when his regiment is on service. The defaulters are so numerous, that no other fund but the fines due for offences are set aside for the expence of the militia; and the fines are so ill paid, that at present there is a deficiency of more than one hundred thousand dollars. It is to be expected, however, that the state will in future be more rigorous in the collection of its revenues; the necessity of this rigour begins to be felt, and circumstances are more favourable than heretofore for its exercise.

The debts due to the state, from individuals, for arrears, and from the Union for certain sums advanced, and for which the Union is responsible, amounted, in the beginning of 1797, by the statement of the treasury, to nine hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred and forty-four dollars seven-tenths. Pennsylvania has also several other claims on the treasury of the United States, for expences incurred on behalf of the Union.

By the balance struck by the commissioners of the congress, the state of Pennsylvania is debtor for the sum of seven thousand seven hundred and nine dollars.

Certain

Certain duties, that were formerly the perquisite of the secretary of state and other public officers, have been purchased by the legislature, and are become part of the public revenue. There are other duties attached as perquisites to other officers, which the legislature will gradually, and by the same means, restore to the public treasury.

LAWS RESPECTING THE SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS.

The laws that regulate the sale of public lands are deemed better in Pennsylvania than in any other of the states.

Before the revolution, the property of the lands belonged to the governor; that is to say, to the family of William Penn. The congress of Pennsylvania passed a law in 1779, which transferred the property to the state, giving the family of Penn, for indemnity, the sum of a hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, and leaving them in possession of the lands they possessed as their own proper estates. The lands which became the property of the state were immense. They were various enormous tracts that William Penn and his heirs had purchased of the Indians; parcels of which they sold for their own profit. A law in 1781, which established an office called the *land-office*, enjoined the possessors of warrants (which were orders from the surveyor-general of the state to his deputy, to measure out a certain tract of land, and were a kind of evidence of the purchase of the estate), obtained under the old government, to bring them to the land-office, where they were annulled, if the purchase-money had not been paid. In 1783, the assembly set aside a large tract of land in the west of its territory, and to the north of the Ohio, to be disposed of, for certain billets which the troops of Pennsylvania had received during the war for their pay, and whose current value was greatly below the sums for which they were issued. The billets were to be taken in payment for the lands at their nominal value; and these lands were called, and indeed continue to be known by the name of, *depreciation lands*. The assembly also set aside another tract of land, to the north of those I have just named, called *donation lands*, because they

were

were to be given as a reward to the officers and soldiers of the militia of Pennsylvania, in certain portions, according to their rank. It was not, however, till 1785, that these lands were actually put up to sale; and then they were put up successively, in various parcels, at different prices, and on different conditions. The acquisitions made from the Indians in 1788 were, by the nature of the lands, divided into two classes—those to the west of the Allegany mountains were offered to sale for ten pounds for a hundred acres; those to the east of the mountains, being inferior in quality, for three pounds ten shillings.

The quantity of lands offered to sale, and the scarcity or plenty of money, taken relatively, caused the price the assembly of Pennsylvania put upon the land and even the conditions of sale to fluctuate, independently of the quality of the land. Lots at one time amounted only to two hundred acres, while a prohibition existed to demand a warrant for more than two such lots; afterwards lots were extended to a thousand acres, without any restriction on the number that an individual might acquire. The price has varied, from fourteen dollars for an hundred acres to twenty-six and fifty-three. In certain purchases, the billets of the state were received in payment; in others, and particularly since the year 1793, they were not so. The last sales to the north of the Ohio, and to the West of the Allegany Mountains, were clogged with a condition, that the purchaser should clear the land, and enclose and cultivate it, in the proportion of one acre for a hundred; erect a dwelling-house, and establish a family, who should reside five succeeding years there; and the quantity to be purchased by an individual was restricted to four hundred acres.

If, on spots of the vast tracts of lands bought of the Indians, there happened to be inhabitants, the law gave them the option of purchasing the lots on which they dwelt.

It was not till 1792, that the state concluded the purchase of all the lands within its boundaries. In 1786, the state purchased the country extending from the Mountains of Allegany to the Ohio, reaching as far as the forty-first degree. It still remained to acquire the lands on its northern boundary; and that purchase was concluded in 1792.

In 1794, the legislature finding that immense portions of the public lands had been sold without their precise boundaries being described, and that the lands which remained in the hands of the state were not accurately known, suspended the sales. And this law reflects great honour on the assembly of Pennsylvania; because it guarantees individuals from the injury which the avidity for the acquisition of land made too common; because the uncertainty of the bounds of the lands that remained undisposed of, often gave an opportunity of selling the lands of the state twice, and thereby increased its revenue; and it is known, that the legislatures of the other states have not acted with the same delicacy in the same circumstances.

Although the laws of Pennsylvania respecting the sale of lands have been in general framed with equity and wisdom, abuses relative to that subject have nevertheless been great and numerous, perhaps indeed more so than in any of the other states, on account of the immense quantity of lands on sale. Speculations on the sales of land bought from the public afford a subject of gaming, common in almost all the states. The wealth and rapacity of many of the inhabitants of Philadelphia inflamed this disorder in a particular manner in this state. Men of fortune and influence, acquainted with the proceedings of Congress for the payment of the paper currency, conspired to diminish the value of that paper, and afterwards bought it up and gave it in payment for public lands, at a profit of ten hundred and sometimes thirty hundred per cent. The *depreciation* and the *donation lands* were fertile subjects of their speculation.

The titles of individuals to lands bought from the public, are more secure in Pennsylvania than in any other of the states, both because the first purchases have been carefully recognised, and because the *land-office* has developed all that relates to the titles to the public lands, with a degree of care, and a spirit of equity, no where else to be found.

Complaints have been made within these last two or three years, that the affairs of the land-office are not conducted with so much attention and regularity as formerly; but the members of the legislature have never been

been reproached, as some other of the states have been, for laws relative to the sale of lands and their consequent mischiefs.

In the course of my journal, I have spoken of disputes that long existed between the states of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, concerning the property of considerable tracts of land on the Susquehannah, between Wilksbarre and Tioga. These lands were finally adjudged to the state of Pennsylvania; and all appeal prohibited the state of Connecticut. But these lands are filled with inhabitants who hold them by titles from Connecticut, either by purchase, or simply by possession; notwithstanding which they are sold like the other public lands by the state of Pennsylvania. Among the persons who hold these lands from Connecticut, many acquired them regularly, have been long in possession, and, by the sums given for them, and the labour expended on them, have made good their title, at least in equity; but a much greater number hold these lands by less favourable titles. For three years past, the legislature of Pennsylvania has been backward to execute the judgments of the courts, ejecting the possessors of these lands; and every day the number of usurpations augments; ancient claims are multiplied, till the judgments of the courts can no longer be enforced without military aid. In the last session, the house of representatives passed a vote, authorising the governor to employ the militia in that service; but the senate negatived the proposition. The motives of their negative are not very apparent, since, in the end, this measure must be adopted; and although, no doubt, it will create many discontents, yet, carried into execution with the justice and moderation from which the legislature will not depart, it will remove a leaven that continually affects the state.

The disputes in that quarter are not the only disputes of the kind that have disturbed Pennsylvania. There are others on the borders of the Ohio, which may occasion considerable disorders, without the prudent and timely interference of the legislature. In 1792, the state of Pennsylvania passed a law, to put up to sale the lands to the north-west of the Ohio, in consequence of which they were divided into lots of four hundred acres. Patents necessary to give a title to these lots, were to be

obtained in two different ways;—first, by an engagement to settle immediately on the lot—and in this manner many poor families acquired lots; and secondly, by an obligation to clear eight acres of the lot in two years; and many lots were bought by speculators on these last terms. The price of the lot was eighty dollars in both cases. In the first, it was to be paid in ten years, with interest, at the rate of six per cent, after the first year; in the second, it was to be paid within two years. In default of clearing eight acres within two years, the purchasers on those terms forfeited their title, and their lots were declared vacant, except in the case where the Indians, who were not in amity with the United States, prevented the clearing of the lands. The majority of speculators who bought lots on these terms did not clear the lands; and three thousand poor families established themselves at different periods upon these lands which the law had declared vacant. The speculators, availing themselves of the war which took place with the Indians, although no incursions were made on the lands in question, at present assert their right to them, and sue for the ejectment of the poor families who took possession on the faith of the law. These poor people have come to a resolution to maintain the possession by force. This is in itself an important circumstance; and I speak of it beside, as a proof of the opinion I have frequently given in this journal, that the increase of the population in the United States renders it every day more difficult to the speculators in land to preserve their titles to the immense tracts they possess, without clearing and cultivating them.

THE GENERAL COMMERCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND THAT OF PHILADELPHIA IN PARTICULAR.

There is no state in the union that has so extensive a commerce as that of Pennsylvania. This state furnishes productions for exportation in greater abundance than any other; and its exports, moreover, part of the productions of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Jersey, and New York. There are, however, some of the productions of Pennsylvania which

which are exported through Baltimore, by the Susquehanna; but the canal that will unite the Chesapeake and the Delaware, and which cannot fail to be completed, will restore that commerce to Philadelphia, and with it a great portion of the produce of the east part of Maryland.

The exportation of Philadelphia, which is the only port of this state, derived from Pennsylvania and the adjoining states, are—charcoal, potash, beer, cyder, salt-meat and fish, butter, cheese, Indian corn, flour made from Indian corn, wheat flour, biscuits, tallow, candles, linseed, linseed oil, soap, potatoes, timber for building, staves, hides, the skins of deers and beavers, bark, and pigs of iron.

Most of these articles are brought to Philadelphia, down the Delaware, or by land-carriage. There are very few brought down the Susquehanna; for the settlements on its banks are very recent, and consume nearly the whole of their produce; but when that country, and the lands lying behind it, are more generally inhabited and cultivated, that large river, freed from obstacles which at present injure its navigation, will greatly increase the commerce of Philadelphia; and there is no doubt this important change will speedily be effected.

The produce of the country, however, forms a very small part of the exportation of Philadelphia; which, trading with the whole world, re-exports, in immense quantities, the produce and merchandize of foreign countries.

The following is a table of the amount of the exports from Philadelphia, for the years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

	Dollars.
1791,—	3,436,092.
1792,—	3,820,652.
1793,—	6,958,336.
1794,—	6,643,890.
1795,—	11,518,260.
1796,—	17,549,141.

I scarcely think it necessary to repeat, that the immense increase in the value of the exportation is principally owing to the increased value

of

of the articles; and to the war in Europe, which has caused a much greater portion of the productions of the colonies to be pass through America, than formerly.

The difference in the value of the barrels of flour, one of the principal articles of the exportation of Philadelphia during the last six years, will shew how fallacious it is to judge of the quantity of the article exported by the amount of its value. The price of the barrel of superfine flour in 1790, was six dollars twelve-thirteenths; in 1791, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1792, five dollars two-thirteenths; in 1793, six dollars two-thirteenths; in 1794, six dollars ten thirteenths; in 1795, twelve dollars; and in 1796, ten dollars. The price of the second flour is two shillings or half a crown less per barrel.

It is to be observed, that the price of the superfine flour varied in the same year as much as two and three dollars. I have given the medium price of the year.

Philadelphia, which in 1796 exported one hundred and ninety-five thousand, one hundred and fifty-seven barrels of flour, (that is to say, nearly the fourth part of the exportation of the whole union); exported two hundred and ninety-four thousand and eleven barrels, in 1795; two hundred and ninety-nine thousand two hundred and eighty-seven barrels, in 1794; four hundred and sixteen thousand six hundred and twenty-one barrels, in 1793; four hundred and thirty-three thousand nine hundred and sixty-eight barrels, in 1792; three hundred and fifteen thousand seven hundred and eighty-five barrels, in 1791. These were barrels of superfine flour; the exportation of the second flour never exceeded five thousand barrels; in 1796, the exportation of second flour amounted only to one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight barrels. I have taken these details from the books of the surveyor.

In 1765, the exportation of superfine flour was one hundred and forty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven barrels; two hundred and fifty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-four barrels, in 1771; two hundred and eighty-four thousand eight hundred and seventy-two barrels, in 1772; two hundred and sixty-five thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven barrels, in 1773; two hundred and one thousand three hundred

hundred and five barrels, in 1784; one hundred and ninety-three thousand seven hundred and twenty barrels, in 1787;—from which statement it will be seen, that the exportation of flour was not greatly increased during twenty-two years. The exportation of wheat has even greatly diminished, owing to the number of mills erected in Pennsylvania and the neighbouring states, and there has been no material increase of the exportation of Indian-corn or biscuits, bringing it down even to the two last years.

To give a more compleat idea of the commerce of Philadelphia, I will here subjoin a table of the principal articles, both foreign and the produce of the country, of its exportation in 1796, and the different ports to which they were consigned. This statement is taken from the custom-house books. I would gladly have given the computed value of every article; but that would have required the examination of a multitude of entries, and more time than could be spared by the person to whom I am indebted for these details.

Table of the principal Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796.

Articles of Merchandize.	Quantities.
Charcoal - - - -	tons - - - 10
Beer, cyder, and porter, in barrels -	gallons - - - 14,010
Ditto, in bottles - - - -	dozens - - - 14,545
Beef - - - -	barrels - - - 6,860
Biscuit - - - -	{ ditto - - - 19,568
	{ small ditto - - - 6,010
Butter - - - -	pounds - - - 157,470
Bricks - - - -	number - - - 109,400
Indian-corn - - - -	busshels - - - 179,094
Cheese - - - -	pounds - - - 243,332
Candles - - - -	ditto - - - 338,374
Flour - - - -	barrels - - - 195,157
Hams - - - -	pounds - - - 1,082,090
	Pork

Articles of Merchandize.		Quantities.	
Pork	-	barrels	12,020
Rye flour	-	ditto	50,614
Flour of Indian-corn	-	ditto	223,064
Potatoes	-	busbels	9,004
Rice	-	tierces	6,265
Linseed oil	-	gallons	762
Train oil	-	ditto	37,726
Spermaceti oil	-	ditto	7,782
Furs	-	value in dollars	47,713
Tallow	-	pounds	383,850
Snuff	-	ditto	251,134
Tobacco	-	hogfheads	3,437
Timber	-	-	2,459,616
Staves, heads of barrels, &c.	-	-	1,262,150
Planks	-	-	1,628,516
Bark	-	value in dollars	106,969
Coffee	-	pounds	21,002,300
Cocoa	-	ditto	161,120
Cotton	-	ditto	911,325
Indigo	-	ditto	99,200
Wrought iron and steel	-	value in dollars	36,240
Sundry merchandize	-	ditto	2,822,800
Pepper	-	pounds	244,552
Spice	-	value in dollars	116,086
Spirituious liquors	-	gallons	170,889
Sugar	-	pounds	12,969,916
Salt	-	busbels	4,496
Bohea tea	-	pounds	2,260
Fine green tea	-	ditto	3,130
Common ditto ditto	-	ditto	16,210
Wine	-	gallons	612,883
Ditto in bottles	-	dozens	29,225

Names

Names of the Places to which the Articles exported from Philadelphia in 1796 were consigned, together with the Value in Dollars of the whole Exportation for the Year to each Place.

	Dollars.
Sweden and St. Barthelemy - - -	411,408
Denmark, and the Danish Antilles - -	737,287
United Provinces - - -	1,824,275
Dutch Antilles - - -	184,825
England - - -	4,109,011
Ireland - - -	236,544
English Antilles - - -	760,274
English Colonies in North America - -	49,380
Gibraltar - - -	33,365
Newfoundland - - -	21,505
Hamburg, Bremen, and the Hanseatic Cities,	2,081,232
France - - -	913,880
French Antilles - - -	3,250,584
Islands of France and of Bourbon - -	20,967
Spain - - -	66,974
Spanish Antilles - - -	916,985
Florida and Louisiana - - -	280,651
Portugal - - -	12,802
Fayal - - -	14,070
Madeira - - -	111,528
Teneriffe - - -	861
Ports of Italy - - -	521,964
East Indies - - -	42,932
China - - -	40,747
	<hr/>
	17,540,141

The following is a statement of the duties paid at the custom-house of Philadelphia, during five years preceding the date of the table.

1791,— 780,141 dollars.

1792,—1,139,613 ditto.

1793,—1,028,052 ditto.

1794,—2,001,226 ditto.

1795,—2,061,204 ditto.

And for the two first quarters of 1796,—1,886,691 ditto.

This statement will not give a perfect idea of the value of the importations, because the duties vary in every species of merchandize; but when we find in the report of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, that the total receipt of the duties on tonnage, and the taxes on importation and exportation, for the year 1795, amounted to five million six hundred and seventy-nine thousand four hundred and eighteen dollars; and see that those of the port of Philadelphia alone, for the same year, amounted to two million nine hundred and sixty-one thousand two hundred and four dollars, an idea may be formed of the immense share Philadelphia has in the commerce of the United States.

The following is a statement of the vessels that arrived at, and failed from the port of Philadelphia, for the last year—1796.

Arrived at Philadelphia.			Sailed from Philadelphia.	
Vessels of three masts	199	-	184	
Brigs	-	436	-	484
Shalops	594	-	-	633
Sloops	-	396	-	382
Total	1625			1683

The number of vessels that arrived at Philadelphia in 1795, was less by fifty than in 1796; but the number that failed from that port in 1795, was more by sixty-six. This difference was owing to the capture of American vessels by privateers from the West India Islands.

In

In 1788, the vessels that arrived at Philadelphia were no more than six hundred and fifty-three, of which only ninety-three were vessels of three masts.

The articles of importation at Philadelphia are spread, not only through Pennsylvania, and the states which furnish the articles of its exportation, but also through Kentucky, the back settlements of Virginia, and North Carolina, although these countries do not send any of their produce to Philadelphia. I refer my reader to what I have said on this subject in the account of my journey through the Southern States.

Freights at Philadelphia are from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton, for most of the articles sent to Europe. They are from one to two dollars higher for coffee, sugar, and cotton. Freights to India are from twenty-two to forty-four dollars, because the cargo is chiefly specie; from India, they are from eighty-six to eighty-eight dollars. Freights to and from the Isle of France are forty dollars. These are the prices of the current year; and vary as freights are more or less plentiful. At present they are from two to three per cent higher than they were three years since, because there has been a decrease in the shipping. I shall conclude what I have to say relative to the commerce of Philadelphia, by the following table of the rate of insurance at that port for the years 1795, 1796, and 1797.

Rate of Insurance, in the Port of Philadelphia, for the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797.

	Present Rate from the 20th of July to the 1st of Au- gust 1797.	To the same Pe- riod, 1796.	To the same Pe- riod, in 1795.	Risk of the Sea, to continue after the Capture of the Vessel.	Ordinary Risk of the Sea in Time of Peace.
To Hamburg, Bremen, and other neutral Ports, not being in the Baltic, or the Mediterranean; also to Holland.	7½	4 to 5	4½ to 6	3½	3
English Ports in the Channel	10 to 12½	4 to 5	3½ to 4½	3	2½
Ditto Western Ports, on the Route to the North of Ireland.	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3	2½
Ports in the South-East of Ireland.	10	3½ to 4	3½ to 4	3	2½
Ditto West and North, on the Route to the North.	7½ to 8	4 to 4½	3½ to 4	3	2½
French Ports in the Atlantic	6 to 7½	3½ to 4½	5 to 6	3½	2½ to 3½
Ditto in the Mediterranean	7½ to 10	4 to 5	6 to 7½	4	3
Portuguese and Spanish Ports, in the Atlantic..	7½ to 10	3½ to 5	3½ to 5	3 to 3½	2½ to 3
Isles of France and Bourbon	7½ to 10	5	5 to 6	4	3½ to 4
Cape of Good Hope....	10	4 to 5	4	4	3½
Batavia.	7½ to 10	5	4½ to 5	4 to 4½	3½
Canton, in China.	10	5	5	5	4 to 4½
Calcutta.	10 to 15	5	5	5	4 to 4½
Jamaica.	15 to 20	3½ to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½	3
Other English Ports in the West India Isles.	10 to 15	3 to 4½	3 to 4	3	2½
French Ports in the West- Indies.	7½	4 to 5	5 to 6	3½	2½ to 3
Neutral Ports in the West Indies.	5 to 6	3 to 4½	3 to 4½	3 to 3½	2½ to 3
Havannah.	6	4	3 to 4	3½	3
New Orleans.	10	4 to 4½	3½ to 4½	3½	3
Nova Scotia.	6	4	4	2½	2 to 2½
Ports of the United States; according to their dif- ficulty, and the difficul- ties of the passage.	1½ to 2½	1½ to 2	1½ to 2	1½ to 2	1 to 2

These

These rates of insurance are for neutral vessels, bound from Philadelphia, and consigned only to one port. They are calculated for the voyage out merely, and are generally the same for the voyage home; except when the vessel is insured at the same time both going and returning, when some abatement is made. The rate is higher, of course, when the vessel has to touch at several ports, because of the additional risk. It is higher also in voyages to the Baltic, and ports of the north, during winter; and, for the same reason, in voyages to the West India Islands, from the first of August to the first of November. It is higher also for vessels which would not, on a scrutiny, by their papers, and the nature of their cargoes, prove to be neutral.

Towards the end of 1793, and in 1794, the rate of insurance was higher than in 1795 and 1796, because American vessels were at that time captured by the English. It was lowered by the subsequent treaty with England; and has again risen, since the French in their turn captured American vessels; and particularly in voyages to the West Indies, because captures there are frequent, and are authorised by the governments of the several islands, while it is believed that the few American vessels captured by the French in European seas, are taken without the authority of the French Government.

The rate of insurance is nearly the same in the different ports of the United States.

The building of a vessel at Philadelphia costs, according to its tonnage, from eighteen to twenty-two dollars per ton at the time she is launched. The price is increased in proportion as there is more holm-oak or cedar put into the vessel. The sails and rigging of a vessel of three hundred tons will cost about forty dollars per ton. These prices, however, have risen thirty per cent within the last three years. It is universally acknowledged, that vessels built at Philadelphia are better than those of any other port of the United States. They are more sound, better finished, and the ornaments are handsomer; and they will last, upon an average, from four to five years longer than the vessels of the north. Most of the

the large vessels built at Philadelphia have their principal timber of holm-oak.

The quality of flour, pot-ash, and in fact of all articles designed for exportation, is here more carefully attended to than at any other port. In a word, although Philadelphia is at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles from the sea, and the navigation of the Delaware interrupted for one month or two months, and sometimes more, in every year, it may be reckoned as the most considerable port of the United States. It contains the greatest number of wealthy merchants, and affords the most ready market for the sale of productions.

As to the manner in which commerce is conducted by the merchants of Philadelphia, what I have to say of the general commerce of the United States will be applicable to it, and perhaps in a particular manner, because the commerce of Philadelphia is on a larger scale, speculations are more extensive, the mode of living more extravagant, and the passion for acquiring sudden wealth greater there than in any other of the American markets.

BANKS AT PHILADELPHIA.

There are three banks at Philadelphia; the first is the bank of the United States, which, by its constitution, is obliged to follow the seat of government. I shall enter into some detail on this bank when I come to speak generally of the United States. The other two are—the bank of Pennsylvania, and that of North America.

The bank of Pennsylvania was incorporated in 1793, by a law of the state. Its capital is three millions of dollars, divided into seven thousand five hundred shares of four hundred dollars each. The shares were bought by individuals, or companies, the state not reserving any share, or the power of acquiring any, except by subscription in the manner of individuals. This bank receives deposits; and discounts at one-half per cent per month. It cannot sell any thing but the public funds, or effects that have fallen into its hands for advances. It cannot buy any thing but gold

or

or silver in bullion; or the shares of its own corporation, which it must never buy below par, nor in a greater quantity than fifty at a time. It cannot lend to the government of the United States more than fifty thousand dollars. No greater loan can be made but in consequence of an express law. It cannot circulate, either by its own notes, or by discount, or otherwise, more than three millions of dollars.

The law incorporating this bank, enjoins all the receipts of the state to be deposited in it. Of twenty-five directors that form its administration, six are nominated by the legislature, and the other nineteen by the proprietors of its stock. Eleven go out annually by rotation. A return of the general situation of the bank is to be made annually to the legislature, to be submitted to its examination; but the legislature cannot demand an inspection of the accounts of individuals; and the little dependence this bank has on the government, and the fidelity of its transactions, have placed it high in the public confidence. Its dividends are from eight to nine per cent, although a considerable surplus is prudently accumulated. Shares in this bank bear at present a premium of twenty-five and thirty per cent.

The bank of North America is of an older date, the act under which it was incorporated having passed in 1787. It was at first established in 1782, but was dissolved in 1784. This bank may extend its capital to two millions of dollars; and has the privilege of making laws, by a court of its own proprietors and its twelve directors, for its administration. But it is bound by the same rules in its sales and purchases as the bank of Pennsylvania. As the legislature, however, has placed no other restriction on this bank, and it is still more independent of the government than the Bank of Pennsylvania, its character is very great. It is called *The Quakers Bank*, because the greater part of its original subscribers were Quakers; its directors are in general of the same body; and it is the bank at which those people generally keep their cash. Its dividends are from seven to eight per cent. The price of original shares, which was a hundred dollars for each, bears a premium of forty-five per cent; and it is very seldom that a share is to be sold. In 1791, this bank lent one hundred

hundred and sixty thousand dollars to the state of Pennsylvania, on the security of its public funds, and for one year only; the sum was punctually repaid.

THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA—ITS HOSPITALS, MARKETS, &c.

Philadelphia is not only the finest city of the United States, but may indeed be deemed one of the most beautiful cities in the world. It certainly is not ornamented with noble and antique edifices, like many of the cities of Europe; nor are the public buildings, with the exception of the state-house, remarkable either for the beauty of their architecture or their magnitude; but the houses are all built of fine brick, and have a pleasing appearance of simplicity and neatness. Many of them are decorated at their base, and round their windows, with a white marble lightly veined, which is found a few miles from the city, near the Schuylkill, and have flights of steps of the same marble. The streets are wide, and are generally planted with trees, and have very commodious pavements. The fountains that supply the city with water are in great numbers, and indeed exceed any thing of that nature in Europe. We have nothing to regret here but the want of noble squares; nor any considerable nuisance to complain of but the burial places, which are often in the most crowded parts of the city.

This nuisance is indeed a very serious evil; and it cannot be doubted, is the cause of much sickness in a city, where the heat of the summer is so great for three months as at Philadelphia. It has been in agitation to prohibit burial places in the city; but the matter has never been treated with the decision that the importance of the subject requires.

The narrowness of the quays is another cause of the unhealthiness of this city, and is one which it will be more difficult to remove than the former. This defect cannot be remedied, but at the expence of an entire street extending along the river, and crowded with the counting-houses and warehouses of the merchants. This street is not to be found in the plan traced by Penn, which was exactly followed as far as it extended. But the city is increased on the borders of the Delaware, both to the right and left.

left. The buildings at first extended beyond the ground which he marked out between the Delaware and the Schuylkill; but the increase of commerce gave a new direction to buildings of late years; so that the city, although large, does not occupy half the ground between the two rivers, and it is not probable that it will extend farther towards the Schuylkill. The present population of Philadelphia amounts to seventy thousand inhabitants.

I shall endeavour to avoid the repeating of circumstances relative to this city that are known to every one. Its prisons are the only public establishments which are superior to the same kind in France and England; its hospitals, libraries, colleges, literary and philosophical societies, are inferior to those of the old world, and indeed must long continue to be so; but if we consider how few years have passed since this city was founded, and how still shorter the space of time is since Pennsylvania, with the other states, became free, and was therefore able to employ all its resources, we shall be surprised at the degree of improvement we find in Philadelphia; and it ought not to be concealed, that the disposition of the inhabitants tends to facilitate the progress of the arts and sciences; which, however, with every advantage, demand time to bring them to perfection. Neither ought it to be overlooked, that the Quakers are, in every part of the state, the most steady and zealous promoters of every plan for the public happiness. Their influence at Philadelphia is greater than in other parts, because of their numbers. They are calculated to amount from one thousand six hundred to one thousand seven hundred families in that city.

The majority of the governors of the hospital of Pennsylvania are Quakers. The economy of this hospital is not, however, so perfect as we should expect. The patients are too much mingled together. There are six of the physicians of Philadelphia who attend the hospital gratuitously. Two of these attend together, and make but two visits in the week. They take this office by turns, two being changed every two months. There are two pupils residing in the house, who see the pre-

scriptions administered; and it is very seldom that any of the sick have the aid of the physicians, except on the visiting days. I speak of poor patients, who are admitted gratis; for the funds of this hospital are so small, that many of the patients are obliged to pay the physician, and these the physicians visit when sent-for.

In 1775, the hospital received seventy patients gratis; but, although its revenues are not diminished since that period, the increase of the price of provisions, and of the wages of the persons employed in the hospital, is so great, that at present it can take no more than thirty patients gratis. The rest, to the number of sixty-one, pay to be admitted in the following proportions—from three to four dollars per week for a place in the common room; six dollars for a room with more than one bed; and eight dollars for a room apart from others; the two last classes moreover pay the physician.

Insane persons are taken into this hospital. They were formerly kept in apartments under ground; but at present they are in a new building, which is spacious and airy. The degree of liberty they are allowed, and the cleanliness of their apartments, daily increases the number of those who leave the hospital cured. The economy of this part of the hospital is indeed admirable; two years since it was a subject of disgust.

Dr. RUSH, one of the physicians of whom I made inquiries concerning the causes which brought patients of this kind to the hospital, attributed one half to the excessive drinking of spiritous liquors; a fourth to devotion; and a smaller portion to love. It is to be supposed that these observations were accurate, as they were made from an examination of the books of the hospital. That part which concerns the excessive drinking of spiritous liquors is confirmed by daily experience. It is a common case, for a man, after such an excess, to be several days successively in a state of insanity; which very rarely happens from excessive drinking of wine. The madness occasioned by religion is most frequent amongst sects whose dogmas are extravagant, and who affect their disciples more with terror than with hope. The derangement proceeding from love is more

more frequent with the women than the men; and the patients of that class are chiefly girls betrayed or deserted by their lovers. The number of insane patients, the last time I visited the hospital, was forty-five.

Dr. Rush is one of the most celebrated physicians in Philadelphia. He is reproached with an extreme partiality for bleeding; and it is certain that he is by no means sparing of the practice. He is also accused of being wedded to system; but this reproach is more likely to proceed from the envy common in Philadelphia, as in other places, than any other cause. Dr. Rush has certainly more practice than any other physician in Philadelphia; he is a man of talent, and one of the best informed men in America. Both his writings and actions prove that he has the welfare of the human race at heart. His zeal and courage during the prevalence of the yellow fever, were not to be subdued by danger or difficulty. In 1792, he nearly fell a victim to that terrible scourge. A work which he wrote on that disease met with many opponents, especially among persons of his own profession. Dr. Rush published a letter in 1790, recommending the suppressing of the punishment of death; and the happy result of the change in that respect in the criminal code of Pennsylvania, is sufficient proof of the wisdom of his speculation. There are other political papers of Dr. Rush, abounding with beneficent and valuable sentiments.

The alms-house is as little to be commended for the nature of its management as the hospital. Its economy is not influenced by those extensive views, which in a great state ought to have a principal share in the aid given to the poor.

The principal market of Philadelphia excites the attention of every foreigner. It is a long building, constructed of brick, and supported by pillars of brick. The alleys are paved. It stands in the large street which separates the north and south quarter of the city. Here are to be found all sorts of provisions; butcher-meat, poultry, vegetables, &c.—flowers, roots, and trees are also sold in this market. As provisions are sold nowhere but in this, and three or four markets in other parts of the city, this market is greatly crowded for three or four hours in the morning; but

although the passages sometimes are almost choked up with people, the noise is very inconsiderable. Every one makes his market with little or no dispute; provisions are so abundant, and the venders so numerous, that the purchaser who is dissatisfied has but a step or two to make to consult his caprice, or to endeavour to make a better bargain. The prodigious quantity of provisions of all sorts in this market begets no offensive smell; the tables are scraped and washed every day, and the passages are kept thoroughly clean. One is at first astonished to see such perfect cleanliness, where there are so many almost unavoidable causes of filth.

A great quantity of the provisions sold at Philadelphia is brought sixty miles; it is conveyed in covered waggons that arrive in the night. The horses are unharnessed, and stand round the carts, with hay before them, which the farmer always brings with him, to save expences at the inns. Sometimes there are more than a hundred of these waggons standing at the upper part of the street in which the great market is situated. Sometimes the farmers retail their provisions themselves, from their carts, which bring veal, pork, poultry, game, butter, and cheese, as well as articles of agriculture, and even the products of industry.

Jersey furnishes the markets of Philadelphia with many articles, particularly hams, poultry, butter, and vegetables. It is a pleasing object, to see the perfect order that prevails in the markets; and it is worthy of regard, that the whole proceeds from the disposition of the people, for the public police never has occasion to interfere in these places. I am compelled to own, however, that having passed three winters in Philadelphia, I have perceived a gradual change taking place in this respect, and also in the tranquillity that formerly reigned at night in the streets. In 1794, it was uncommon to encounter any body at night, and still more to hear any noise after eleven o'clock. The noise in the streets continues now till a much later hour. Philadelphia is, indeed, departing very widely from simplicity of manners.

This city, being at a great distance from the sea, is ill provided with fish. *Rock fish*, which is a long fish with very white flesh, and does not resemble any fish of Europe that I know, is the only one that is to be found

found throughout the year at Philadelphia. The epicures, however, cause a variety of fish to be brought from New York.

The rent of the shops in the market-place is one of the revenues of the city, and produces about eight thousand dollars. The other revenues of the city are—a tax upon taverns, a tax upon quays, and a tax on property of the same kind as that laid in the counties.

The amount of these taxes varies with circumstances; the principal source of their increase is the construction of public buildings. The taxes of the city of Philadelphia in 1790, amounted to sixteen thousand eight hundred dollars; in 1793, to twenty thousand three hundred and thirty-two dollars; in 1794, to twenty-nine thousand five hundred dollars; in 1795, to twenty-eight thousand six hundred dollars. They were less in 1796 and in 1797; but I do not know the exact amount of these years.

Some judgment may be formed of the immense increase of wealth in Philadelphia by the rapid increase of the computed value of articles subject to taxation. In 1790, it amounted to ninety-eight million six hundred and seventy-four thousand and sixty dollars; and in 1795, to one hundred million five hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and thirteen dollars. In 1797, it exceeded that computation by more than two millions of dollars;—the computation being throughout made upon the same principles. The quantity of articles subject to taxation increasing rapidly in this city, as it also does throughout the whole state, and the expences of the city continually decreasing, because they have been heretofore greatly augmented by the construction of public edifices, bridges, &c. the imposts, already low, must necessarily decrease.

There is no city of the United States where articles of consumption are to be found in such great abundance as at Philadelphia, even to almost all articles of luxury. Many shops are as well furnished as those of Paris or London. The tradesmen are polite and obliging; and not at all pressing for their money, when they are assured of the solvency of their customers, at least I have found it so. The workmen are expert; but, as they can earn a great deal, they do not labour with the same constancy as workmen in Europe, and frequently make a purchaser wait long
for

for the execution of an order. Every thing in America, more particularly at Philadelphia, is much dearer than in Europe. A workman, hired by the day, receives a dollar per day, besides his board; the wages of ordinary domestics, who are for the most part negroes, are from ten to twelve dollars per month, besides board and washing. A female servant, of the most ordinary kind, has a dollar per week. Board is from eight to twelve dollars per week, without wine, fire, or candles. The rent of the smallest house, in a remote part of the city, is three hundred dollars per annum; the rent of large houses, in good situations, is from two thousand five hundred to three thousand dollars. Beef costs from ten to thirteen pence per pound; and a couple of fowls often more than a dollar. Other things are in the same proportion. The value of the ground in Philadelphia differs according to its situation; it is sold by the feet in front, according to its depth. A piece of ground of one hundred and fifty feet depth, in the most frequented part of the city, brings from one hundred and eighty dollars to two hundred and sixty per foot. At the end of streets not completed, they ask only from twenty-four to thirty dollars per foot; and between these extreme situations the medium price is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty dollars.

Of the lands in the vicinity of Philadelphia, those in the plain are sandy and sterile, the hills near the Schuylkill are sandy and full of stones, although a little stronger. But the badness of the lands does not prevent their selling for a high price, as they are almost entirely engrossed for country houses by the wealthy inhabitants of the city. Their price is from one hundred and fifty to one thousand two hundred dollars per acre, including the buildings, according to their situation and other circumstances. To the south of the city the land, lying between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, having been formerly covered with water, is a fine soil from twenty to twenty-five feet in depth, but always very wet. It produces a natural grass of the best quality in great abundance, being enriched by the mud left from the overflowing

overflowing of the rivers; and might be greatly improved by being drained, but this is not done for the want of hands. It is seldom that estates are to be sold in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the proprietors being tempted to keep them in their hands by their constant increase in value; and they are very rarely let to tenants for more than a year or two years. The grass-lands are generally used to fatten oxen; their rent is from twenty-four to twenty-eight dollars per acre. Lands that bear Indian corn, grain, and potatoes, are let at the same price.

MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE OF PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is universally accused of possessing less hospitality than any other city in the United States; and it may be allowed to deserve this reproach. The excuse of the inhabitants is, the great concourse there is always here of strangers, who would too greatly occupy the time of their hosts if too much encouragement were given to visits. The true reason is, the incessant attention that is paid in Philadelphia, more than in any other part of the world, to the accumulation of wealth; which passion is not diminished even by the possession of the greatest fortune. To mend his circumstances is the predominant idea of every man in this country. This mercantile notion, of necessity, confines within himself the man whom it influences; and gives him no time nor taste for the pleasures of society. What is justly called *society* does not exist in this city. The vanity of wealth is common enough. The rich man loves to shew the stranger his splendid furniture, his fine English glass, and exquisite china. But when the stranger has once viewed the parade in a ceremonious dinner, he is dismissed for some other newcomer, who has not yet seen the magnificence of the house nor tasted the old madeira that has been twice or thrice to the East Indies. And then, a new face is always more welcome than an old one to him who has little to say to either.

The real state of society at Philadelphia is included in invitations to
great

great dinners, and tea, to all who arrive from Europe—English, French, inhabitants of every country, men of every class and of every kind of character, philosophers, priests, literati, princes, dentists, wits, and idiots. And the next day the idolized stranger is not known in the street, except he be wealthy, especially in money; when, indeed, the politeness of the citizens of Philadelphia continues to exist as long as the stranger can purchase estates, and even beyond that term, for the homage paid to wealth is a worship in which all sects unite.

To the ordinary defects of society in Philadelphia, is to be added the intemperance of politics. The English influence prevails in the first circles; and prevails with great intolerance.

Persons of wealth here, who caressed the agents of Robespierre, when that monster extirpated all the worth his power could reach, are the avowed enemies of France, now that her government inclines to mildness and humanity. It is not to be denied that the American commerce has suffered greatly from French privateers; and we cannot therefore be surprized, either at the ill humour of the merchants of Philadelphia, or their mode of expressing it.

Having given this sketch of the temper of the people of Philadelphia, I am compelled to say, however correct it may be, that many families are to be found who form exceptions, and are neither tainted with the general vices of this place nor inflamed with the present spirit of party. What I have said is without ill will. I have no personal complaint to make. But I speak without reserve: for why should I write, if it were not to communicate truth?

Before all those to whom I feel myself indebted for their kindness, I have to place the family of CHEW. BENJAMIN CHEW, the head of this respectable family, who is a man in years, unites to an understanding, naturally penetrating and lively, great information, an amiable temper, a noble generosity, and the simplest of manners. His large family is universally esteemed; and in no quarter of the world is there any one more estimable. I was received by him as a brother; and my heart is filled with sentiments of esteem, gratitude, and love for him, that will go with

me

me to the grave ; and I hope he will pardon my expression of those sentiments in this place.

To name every one from whom I have received offices of kindness would be to trespass too much on my reader ; and I must be satisfied with indulging myself with a remembrance of their friendship.

Notwithstanding the defective state of society in Philadelphia, this city is perhaps the most agreeable of the United States for a foreigner. The residence of the members of Congress will enable him to gather information on the different parts of this interesting country ; and, in fact, to travel through its different states with great advantage to his enquiries. Although in Philadelphia, as throughout America, no one is sufficiently free from employment to give himself wholly to letters or the sciences, this city contains, more than any other, persons who cultivate them, and whose society is extremely interesting when those subjects are discussed. There is a philosophical society here, and a large and valuable library. There is also a museum which has an almost complete collection of the minerals and animals of North America. This fine collection is the property of Mr. PEALE. His intelligence, and indefatigable industry for twenty years in the forming this collection, have supplied the want of means that a more ample fortune would have readily furnished, and entitle him to aid in his undertaking from the government.

The profusion and luxury of Philadelphia, on great days, at the tables of the wealthy, in their equipages, and the dresses of their wives and daughters, are, as I have observed, extreme. I have seen balls on the President's birth-day where the splendor of the rooms, and the variety and richness of the dresses did not suffer in comparison with Europe ; and it must be acknowledged, that the beauty of the American ladies has the advantage in the comparison. The young women of Philadelphia are accomplished in different degrees, but beauty is general with them. They want the ease and fashion of French women ; but the brilliancy of their complexion is infinitely superior. Even when they grow old they are still handsome ; and it would be no exaggeration to say, in the au-

merous assemblies of Philadelphia it is impossible to meet with what is called a plain woman. As to the young men, they for the most part seem to belong to another species.

Wealth makes all the distinction of classes in Philadelphia. The great merchants, and the lawyers who are at the head of their profession, hold the first rank. Different classes very rarely mingle together. The Quakers live among themselves, and in a retired manner. But gay colours please the young Quaker-ladies; and are indeed great enemies of the sect. The toilette is the subject of much uneasiness to the old people, whether prohibited or tolerated by them. But whether prohibited or not, the young and handsome Quaker-girls will sacrifice to the toilette, and call themselves *Half-quakers*; and, it must be confessed, they are the greatest favourites with our sex. The young men among the Quakers, who would make themselves agreeable to the *female deserters*, powder and shape their dress accordingly; and the sect is continually losing some of those that should be its pillars by the effect of a ribband or gown.

Profusion is not confined to the higher ranks. It spreads among the servants; and even reaches the negroes. Both one and the other give their balls, which are destitute of the charming simplicity of the fetes of our peasants. Variety of refreshments, good suppers, and fine dresses, distinguish them. A female negro servant, whose wages are one dollar per week, will, at these balls, have a dress that costs sixty dollars. They never go but in coaches to these balls, which are very frequent. On Sundays the public-houses in the environs of the city are crowded with labourers and little shopkeepers, who frequently come in a chair, with their whole family, and will expend from three to four dollars for the day's entertainment. It is not to hoard that the Americans are rapacious; their improvidence has still all the character of colonists.

There is a theatre at Philadelphia, in despite of the many and vehement petitions presented against it by the Quakers and dissenting ministers. It is generally crowded; not that the actors are good, but it is a place where people can assemble and exhibit themselves. There are
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from twenty to twenty-five stage-coaches, that either go from or arrive at Philadelphia every day. They are mean and incommodious carriages; but are light, and travel very quickly. The horses are good in Pennsylvania; and there are sets belonging to some of the stage-coaches that are not surpassed by any in Europe.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia, like those of the whole State of Pennsylvania, are a mixture of all the nations of Europe. The English are in the greatest number. The counties of Pennsylvania, beyond the Susquehannah, and at a greater distance from Philadelphia than the rest, are little influenced by the political opinions of the capital, which, as I have said, are in favor of England.

There are a great many newspapers published in Philadelphia; whence they are spread through all the state.

Twenty-eight places of worship hold the different sects of Philadelphia. The Quakers have six. One of these belongs to the *Free-quakers*; a body expelled from the rest, for having carried arms, and accepted offices under the government of the State, or that of the Union, during the struggle for Independence. This body does not differ from the sect, except in a relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline. There is a place of worship called the African Church, set apart for the negroes; who go, notwithstanding, to the other churches at their pleasure. The clergyman of the African church is himself a negroe. He is joined to the clergy on all occasions where they assemble in a body.

The Quakers have established here two charity schools for the negroes, where they are taught to read, write, and cast accounts. But among the wise and beneficent laws of the State of Pennsylvania, one sees with pain that no provision is yet made for the erecting of schools for the education of children at the public expence, like those of New England. The legislature, indeed, is engaged on a plan of this nature. The Quakers, it is said, oppose these foundations, because they have schools of their own, being unwilling to mingle their children with the children of other persuasions; and because they would either be compelled to abandon this

policy or maintain their own schools at an exclusive expence, while they would pay a general tax to those of the public. I cannot suppose this opposition to be real; or, if so, that it can continue long. The state that feels the importance of public schools will, in the end, gain the victory; and, no doubt, the Quakers themselves will not be backward in acknowledging the injustice and mischievous effects of their pretensions.

I cannot conclude what I have to say of Philadelphia without observing, that here, and almost in every other part of America through which I have passed, I have frequently heard the name of M. de la ROCHE-FOUCAULT pronounced, with a profound veneration for his memory, and sincere sorrow for his fate. Although he never visited the United States, he was known as a Frenchman who shewed the strongest attachment to their independence. They named him their *friend*; and my connection with him by blood procured me in more than one family the kindest and most distinguished reception.

Having no other passion than that of doing good, and possessing at once the private virtues, as well as those that fit us to serve the public, he had a modesty, approaching to a diffidence of himself, that increased the lustre of all his great qualities. His mind was noble, and independent; and he worshipped liberty long before her name was openly pronounced in France. Without mixture in his views, as without stain in his conduct, he is perhaps the only example of an eminent man in the French Revolution whose character calumny did not impeach. Yet was this man murdered!—murdered in the presence of the tenderest of mothers, and the most amiable of wives; by wretches calling themselves patriots, hired by monsters more detestable than those, and who also called themselves patriots! France shuddered at this crime, when it was committed; and, even in those fatal times, when terror compelled men to belie their consciences, no one was found to say, that his death was not a public misfortune. I have no doubt, when the representatives of the French nation shall be at liberty to decree the
homage

**JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM, AND IN THE JERSEYS, IN
JUNE 1797.**

THE ROAD TO GERMANTOWN.

I once more quitted Philadelphia with pleasure, the oppressive and burning heat rendering that city disagreeable at this season; and as the fittings of Congress, which had induced me to remain there till now, presented nothing to satisfy curiosity, I proceeded towards Bethlehem.

On leaving the city, I went a little out of the way to take leave of my friend Mr. NICKLEN, a good and worthy Englishman, from whom I had, during my stay in America, received many testimonies of attention, and who had married one of the daughters of the respectable family of CHEW. He occupies, during the summer, one of the handsomest country-seats in the environs of Philadelphia, built on one of the hills of Schuylkill. This villa, which is called Hill, enjoys one of the most delightful prospects in the world. Mr. Nicklin purchased this house, and nineteen acres of ground attached to it, at the price of twenty-two thousand dollars, which price may give an idea of the value of such seats in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

The road to Germantown is upon the ascent, the summit of the hill on which that little town is built being two hundred feet higher than the bed of the Delaware, although the distance is only seven miles. The lands, though not of the first quality, are sufficiently productive; the vicinity to Philadelphia making it easy to get manure, while the high price of provisions in that city encourages the farmer to lay out such expences as may insure the best and most abundant returns.

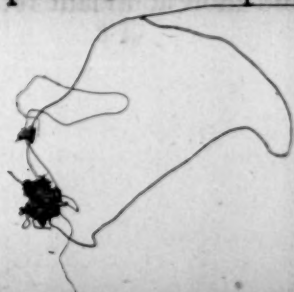
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All the way to Germantown the houses are very close together, the properties being so valuable as to prevent them from being very extensive: there are few of the farms which exceed two hundred acres. Stone abounds in this district, and is found at a very small depth; it is uniformly micaceous free stone. Of this all the houses are built. These buildings would not be reckoned handsome in Europe. They are good small houses, without elegance and without ornament; but in point of size, as well as distribution of the apartments, they afford their proprietors every thing that comes under the denomination of convenience and comfort. Most of them are country houses for the relaxation of the inhabitants of Philadelphia.

GERMANTOWN.

Germantown is a long village, near two miles and an half in extent. The houses, to the number of about three hundred, are all built on the side of the highway, and are erected pretty close to each other. The lands in all this district cost from an hundred and sixty to two hundred dollars the acre in whole farms; some particular acres, situated on the road side, sell for from four to five hundred dollars. I was even told that it is not easy to procure it at that price; and I was shewn a field of a dozen of acres, the proprietor of which estimates it at eight hundred dollars the acre. The culture of this part of the country is better attended to, than in those parts which are at a distance from large towns; but it is far from being in that state of cultivation which it would be in Europe, near so good a market as that of Philadelphia. They raise a good deal of wheat, and still more Indian-corn, but very little rye or oats. All the produce which is not consumed in the farmer's family, is carried to the market at Philadelphia, in consequence of which provisions are as dear at Germantown as in the city, to those who are obliged to purchase them. Nay, they are often even dearer; as the farmers who go to Philadelphia, where they are sure of getting quit of all their commodities, frequently refuse to sell any part of them on the road. Beef, for example, which is seldom higher at Philadelphia than eleven pence, costs fifteen pence at

German-



Germantown. All this country, and for a considerable way farther, is inhabited principally by Germans, and descendants of Germans. The inhabitants are by no means intelligent, and they are particularly averse to leave their old customs for a new method which might be better; but they are industrious, and their assiduity to labour counteracts, in some measure, their repugnance to all improvement.

They manufacture in their families at Germantown a great quantity of wollen, cotton, and thread stockings, which the farmers carry to market at Philadelphia with their provisions, and which are reckoned very durable. There are also some tan-works at Germantown. We find here a Lutheran and a Presbyterian church, besides a third for the Quakers; an academy, and two other schools of considerable repute.

I stopped at the house of my excellent and respected friend Mr. Chew. This house is celebrated as an important scene of action in the battle of Germantown in 1777. Two hundred English of the advance-guard of the army, repulsed by the Americans, were inclosed in this place; and resisted the efforts of General Washington, who endeavoured to get the better of them with the assistance of his artillery, and who, after the loss of four or five hundred men killed or wounded, was obliged to retreat, not being able to follow up the advantage which his right had obtained, in penetrating to the middle of this village. General Washington was blamed at the time for persisting so much in carrying this house, which did not contain such a number of English as could at all have disconcerted him had he left it behind, and which would have fallen into his hands without a blow, had he joined the troops with which he made this unsuccessful attack to those who were before him, and succeeded in driving the enemy out of the village. This house, entirely built of the country stone, bears on its walls marks of the American cannon balls and musket bullets, a great number of which had penetrated into the chambers by the windows. These bullets and balls are still sticking in the partitions, the holes which contain them being only covered with plaster. Mr. Chew was at that time proprietor of this house, which was built by him. He sold it in 1779, with forty acres of land belonging to it, for
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about nine thousand dollars, and last spring he repurchased it, at the price of twenty-five thousand dollars, without any improvement having been made on it. Labourers receive, in the environs of Germantown, a dollar a day of wages, during hay-making and harvest. The women employed to turn the hay are paid half a dollar a day, all besides their diet, which is equal to half a dollar more. This diet consists of coffee or chocolate, with ham to breakfast; fresh meat and vegetables to dinner; tea and ham for supper, and a pint of rum during the day. This is the manner in which labourers are fed in America; and if this diet appear expensive to those who employ them, if this expence prevent them from being able to employ a great number, it is gratifying to see how well a class of men, reckoned the lowest in Europe, is treated in this country, the only one where a man, whatever be his profession, is treated with respect; where all ranks are considered as men. We may be told, that were our European labourers fed with coffee and fresh meat, they would not work better, or be better content. It is, in the first place, not true, that they would not work better and be more happy, if they were better fed; and it is still more certain, that were they treated with more respect, and more attention, they would consider themselves less debased, they would become better; they would feel with pride that they were a more noble branch of society, and consequently would be more interested in its preservation. Let us hope that the French revolution may, in this respect, operate a happy change in the lot of the laborious class of mankind. Without this, liberty would be only a word without meaning, a pretext for disorder.

A cord of oak wood costs six, and a cord of hickory from eight to ten dollars, at Germantown. Thus the lands covered with wood, which in the more distant parts are of much less value than other grounds, are here the most valuable. The wood from hence is carried to Philadelphia principally in the winter time; the river not being navigable, it could not be conveyed by it. The lots of several vessels having ruined his fortune, he collected the wreck of it to carry to Pennsylvania. His grandson, the lawyer.

THE ROAD TO CLEMENT'S TAVERN.—SPRINGHOUSE.

Germantown is in the county of Philadelphia, which the Bethlehem road does not get out of till five or six miles farther on, at Chesnut-hill, a pretty village, where there are established a number of butchers, who carry to the market at Philadelphia the beef which they kill, and also supply the neighbourhood. A little beyond Chesnut-hill we enter Montgomery county. The road, all the way to Clement's Tavern, is a succession of little hills and valleys, more or less extensive, all in a good state of cultivation. The lands at Springhouse are worth from forty to forty-five dollars the acre; the labourers receive here one or two shillings less than at Germantown. The country abounds in oak; and the great consumption of wood in lime-kilns keeps always up the price of a cord of oak to three dollars, and of hickory to five, although the lands under culture are here less in proportion to the wood-lands than near Philadelphia. Springhouse is distant from thence eighteen miles.

Stone becoming less abundant, and every where deeper in the earth, after leaving Springhouse houses of stone are less numerous, and those of wood consequently more common. The country to Clement's Tavern continues to be of the same description. This tavern, seven miles from Springhouse, is situated exactly on the boundaries of Montgomery and Buck's counties. The lands here sell for from thirty-two to sixty dollars the acre. Labourers' wages are the same as at Springhouse. Farm horses cost from a hundred to a hundred and twenty dollars; cattle eighty dollars the pair; cows thirty dollars. As there is no oak in this neighbourhood, although the woods are still more numerous than at Springhouse, the cord of hickory costs here only four dollars. The country is all along peopled in a great measure with German and Dutch families. CLEMENTS is of Dutch descent. His grandfather, who was a rich merchant, engaged in the East India trade, came to America in 1707. The loss of several vessels having ruined his fortune, he collected the wreck of it to carry to Pennsylvania. His grandson, the tavern-keeper,

keeper, is one of the best men I have met with. He shews, with a kind of satisfaction, an old andiron, which his grandfather brought from Holland, and which, a hundred years before that time, had made part of the furniture of his father's house. Clements sees in this old piece of furniture, which is displayed in his kitchen, a family monument, which makes him trace two hundred years of his genealogy, and in dilating upon that he exhibits a considerable fire, quite the reverse of his amiable simplicity.

QUAKERSTOWN, AND THE ROAD TO BETHLEHEM.

The country becomes more mountainous as we proceed on from Clement's house; the valleys consequently are extensive, and we find no longer granite but free-stone, at least in the course of twenty miles. The country is mostly covered with wood, although in several places the houses are pretty close, and the lands well cultivated.

Quakerstown is a small village, the chief place of a settlement of Quakers spread through the townships of Upper and Lower Milford. These townships were given to the Quakers about eighty years ago by William Penn. All the inhabitants, however, are not Quakers; several of the families which were first settled having quitted it, and been succeeded by others. The number of these at present is about three hundred; and a number of other families also people the two townships, which are inhabited and well cultivated.

If one may judge by the conversation of the Quaker who keeps the tavern where I stopped, the religion of that sect is the article which least occupies the Quakers established in this township. Their farm is the constant object of their thought.

They are said to be very good farmers. They lay out the greatest part of their grounds in meadow, and they carry their butter, cheese, calves, poultry, and the articles manufactured in their families, such as stockings, linen, &c. to Philadelphia, near forty miles distant. The frequency of their journies to Philadelphia is regulated by the extent of their farms, and the consequent quantity of their provisions.

Some of them go only once a fortnight, others every ten days; others, again, once a week; and there is one individual who goes every market-day, that is twice a week. The quantity of provisions they carry also determines the manner of carriage, namely, whether on horseback, in a cart with two horses, or in a waggon with four horses. They set out on the evening, to reach Philadelphia by break of day, and return when they have sold all their goods; which they never fail to do, even if they are obliged to lower their price as the day advances. Their horses stand unyoked near the carts all the market time, the oats with which they feed them being brought from the farm with the provisions. This is the practice of all the farmers from Germantown to Quakerstown, and considerably farther. They reckon that one cow yields five pounds of butter a week, that is to say, to carry to market; for they only sell what is over the consumption of their own families, and none of them deny themselves either butter, milk, cream, or fowls. I met on the road some girls of eighteen on horseback, travelling to Philadelphia, and carrying forty pounds weight of butter, with some cheese and poultry. Some of them travel alone; and their youth and beauty, for the greater part of them are very pretty, gives them no disturbance in a journey so long, so often repeated, and the greatest part of which is made in the night time: no person thinks of injuring them. This particular of American morals is truly admirable.

The lands about Quakerstown are worth from thirty-two to sixty dollars; the wages of the labourers the same as at Clement's Tavern. The culture of grain is here the same as elsewhere in America, a good deal of maize, corn, and rye; but the lands are either not at all or very badly manured: the dung is laid upon the grass grounds. From Quakerstown to Bethlehem the country is still more mountainous; we meet however frequently with extremely fertile valleys. Most of the houses are built of stone; a good many of them, however, are constructed of square beams of wood, and the interstices filled up with stone. The barns are large, and mostly of wood.

All this country, from Philadelphia to within a mile of Wilksbarre, formed

formed part of the first purchase made from the Indians by William Penn, and has been long cultivated and inhabited. We see here few of those trunks of trees which remain often under foot so long after the commencement of the operation of grubbing, and the country is almost throughout as much cleared of wood as the generality of Europe.

The mountains known under the name of the *Lehigh Mountains*, are, properly speaking, the first chain which we meet from Philadelphia, the preceding ones being rather detached hills than mountains. This chain, which crosses the Susquehannah near Harrisburg, loses its name at the Delaware near Easton, and continues through Jersey under another name. On the other side of that mountain stands Bethlehem, built on the conflux of the river Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware near Easton, and of the creek Manokify, which falls immediately at Bethlehem into the river Lehigh.

BETHLEHEM.—DETAILS RESPECTING THE MORAVIANS.

Bethlehem is inhabited by the Moravian brethren. It is the first and most considerable of their settlements in America, and has thence acquired much celebrity. I have read in books of travels so many different recitals respecting the internal government of their society, their community of goods, their children being even taken away from the authority and superintendence of their parents, as belonging to the society at large, and respecting several other points of their government, that I was desirous to judge myself of the truth of these assertions; and I have found at Bethlehem fresh reason not to credit, without proof, the recitals of travellers. This indisputable truth is, however, rather delicate, to be avowed by one who is writing travels.

I shall not go back to the origin of the Moravians, which their historians fix at the year 1424; to their persecution in Europe; to the almost total dissolution of their society at the commencement of the seventeenth century; nor to their reunion in 1722, under the auspices of Count ZINZENDORFF. I shall say nothing of their doctrines; all these facts are unconnected with their temporal government at Bethlehem, which is the only

only point I wished to know, and which I think is at this time interesting.

In 1740, the Count Zinzendorff purchased from Mr. ALLAN, who held it of William Penn, the district now called Bethlehem, with the view of there forming an establishment for the society of the Moravians. Although some trees were cut down in 1741, it was not till 1742 that the settlement was begun. One hundred and forty Moravian brethren and sisters arrived from Germany, and settled there. These families were poor, had no other dependence than their labour, and every thing was to be done to form a settlement in this desert. They lived then in one general community, contrary to the rules and usage of their society, but only from the necessity of circumstances, which would have rendered the general progress of their society more slow, and the situation of the individual families more inconvenient, if their labours and productions had been divided. This deviation from the constitution of the *Unity* (for thus they call their whole society) was prescribed by the synod, which makes and alters the laws of all the Moravian people. Thus, under the order of the chiefs of the congregation established at Bethlehem, they cleared the woods, made roads, and cultivated the lands; the women spun, wove, made their cloaths, and prepared their victuals. One single will animated the whole, and the product of each individuals' labour served indiscriminately to the support of the whole brother and sisterhood. The fathers and mothers being constantly employed in labour, could not, without inconvenience to the community, give their attentions to their children. The society therefore appointed some of the sisters to take care of the whole; the authority, however, and the superintendence of the parents, was neither taken away nor diminished. At that time even, notwithstanding their community of goods, the brethren who received any money from their families or friends had the free disposal of it. If any of them vested their property in the common stock it was voluntarily, and the effect of a zeal and disinterestedness of which there were but few examples. The brethren possessed of any private property, had frequently their children with them; they clothed them better;

better; and the care which they took of them in infancy, a charge considered a relief to the society, was a proof that at Bethlehem the children were not, as has been alleged, the property of the community, and that it was no part of the institution to make the members renounce all private property. In proportion as the settlement advanced, and their labour became less urgent, the society of Bethlehem saw the inconveniences attending a community of labour, produce, and enjoyment. The passions, the vices, and the virtues of man, have every where nearly the same character. The active brethren killed themselves with work, while the idle took little trouble. Those who reflected discovered, that whatever fatigue they endured, their situation was nowise ameliorated; and that industry, the indisputable property of every man, afforded them not a single advantage. Reflection then had the same effect on the industrious, as their natural disposition had on the idle; the ardour for labour no longer continued; the society did not prosper, and the most of its members were discontented.

These joint considerations induced them, in 1762, to change the system of the community. The society of Bethlehem was now established on the rules of the societies in Europe, and recalled to the true constitution of the society at large; it is under this system that it has been regulated since that epoch, as well as all the other Moravian congregations established elsewhere in America.

By the present ordonnances, the communion of property is done away in favour of the individuals; it only continues as to the government of the society, and it exists partially. The territorial property, as well as the profits of the tavern, the store, the farm, the saw-mills, oil-mills, corn-mills, and fulling-mills, the tannery, and the dyeing manufactory, belong to the society, which from these funds is enabled to provide for the poor, for the payment of debts, and of the public taxes. In all other respects every brother enjoys the absolute property of whatever he can earn by his labour, be it what it may, and of the gifts which he may receive.

The government of the society is vested in the bishop, the minister,

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the intendant, and the inspectors, male and female, of the different divisions of the society, which are five in number;—the young men unmarried; the unmarried sisters; the widows; the married brethren and sisters, and the schools. The intendant has the exclusive administration of the property of the society; but he must advise with a committee, composed of from eight to ten members, and chosen by the brethren at large. In the name of the intendant they carry on all their transactions, grant leases of houses and lands, securities for borrowed money, discharges, &c. All the houses, however, erected in the town of Bethlehem, and the four thousand acres belonging to it, are not the property of the society, nor even the greater part of them; they belong to brethren, who have built upon land for which they pay rent to the society. The amount of this rent is two-pence the foot in front, by twenty feet in depth. The house built by the brother is his absolute property; he can leave it to his wife or his children, in the same way as he can his other effects, or he can sell it; only he cannot convey it but to a brother, who has obtained from the directory permission to purchase it, with the burthen of the rent attached to it, and which perpetually remains.

The directors having the government of the society, must admit into their territory those only who they think will not disturb the society. In the contracts of lease made by the intendant, with the advice of the committee, to those intending to build a house, or to those who purchase a house, it is always stipulated, that if the proprietor shall be desirous of quitting it, and cannot find a purchaser who may be agreeable to the society, the society is to purchase it at a price declared by a law, which also fixes the terms of payment. Garden ground, or land in the country, is let at six shillings the acre. Besides the government farm appropriated to the benefit of the society, there are six or seven smaller farms belonging to it. These are let to tenants who pay a third part of their produce, and who also pay six shillings of rent for their garden grounds. These tenants are all at present Moravians; but this condition is nowise indispensable. Sometimes the farms are let to other persons, only the society must be satisfied as to their character and behaviour;

our; and they will not receive as tenants those of whom they have not received a satisfactory account.

The society could easily procure a higher price, and might at once clear two thousand five hundred acres, which still remain in wood, if they would admit strangers, or at least not reserve to themselves this choice of those who offer to take their farms; but they are desirous beyond every thing of preserving what they call good order, union, and morality; and to this they sacrifice the augmentation of their revenues.

The town of Bethlehem is inhabited by between five and six hundred persons, all of the brother or sisterhood. They have workmen of every kind; but these cannot settle there without the permission of the directors, who suffer no workmen of the same business, but as far as they are necessary for the inhabitants. If more were to be permitted, they could not live by their trade. At the same time, the price of all kinds of work is fixed, to prevent the want of rivalry from putting it in the power of the workmen to make exorbitant demands; but the prices of the country around regulate those of the town. Beyond that the workmen are independent of the society in conducting their business. They purchase with their money what articles they have occasion for; they sell them as they think proper; the profits belong to them, without their accounting to the society, or even paying any tax. The only tax indeed which is levied, and which is common to all the inhabitants of the town, is for keeping up the roads, lamps, seats in the church, pumps, and reservoirs. This tax is every four or five years imposed upon each family by name, according to the opinion of the committee of his means; but it is so moderate, that the families considered the richest in the town do not pay above thirty shillings or four dollars a year. This tax is paid every six months; and if it happen that, at the end of the year, the committee find that the money raised is not sufficient to cover the expences, they demand double or treble of the last payment; and on the other hand, they demand nothing, when the expence is not so great as the tax fixed.

As to the public taxes, which in Pennsylvania, as I have already repeatedly observed, are only the taxes of the county, the society pays these out

of its funds. These funds proceed from the lands, and the profits of the reserved branches of manufactures or commerce. Each of the brethren put at the head of these different establishments receives a salary from the society, to which he pays in the profits, after the expence of his own and family's living and cloathing. The committee requires no detailed account of his management: he has received so much money—there remains so much in his hands. Such is the account given in by the tavern-keeper, the farmer, the miller, the store-keeper, &c. When the directors are told of the possibility of such persons cheating the society, they will not admit it; because, say they, all their characters are known to us; their actions are so public, that if they were dishonest they could not be so long without being discovered, and they would then be dismissed. They consider that unlimited confidence as benevolence, brotherly charity, &c. They add to the defence of this motive—that a man narrowly watched is more excusable in robbing, than one in whom confidence is placed; and they affirm, that they never have had reason to repent of this rule of confidence. It appears, however, that their different branches bring them in very little. The society does not draw a dollar an acre free from their farms. The store, extremely well supplied, which sells a great deal in the neighbourhood, does not produce annually above eight hundred dollars. The tavern, although it has a great deal of custom, does not clear more than fourscore dollars; and the same is the case with respect to all the other branches in their hands. Industry is naturally slackened, when it is not excited by interest. The whole of the revenues of the society of Bethlehem does not amount to eight thousand dollars a year upon an average, and their expences are nearly equal to that income. In the first place, they have to pay to the direction of the Unity resident in America, one-sixteenth part of their revenues, to contribute to the expences of the missionaries employed by the Unity among the Indians of North America, and a pension to them when superannuated. Five other sixteenths pay the interest of the sums borrowed for the purchase of lands and improvements; finally, their salaries are to be paid. The society accounts to a general college, which trans-

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acts the business of the Unity, the neat sums remaining, after payment of all expences; and the college have the power of determining what part of it shall be sent to them, in order to contribute to the raising of a fund of seventy-two thousand dollars, which the Unity has granted to the three daughters of Count Zinzendorff, and of which they pay the interest, until they shall be able to discharge the principal to them or their descendants.

That part of the revenues of the particular societies sent to the general college, is also meant to contribute to the other general expences of the Unity. The college has power to call for what portion of the revenue they think proper, but they never demand above a small part, because the particular societies have each of them debts, which it is necessary for them to liquidate; besides, these societies, and particularly that of Bethlehem, settle in mortmain some part of their revenues every year. It likewise sometimes happens, that the revenues of the year are not equal to the necessary expenditure; in which case the intendant is authorised by the committee to make a loan. A great part of the sum borrowed is lent by the brethren, who receive interest generally at the rate of five per cent, and are repaid their principal at any time upon six months previous demand. The society's treasurer is therefore at the same time the bank of the brethren, but who may place their money otherwise at their pleasure. Sometimes the intendant borrows from strangers; in that case he is obliged to pay the legal interest of the state, which in Pennsylvania is six per cent.

Before going farther into this account of the establishment of Bethlehem, it may be necessary to explain the nature of the general college, the synod, and the general directory of the Moravians, of which I have occasion to speak.

The society of the Moravians is an oligarchical republic. Each of the establishments in Europe and America names one or more deputies to the synod, such deputy or deputies being elected by the brethren at large. The particular directory of each society is also entitled to appoint one deputy. The great expence of travelling, which is defrayed by the so-

cieties who send the deputies, induces the directories of the American societies to delegate their powers to those named by the brethren. The bishops are entitled, if they think proper, to attend the synod, independent of the other deputies of the society to which they belong. In the synod, when assembled, is vested the sovereignty. They alone have a right to alter the regulations, as well spiritual as temporal; they confirm or annul the appointment of the principal officers made during their recess; and finally, they receive the accounts of all the general concerns, and decide thereon ultimately;—they are convened every seven years, and remain assembled for two or three months; they name a college, composed of thirteen members, who, during their recess, manage the general affairs of the Unity, appoint the principal officers, direct the missions, regulate the affairs, interest, discipline, &c. The sittings of the college are held a league from Hernutt in Upper Lusatia; their functions continue during the recess of the synod. On the meeting of the synod their powers cease, and they are re-established by the synod at the end of their session, either from among the former members, or new ones are appointed, according to the will of the synod.

As to the general directory of America, their functions are to watch over the interests of the Unity in North America, and particularly to direct the missions in that part of the world. It is composed of two agents of the general college, sent to superintend the management of the property belonging to the Unity, such as certain farms or tracts of land in different parts of America, and particularly the fifteen thousand acres granted by the United States, beyond the Ohio, on the Muskingum, to the Moravian missionaries. The bishops of America, the preacher of Nazareth, and the minister of Bethlehem, are also members. The directory names to certain functions in the American congregations, which urgency requires to be filled up before the general college can be consulted, as the intendant, the bishop, the ministers, &c. Except this, the directory has no authority as a body over the affairs of the societies, which, as I have mentioned above, have each its directory and committee. The bishop ordains the bishops, preachers, and priests; these

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last may also be ordained by each other. The bishops have very considerable salaries, as may be judged from the bishop of Bethlehem, Mr. ERNHEIM, a man of fourscore, who has no other domestic servant than his own daughter, and who I found baking cakes, which he sells to increase his living. His salary is two hundred and thirty dollars, besides being supplied with wood and lodging. The highest salaries paid by the Unity do not exceed three hundred dollars.

I have already mentioned, that the Bethlehem society is divided into five departments, each under the direction of an inspector or inspectress; and in this office we find the temporal administration of the society in some degree mixed with its discipline. The unmarried brethren live together in a separate house, that is, they eat and sleep there, but they do not work there, if they can find work elsewhere. Most of them are apprentices or journeymen in the shops of the society, or to the artificers in the town. The money which they earn is their own, only they must pay for their board, and for keeping up the building where they lodge, as well as their portion of the tax imposed upon that house for the public expences of the town. All these expences, including their cloathing, may amount at present to forty-five dollars, while their earnings may be from a hundred to a hundred and ten. Those who, for want of work out of doors, are employed in the house, are paid for their labour by the inspector, who employs them, the amount of their board, and their other contributions to the common expences being first deducted. Thus the brethren of this house cost the society nothing. The same is the case with regard to the unmarried sisters, some of whom are employed in the houses of the town as servants and cook-maids. These have their board and lodging in the families where they are employed, and pay to the house four or five dollars a year towards the common expences. This contribution preserves to them the right of entering into that house when they please. The greater part of them, however, are employed in the house in sewing and embroidery; they are paid for their work by the inspectress, who sells it for the benefit of the house. The profit of these works contributes to maintain the poor, who are not numerous.

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The girls, from the price they receive for their work from the inspectresses, pay their board and their portion of the charges of the house, which amounts to the same sum as that paid by the brethren. Thus this department is no longer an expence upon the society; on the contrary, it relieves the society from the maintenance of a great part, and often the whole of the poor. The unmarried sisters tie their flat bonnets under their chin with a red ribbon; the married women tie theirs with a blue, and the widows theirs with a white ribbon.

It is not however compulsory, upon either the young men or women, to reside in these common houses; their relations may take the entire disposal of them—keep them at home, or send them to other schools, as they think proper. The brethren of easy fortunes, for example, seldom send their daughters to the sisters house; and there are also sisters at the house of Bethlehem who belong to Moravian families not resident in the town, and who often come from very distant parts.

As to the widows house, it is supported by the society; and all the work they can do goes to the benefit of the house, when it is not sufficient to defray their expences.

There has, for about fifteen years, been instituted among the Moravian brethren a sort of voluntary society in favour of widows. The members contribute each fifteen or twenty pounds, or from forty to fifty dollars. The interest of that sum is settled upon the widows of the contributors, and betters their living if they reside in the widows house, or is paid to them to assist their own house-keeping, if they live by themselves. This society is not confined to Bethlehem. The brethren of any of the establishments in America may become members; and the capital being deposited at Bethlehem, the interest is paid at the respective places of residence of the widows of the contributors. This society has also its particular regulations; one, for example, by which a brother in a dangerous state of health cannot be admitted to subscribe.

The schools are under the direction of an inspector and inspectresses. There is an academy for the reception of young ladies from other parts, who receive there the usual education of females, even music. The daughters

daughters of the brethren are likewise received there. This establishment supports itself in respect to its private expences, the keeping up the buildings, and the contribution to the public charges. The board is forty-five dollars a year, and six dollars more for such of them as are taught music. The daughters of the society may be sent to this school, but their board must be paid by their relations. The society pays for the daughters of those who receive a salary from them, and also for the children of the poor. The daughters of the brethren not being boarders, the expence of their education is less. There are at this day sixty-six of the boarders, who are strangers, from different parts of the United States and the Antilles. This academy is in great reputation. The governesses appear to me to be attentive, and some of the scholars have made considerable proficiency in drawing, writing, and embroidery, and play tolerably upon the piano. At the same time, as the mistresses are never chosen but from among the sisterhood, and as few of them have had any education other than at this school, it is not to be expected that all of them can be always of sufficient ability. A new building, added four or five years ago to the establishment, has been erected, by means of a sum of money borrowed for that purpose, the interest of which is paid by the school.

There is also, at Bethlehem, under the direction of the minister, a small school for boys, where they are taught merely to read and write, and the first rules of arithmetic.

The last department, namely, that of the brethren and sisters, is wholly a department of discipline. The married people reside in their own houses, and the inspectors and inspectresses have no concern with them, but to give advice when their conduct has been improper, as friends, as neighbours, and as divines. They have no farther influence or superintendence of their actions or their concerns.

The Moravian is a religious society. Religion, the exact maintenance of the creed of their doctrines, their worship, and their manners and customs, which they consider necessary to the exact observance of that creed, and which they believe to be alone prescribed by the gospel,

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is the sole end of their regulations, their discipline, and even their relations in point of temporal interest. With this religious intention is established the exact superintendence of the directory of the society over the conduct of its members, and the care not to allow strangers to settle among them. They are in this respect monks, but tolerant and mild monks, although several articles of their discipline would be thought severe, and even ridiculous, according to the received ideas in other countries.

For example, there is no communication allowed between the young men and women. When a young man means to marry, he signifies his wish to the inspector, and mentions the girl he is desirous of making his wife, but to whom he has never spoken. The inspector applies to the inspectress of the girls, who, if she judges that the character of the young woman is not incompatible with the character given of the youth by the inspector, proposes it to her; the girl may refuse, but is not allowed to say whom she would prefer. The parents are consulted; and the directory give their sanction, or reject the proposal of the marriage thus far advanced, if they think that the youth will not be able, by his labour, to maintain his wife and children, or if they see in it any other danger likely to accrue to the good order of the society;—but these refusals are rare. The regulation by which the man is not allowed to converse with the woman before his having asked and obtained her in marriage, has, in the opinion of the Moravians, the advantage of preventing all kind of seduction, and consequently, say they, all danger of improper conduct. Marriage is, according to them, a spiritual union: the brethren and sisters being filled with the Holy Spirit, live more cordially together; their union is more durable, than if it were founded on a choice of their hearts, which might deceive them. They even regard the affection which precedes marriage as a disposition contrary to the sanctity of marriage; and they carry this opinion so far, that when it happens, which is not without examples, though they are extremely rare, that a brother and a sister had privately a too intimate connection, these cannot afterwards be married together. The crime is kept private with the inspectors and the directory.

tory. The girl is reprimanded, but with mildness; kept with the rest if she seem to repent; and married to another young man, if asked by any one, but never to her favourite, at least unless both of them renounce the society.

Marriage takes place, not only between the youth of the same society, but between those of different Moravian societies. When a man or a woman wishes to marry a person of another religion, they are not prevented, if they persist in their resolution, in spite of the advice of their inspectors and the directory, it being the principle of the Moravian society, never to compel any persons to continue in it against their inclination; but they are then considered to belong no longer to the society, and must quit it. Examples of this sometimes happen, as the girls, whose relatives live at a distance, have permission to visit their family, and occasionally meet young men whom they prefer to the Moravian brethren proposed to them by their inspectresses.

The girls in the house of the sisters are not kept shut up; they have liberty to go out; but, as the society is small, the practice of watching them is so universal, that all their actions are known; and the spirit of the religion in which they are educated and kept, prevents them from every act, however innocent, which the society considers irregular—as, for example, to speak to a young man. This spirit of watchfulness and of religion is alike extended to those of the sisters who are employed as domestics in families, and are thus less under the immediate and constant eye of the inspectress; and this system extends towards the young men and women of other religions, employed in the different establishments of the society. The slightest conversation with an unmarried woman is a ground to expel the offender from the precincts of the society; and as this rigid law is known to strangers before they enter into the service, it is very rarely infringed.

The directors informed me, that this law to prevent all commerce between the unmarried of the two sexes, originated in the fervour of the young females, at the time of the restoration of the society in

1722; that they established it among themselves, and it thence became an essential article of discipline of the society.

The society, however, is desirous of encouraging marriage; and with justice, if they wish their perpetuity, as they would receive little addition from strangers, were they even willing to admit them. But, as I have already said, their grand object is to preserve their doctrines, their discipline, and their fundamental customs, which present considerable obstacles to marriage. A young man will not marry, who does not see how he is to gain his bread, and maintain his family comfortably. He can only be an artizan; and the number of these is circumscribed in Bethlehem, as well as in all the other Moravian societies. The best shoemaker, smith, or other person, cannot set up in his trade, while the very confined number of artisans of the same business is full. The society have a sufficient quantity of land in wood to clear, which a number of young people would be disposed to rent; but still they would not be so immediately, as is wished, under the eye of the directory; they might perhaps relax in their religion, in the severity of manners exacted as the means of keeping it up, and on these grounds the society have refused them; whence it follows, that marriages are by no means frequent, and that there are to be found in the house of the sisters, unmarried women as far advanced in life as among the widows. Thus, notwithstanding the American fecundity, of which the married sisters have their share, the society diminishes rather than increases.

The Moravian brethren and sisters receive no dowry from the society on their marriage, but they enjoy the savings which they may have made in a state of celibacy. Besides, every brother may possess property out of the precincts of the society. There is one of them who has speculated largely in land, and is proprietor of several thousand acres, not only in different parts of Pennsylvania, but also in the other states. However, this occupation of augmenting his fortune is considered as a kind of relaxation of principle. It is not contrary to any of the statutes of the society, but it is contrary to their spirit; they do not forbid it, but it is

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not approved of by rigid Moravians. A Moravian brother has erected a wooden bridge over the river Lehigh, built by a subscription, to which a number of the other brethren have contributed.

I have already observed, that strangers may be received into the Moravian society as brethren: the condition of their admission is—that they shall live for some months under the eye of the society, conformably to its spirit, doctrines, and principles; and finally, their consent to follow the rules of the society is declared by their signature. Every Moravian brother also, upon his marriage, or setting up housekeeping, must subscribe to the statutes. One of their rules is, that they shall not apply to courts of law to settle any disputes among them, whether of a civil or criminal nature; the committee, which is the intendant's council, is the tribunal appointed to settle their differences, by way of arbitration. Their judgment has no force, except as it is given by the consent of parties, who still have it in their power to appeal to the courts of justice of the country; but their doing so excludes them from the society. The disputes between the brethren and strangers are determined by the ordinary tribunals, without the spirit of the society being thereby affected. It is the same with any disputes which the society itself, as a proprietor, may have with neighbours, merchants, or others.

As to the practice of worship, it consists in prayers and sermons twice a week, which all the members of the society must attend, unless they have very good reasons for absence; and prayers every morning and evening, at which the young brethren and sisters assist, the two sexes being seated in different sides of the church.

The Moravian brethren and sisters are all Germans, or descendants of Germans, and thus German is the common language at Bethlehem, many of the inhabitants not speaking any other. They have all a simple, agreeable, and tranquil mein. The directors say that they are very happy; but so say also the heads of convents in respect of their monks and nuns. It would be necessary to remain some time with them to discover the truth. Nothing shews itself in their countenances, either of great satisfaction or discontent; they are cold, slow, and want external expression.

The Bethlehem society is independent of the others in respect to matters of interest and property, as the others are of it; but all are under the same system, and all depend alike upon the general college and the synod. When the college wishes to make a new establishment in America, they intrust it to the general directory of the Unity in America, who communicate the matter to the different societies. These lend money for the undertaking, and propose to the brethren to go and become members of the new establishment. The brethren may refuse, but they rarely do; and on these occasions it is that marriages are most numerous. An establishment is at present proposed near the river Muskingum, beyond the Ohio. In this manner was formed the establishment of Salem in North Carolina, in 1754, where the present bishop of Bethlehem, then a simple minister, told me he cut the first tree; another near Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, and another, twenty years ago, in the county of Sussex in Jersey, at Mount Hope.

I here conclude this long detail of the society of Bethlehem. I owe my acknowledgments to the Bishop, to the Intendant, to Mr. HOSFIELD the postmaster, a man of sense, and much esteemed in the society; and to Mr. CUNOW, one of the members of the general directory of the Unity in America, sent about a year ago from Europe to fill this office, after being a member of the synod, and for seven years secretary to the general college. He is an enlightened and sensible man, and one whose conversation discovers great sincerity and purity of heart.

NAZARETH, CHRISTIAN-BROWN, AND GNADENTHAL.

Mr. Cunow wished to conduct me to Nazareth, another Moravian society, six miles distant from Bethlehem, which was established so late as 1771, and is peopled with about two hundred persons, including the academy, where the brethren are instructed in arithmetic, drawing, music, mathematics, and the French and English languages. A considerable number of pupils come from other parts to this seminary, which has some reputation; but the masters appear to me very indifferent, at least

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in respect of drawing, music, and French, which they cannot speak, and which they appear to able only to read, but not to pronounce. They seem to be much inferior to the sisters academy at Bethlehem. Hence the strangers who come to study here, are not from the United States, but mostly from the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and Antigua, where the Moravian brethren have missionaries. The board, including the expence of cloathing, amounts to near two hundred dollars a year. The brethren pay for their children, and the different Moravian societies in America pay for the young brethren whom they send, when their parents cannot afford it, and for those whom the directory consider of distinguished talents. In other respects the system of the society of Nazareth is the same as that of Bethlehem, and all the others.

Near Nazareth there is another little Moravian society, consisting of thirty houses. Independent of these, there are also a number of Moravians spread through among the environs of Bethlehem and Nazareth, as well as in other parts of America; but these are only admitted to what they call the communion, and are not members of the society. Nazareth is situated in a beautiful valley, of greater extent than that of Bethlehem, and more pleasant; but the river Lehigh and Manokify-creek give to the appearance and situation of Bethlehem an agreeable richness, which is altogether wanting at Nazareth.

Before arriving at this place, we passed two farms, Christian-brown and Gnadenthal, belonging to the Moravian Unity, and thus out of the direction of the societies of Bethlehem and Nazareth. They are under the superintendance of two directors appointed by the general college, and of these Mr. Cunow, with whom I was, is one. These farms comprehend two thousand five hundred acres, of which only eight hundred and ten are cleared. They are very well situated, and the lands excellent—they bear from twenty-five to thirty-five bushels of corn the acre: those in meadow yield in proportion, and yet they do not bring the revenue a clear profit of six shillings the acre; I speak of the lands cleared. The want of hands, and the great expence of those that can be got, is made an excuse for this bad order of things, but it appears to me rather
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the fruit of ignorance and negligence. Some farms are let to tenants, who pay as rent one-half of their winter, and one-third of their summer produce; and these bring more profit to the Unity.

Mr. Cunow appeared sensible of the impropriety of the present bad management of these farms, and was employed in reforming it.

In commending, with him, the zeal of the Moravians to propagate the gospel among the Indians, I spoke to him of the benefit it would be to propagate in America a good method of culture, which would be easy to them in the establishment of their farms. They might employ some English Moravian farmers, and form in their farms a school of agriculture, where a number of young American farmers might be instructed at once. Such an establishment would undoubtedly, from the high price of labour, increase their expences for some years; but that inconvenience, which might probably be an invincible obstacle to an individual, could not be so to a society. It would soon be repaid an hundred fold by their produce, and the benefit which such an establishment would render to the country, would be an everlasting honour to this benevolent and beneficent society. Mr. Cunow appeared to me not to be insensible of this idea, the realisation of which would produce innumerable happy consequences to the United States.

THE ROAD TO EASTON.—EASTON.

The country from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and from Nazareth to Easton, is a succession of little hills and vallies more or less extensive. Many situations on this road afford very agreeable prospects. The houses are numerous, and have the air of comfort. The price of land in all this tract is from twenty-four to forty-eight dollars the acre.

Easton is built on the conflux of the rivers Lehigh and Delaware. It is the capital of the county of Northampton, which has twenty-six thousand inhabitants. The land which is the site of the town is about two hundred acres in extent, lying compactly between the river and the mountains; it is nothing but sand and pebbles, and the mountains which surround

surround it are composed of calcareous stone. The situation of this ground, its composition, and a comparison of it with other lands around, leave no doubt that it must have formerly been the bed of the rivers, which have changed their course. This city, consisting of one hundred and fifty houses, mostly of stone, contains the public buildings of the county. The inhabitants are mostly Germans, or their descendents. The city was begun to be built in 1750, and has gradually increased. Almost the whole of the land, as well as a great part of the land in the neighbourhood, belonged to the family of Penn. At the time of the revolution, a great number of persons seized upon it unlawfully; and it was not till 1794 that the Penn family were restored to their right, upon a settlement with the possessors, and received from them a price not equal to the present value, but considerably more than it was worth at the time of the usurpation. Those who refused were compelled by law.

Easton has a considerable trade in corn with Philadelphia. There belong to this city, and stand within seven miles round it, eleven good mills, upon the same construction as those of Brandywine. They send annually thirty-five thousand barrels of flour to the Philadelphia market. A part of Jersey, in the neighbourhood of the Delaware, and which enjoys no creek capable of turning mills, send their corn to the mills about Easton, as do all the county of Northampton. The Delaware is navigable for vessels of a considerable burthen a hundred miles higher than Easton. The vessels from Easton to Philadelphia carry seven hundred barrels of flour.

The town lots, which are twenty feet in front and two hundred in depth, are sold at from two hundred and forty to five hundred dollars, according to their situation. The lands in the neighbourhood are worth from twenty-five to an hundred dollars the acre. This country, like all the rest of Pennsylvania, is covered with fine orchards. They seem to begin to know something of the difference of the kinds of trees, and the advantage of grafting. The labourers are paid from four to five shillings a day in the country about Easton. Masons and carpenters receive in
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the town a dollar and a quarter. Meat costs five pence a pound, and is in great abundance. Board costs here three dollars a week, and houses let at forty-five dollars.

THE ROAD TO BELVIDERE.—BELVIDERE

The river Delaware is throughout the boundary between the state of Pennsylvania and that of New Jersey. It is narrow at Easton, and there are now collecting wood to erect a bridge over it, the abutments of which on each side are already built: until it be finished, the river is crossed in a very good ferry-boat. Being desirous of viewing the banks of this river, I went so far out of my road to follow them. The road to Belvidere, which I took, is all along through the Scotch Mountains, and the little hills, which in this tract almost uniformly border the river, amidst an agreeable succession of large vallies, from three to six or seven miles in extent. The country is filled with well built houses, pretty close together. The lands are of a good quality, and in a state of high cultivation; even some of the declivities of the mountains are cleared, and are very productive. The whole of this road presents a succession of prospects, not extensive, but rich and agreeable. In three or four places we lose intirely the little hills which border the Delaware, and enjoy a view towards Philadelphia, through vallies much more extensive, still better cultivated and inhabited than those of Jersey, and which is terminated by the Blue Mountains. These prospects are rich, varied, and delightful. The Pisquesi-creek, which empties itself into the Delaware at Belvidere, is the only water to be found in the tract from Easton, which is more than fourteen miles, and the corn of all that district is carried to the Easton mills. This creek, which has a course of thirty miles, is at Belvidere broad and rapid. Two successive falls, of from fifteen to twenty feet each, turn corn and saw-mills. The corn-mills send their flour to Philadelphia, and are supplied with grain in the neighbourhood, where it is produced in great quantities. This traffic is carried on by the Delaware; but the navigation of that river, although it is open
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for an hundred and fifty miles higher, is rendered difficult and dangerous, from the very strong currents, and the number of rocks in several parts of it. There are two or three of these rapids between Belvidere and Easton, two of them two miles from Belvidere, called the Little and Great Falls: at the latter, in three quarters of a mile of its course, the river has a fall of twenty-nine feet. The navigable canal is near the shore of Philadelphia, and is not above six toises or fathoms broad. Beyond that the river is full of rocks, a very little depth under water, and sometimes appearing above its surface. I was informed, that notwithstanding the rapidity of this current, which carries vessels at the rate of a mile in two minutes, and the number of rocks in its course, the boats are in no danger when the boatmen are attentive; but it often happens that they are not so, but get drunk, which produces frequent accidents; for if the boat be allowed to go the least to one side, and be not kept carefully in the stream, it is inevitably driven either against the rocks or the bank. The rising and falling of the waters increase the danger; and besides this, the ice uniformly stops the navigation during the winter: it is often impracticable in the spring, and even to the middle of summer. The navigation from Belvidere to Philadelphia is made in twenty-four hours, and it takes five or six days to go up the river from Philadelphia to Belvidere. Hence a hundred-weight, which costs only the fifth of a dollar to be carried to Philadelphia, costs three quarter dollars to be sent to Belvidere. The same applies to the whole navigation of the Delaware, with the difference of the freight, according to their distance. The batteaux, which come down from Belvidere, carry seventy barrels of flour. By these the stores at Belvidere are supplied with dry goods and liquors from Philadelphia, with which they, in their turn, supply that part of the country which furnishes the corn to the mills. The price of goods at Belvidere is about thirty per cent. higher than at Philadelphia. There are at present two stores at Belvidere, which are said to be in a prosperous situation.

Belvidere consists of about twenty houses, but the number of inhabitants is annually increasing, and the neighbourhood is very populous. It

is one of the pleafantest f Situations which I have hitherto feen in America. The view is not very extenfive, but it embraces a great number of gentle elevations on both fides of the river, and filled with houfes. It follows the Delaware for two miles and to the head of the Great Falls, and is bounded, at the diftance of three or four miles, by the chain of the Scotch mountains, along the fide of which the road runs towards Eafton. The lands in the neighbourhood of Belvidere are fold at from forty to forty-eight dollars the acre. The town-lots, which are a quarter of an acre, bring at prefent from a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five dollars. The lands fome miles farther are fold for from thirty to thirty-five dollars the acre, and thofe in Pennsylvania at the fame diftance are always three or four dollars dearer, although not of better quality than thofe in Jerfey. This proceeds from the fuperior excellence of the Pennsylvania laws, the more flourifhing ftate of the finances, which requires lefs taxes than in Jerfey for the expences of government; and, finally, from the dependence of that part of the ftate of Jerfey upon Philadelphia for its fale and returns.

Thefe motives, however, do not appear fufficient to occafion fo great a difference of price between lands of the fame quality, and in the fame fituation. This difference however does exift, and the Pennsylvania fide is by far the more populous.

Although negro flavery be countenanced by the laws of Jerfey, the number of flaves is not there fo confiderable as to prevent the neceffity of the labour of whites. Labourers are fcarce: the free negroes, who hire themfelves out, receive, like other labourers, half a dollar a day and their board.

I had a letter from Mr. DRAYTON, fpeaker of the Houfe of Representatives of Congrefs, to Major HOPE, one of the inhabitants of Belvidere. He was formerly proprietor of all the land on which the town is now built, and of fourteen or fifteen hundred acres around it, which he purchafed thirty years ago, for four dollars an acre. At that time it was in a defert ftate. He has retained only three hundred acres, on which is built a pretty but very fmall houfe that he occupies. He received me
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with that cordial politeness and simplicity which I have found all through America, and would have had me stay with him a week, assuring me that it would put him to no trouble or inconvenience. I departed however after having passed half a day with him.

This country, as well as all the way I travelled from Philadelphia, is full of little birds of the size and kind of a blackbird; they are black, but their head is of the most brilliant plumage. They fly from branch to branch, and on the inclosures round the fields, and do not seem to be frightened at the approach of travellers.

The most common trees in the woods are the cephalantus, the black and white walnut, the Canada beech, the sumach, the rhus toxicodendrum, the laurel, the benjamin and the sassafras.

HACKETSTOWN.

A succession of hills, preceding the chain of the Scotch mountains, leads to Hacketstown, where I slept the 25th of June. We meet then constantly mountains and descents through a very rocky country; although, sometimes, the road runs for a mile or two through valleys. This road presents nothing agreeable to the view. Except these first hills nearest the Delaware, all the rest is thinly inhabited, and of course poorly cultivated. The houses are rudely built of trunks of trees, and have a miserable appearance. Occasionally we meet with buildings somewhat better, but these are few. We see also meadows of considerable extent. This indeed is the most usual kind of agriculture in these mountains; where, however, we find also some rye, corn, and maize, which is little cultivated on the Jersey side of the banks of the Delaware. Apple orchards are likewise very common.

Five miles from Belvidere is Oxford-forge, so called from the name of the township in which it is situated. This work had been given up for some years, and was lately renewed by Mr. ROBERDEAU, and Mr. CAMPBELL, with whom I dined at the house of Major Hope: it is not yet carried on with spirit. Five miles farther is Mintsmill, so

called from the name of the proprietor. The river is crossed by the bank of the mill, which is very narrow, and a foot deep of water when the mill is not going: the water then falls about twelve feet, and is twenty fathoms wide. A little canoe, which was lying by the bank, frightened my horse, who, to save himself, leaped into the canoe, which he overfet; but, although I run a great risk, he carried me out safely, and better than he would have been able to do from the cascade into which we must have fallen, but for this ridiculous leap. This is the same Creek Piqueffi which I passed before on a bridge four miles higher. The lands are indifferent in all this tract; they sell for six or seven dollars an acre. The generality of the inhabitants are Germans or sons of Germans; there are also a number of Irish, and people from New England. Hacketstown is a long paltry village, thinly and badly inhabited. It lies half a mile from the Scotch mountains, which are called Cooly, or the Mufkinigunk Mountains. The water is brackish and very bad. Fevers are also frequent here in autumn, which is the case in all parts of Jersey, particularly those to the north and the middle of the state. The lands at and about Hacketstown are sold at from six to nine dollars an acre, and are generally kept in meadow. The produce which is not consumed in the country, and all the articles of iron manufactured at the forge, are carried to New York, or rather to Elizabethtown, from whence they are shipped for New York. Four thousand pounds of hay is the general produce of an acre, and eighteen or twenty bushels of rye, or Indian corn, in the lands under that culture. Labourers are found rather easier this year than in the two preceding ones, trade being less quick at New York. They are paid at Hacketstown three quarter-dollars a day, if they board themselves, or the half of that sum with their board. The country abounds in iron mines, which are said to be very rich, and are found at a very small depth.

Three miles from Hacketstown there is a spring of ferruginous mineral water, pretty much frequented in summer, and it would be still more so if better fitted up, but the spring is scarcely covered. An old cask, standing in the open air, and covered with a bunch of willows, is the common

mon bathing place; there is no other: and as there is no house built at the place, those who come to drink the waters are obliged to lodge in the neighbouring farm-houses, and if they wish to drink wine they must carry it with them. The property of the ground in which the spring is situated being under dispute between two persons, there is no saying when this place, which would produce great profits to one that would arrange it conveniently, will receive any melioration.

About two miles before reaching Hacketstown, at the foot of a mountain which I ascended on foot, I perceived in the wood, sixty or seventy feet from the road, something of considerable size, the form of which I could not distinguish, but it seemed to hang on a tree: this was towards evening. I went up to it, and it appeared to be a dead animal, but having touched it with my whip, it leaped to the ground; it went slowly into the wood, emitting a foetid smell. It was an opossum, of which I had seen a great many at Philadelphia, but had not before found them in the woods. This one must have been a foot and an half long, including the tail, which was about half a foot. The tail is flat and covered with a kind of rough scales, which enables it to suspend itself from the trees. They are very common in Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The remarkable peculiarity of this animal is a kind of bag, which the females have under their belly, where they keep their young from the time they are brought forth, and where they remain till they are able to run. These animals live on fruit, flesh, and on birds, when they can catch them. There are also in Jersey rats and racoons. The skin of the racoon sells at Philadelphia for two or three shillings. The hatters mix the hair of it with beaver and rabbits hair to make hats. Some persons consider a racoon a delicate morsel; to me it was execrable, although I ate it more readily than I did young bear, which I found excellent.

THE ROAD TO MORRISTOWN.—REYNHARD.

In travelling from Hacketstown we cross the Creek, Muskinigunk, which falls into the Delaware five or six miles below, and these are the last

last waters that take this course; the Scotch, Cooly, or Muskinigunk mountains, throwing them the other way. This chain of mountains, as I have already mentioned, is a continuation of the Lehigh mountains. The creeks beyond them run either into the Bay of New York or the North River; but those only that are in the northern part of the state take this course. These mountains are not very high, but are the highest in Jersey. They are about a mile broad. The lands are very indifferent and thinly inhabited; and the few inhabitants are talking of emigrating towards the western territory, or to Tennessee. Great part of them are Germans. At the foot of these mountains we cross one of the sources of the Rariton, a river by which is carried on the navigation between Brunswick and New York. Here we quitted the county of Sussex, which contains nineteen thousand free inhabitants, and a hundred and fifty slaves. My horse was so hurt with the saddle that I was obliged to stop at the first tavern I found. I happily fell upon the house of one of the worthiest and most obliging men living, REYNHARD, of German extraction, who took charge of my horse till it should be healed, which might take a fortnight, and who lent me one to go to Morristown, where I could find the means of getting to New York. He is proprietor of a farm of three hundred and forty acres, for which he paid, two years ago, five dollars an acre, being the common price in the country. The state of culture and the prices are pretty much the same as on the other side of the mountains; the lands are however better. They have sown no corn since four or five years ago, when the Hessian fly destroyed two successive crops. They propose to recommence that culture next year, these flies appearing to have quitted Jersey. The township where Mr. Reynhard's tavern is situated is called Flanders. It is in a great measure peopled with Irish, or emigrants from New England.

There are two churches in the neighbourhood, one of Methodists, and the other Presbyterians.

In Jersey, as well as Pennsylvania, the expence of worship is defrayed by voluntary subscription. No person pays who does not chuse, and there are many who contribute nothing.

Mr.

Mr. Reynhard also keeps a store. The price of carriage from his house to Elizabethtown, thirty-two miles distance, is three dollars and three quarters the thousand weight. The price of stores is here five and twenty per cent dearer than at New York; but a person must be both skilful and fortunate to clear half the profit of what so high a price seems to promise. The greatest sale is of liquors, and the number of neighbours who come to drink without paying is considerably greater than of those who do pay. It is, therefore, necessary to follow the practice of courts; the one half of the money of those who pay remains here, as elsewhere, in the hands of justice. A store-keeper, who should refuse to give credit, would here sell nothing: so at least I was told by the worthy Reynhard. Other articles pay better, but do not make a quick return. Although the legal currency of the state of Jersey is the same with that of Pennsylvania, namely, seven shillings and sixpence the dollar, the great traffic with New York makes the New York currency (eight shillings the dollar) more common in that part of Jersey, where this commerce is carried on; and in that currency they make their markets and state their accounts.

THE ROAD FROM REYNHARD'S TAVERN TO MORRISTOWN— MORRISTOWN.

The country, after leaving Flanders, is every where mountainous; they become lower and lower as we proceed, but we do not entirely lose them till within a few miles of Morristown. All this way the houses are very indifferent, and very thinly scattered. The lands seem to be somewhat better. The most common crops are grass, rye, and Indian corn. The bread used in this part of Jersey is mostly of rye, as bread of Indian corn is most common in New England.

Morristown, the capital of Morris county, which we enter on crossing a branch of the Rariton, is a pretty village, consisting of a hundred houses, dispersed over the hillocks around. Here is the court of justice, a Presbyterian church, and the great square laid out for the centre of the town, but which can never be regular from the situation of the grounds.

Besides

Besides the Presbyterian church, which is tolerably handsome, there is another belonging to the Anabaptists, and an academy, well built and respectably conducted. The scholars sent away from this are fit for the second class in the college of Princetown.

All the houses in Morristown are of wood, neat and well painted. The town-lots cost from eighty to a hundred and twenty dollars. Here, as in all this part of Jersey, most of the ground is in grass and Indian-corn. They rear a good many cattle, which they send to Philadelphia and New York. The fear of the Hessian fly has prevented the farmers here from resuming the culture of corn; some of them, however, mean to attempt it next year. There is at Morristown a small "Society for the encouragement of Agriculture and useful Arts." From what I could learn of some of the most zealous of its members, it has only the title—it does nothing: the subscription of the members furnishes a library, which at present consists of no more than two hundred volumes, and in which, according to the sensible institution of the founders, there are to be no books either of law or divinity.

CHATHAM AND NEWARK.

Chatham, lying eight miles from Morristown, is the first village we find on the New York road. Here the plain commences, and afterwards the ground becomes uneven as far as Newark. The agriculture and vent for the produce, all the way to Newark, is nearly the same as at Morristown. The country is still more covered with orchards of apples, cherries, and peaches. They complain in Jersey of a small worm, which insinuates itself into the roots of the peach trees, and kills the tree in a year or two after it has attacked it. They have not been able to discover either the cause of this worm, or a method to destroy it. Peach-brandy is nevertheless nearly as considerable an article of commerce in Jersey as cyder-brandy.

The inhabitants of Jersey, best informed upon that subject, told me, that they export more of these two kinds of brandy than they export of rum, wine-brandy, gin, and wine. Their export must therefore be great,

as the consumption of foreign spirits is not less considerable in Jersey than elsewhere.

The red fruit, of which there are several kinds unknown in Europe, abounds in the county of Essex; bounded by the river Passaic, a mile from Chatham, which contains seventeen thousand free inhabitants, and thirteen hundred slaves.

Lands sell at Chatham, and at Springfield (four miles beyond Newark), at from thirty to forty-five dollars the acre. The soil is good; the houses increase in number and become better as we approach Newark, which is itself one of the finest villages in America, in point of extent, plan, the great number of good houses, and the wideness of the streets, which are covered generally with turf, and planted with trees.

The people of Jersey seem to be very much divided in their political opinions. No body, or at least very few, now speaks of George Washington. The new President seems not to inspire the same confidence as his predecessor did. They dread a war with France. They constantly ask any traveller coming from Philadelphia whom they meet, and who appears to be a Frenchman, whether they are to have a war with France; and this question is generally accompanied with evident marks of disapprobation of the party which is thought to incline to that war. I sincerely hope no such event will take place. It would be a great misfortune to this country, where the people are virtuous, tranquil, and happy, and which will require yet a long duration of the blessings of peace to confirm its prosperity, to cement its union, to sweeten the ill blood of parties, and to insure its real independence. It would also be a serious misfortune to France, while it would occasion great joy to England, and would give pleasure to all the enemies of liberty and free constitutions.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF JERSEY.

The first establishments made in New Jersey were by the Dutch, shortly after their arrival at the north river, under the conduct of Admiral HUDSON. The settlements were made along the river Delaware;

and were abandoned by the same Dutchmen in 1614. They were, in 1626, taken possession of by the Swedes, who, advised by WILLIAM USELING, a rich merchant of that kingdom, of the beauty and fertility of the lands, formed a company. King GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the nobility and clergy, and a number of individuals in Sweden, furnished money to the company, who sent to North America, in seven or eight vessels, a considerable number of Swedish and Finlander colonists. They arrived at Cape Henlepon in 1626, and the company's agents purchased from the Indians all the lands situated between that cape, at the mouth of the Delaware, and the falls of that river, lying under the forty-first degree of latitude. The colony there formed settlements, built forts along the river, and called the country New Sweden; but were intirely dispossessed and driven off in 1655, by the Dutch, who sent to Holland all the agents, officers, and principal Swedish inhabitants, as prisoners of war; put the country under the Dutch government, and gave it the name of New Albion. The Dutch were themselves expelled by the English, in the reign of Charles the Second; and this territory was, in 1672, granted by the king to his brother the Duke of York. It was soon after sold by him to Lord BERKLEY and Sir GEORGE CARTERET, who gave it the name of New Jersey, and established at Elizabethtown the seat of government of the colony. The colony of New Jersey made part of the province of New York till 1680, when the proprietors established it as a separate province.

A considerable number of Quakers from London and York came here to settle, and laid the foundation of the little town of Burlington, having purchased the territory from the Indians. That on the east side of the Delaware was purchased by William Penn, who was one of the company known under the name of *The Twelve Proprietors*, and is the district which afterwards formed the state of Delaware.

The quarrels which took place between the proprietors of New Jersey and the inhabitants, from the avidity of the former, determined both parties to put the government of the colony under the sovereignty of the crown of England. It was then united to the government of New York, and

continued

continued so till 1730, when its population having greatly increased, it was once more erected into a separate state. In 1776, New Jersey formed its new constitution, which it has retained without any alteration since that period.

THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS OF NEW JERSEY.

The legislature is composed of a general assembly and a legislative council. Each county, of which there are in New Jersey thirteen, names three members of the general assembly, and one of the legislative council.

The qualifications to be a member of the general assembly are—a residence in the county for at least a year, and a property of five hundred pounds, or thirteen hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third.

The qualifications of a member of the legislative body are—a similar residence, and a property, real or personal, of one thousand pounds.

The qualifications of an elector are—to be twenty-one years of age, to be resident for a year in the county, and to possess a fortune of fifty pounds.

The legislative council, as well as the assembly, can propose and modify any laws, except those relative to the finances, which they have the power merely of confirming or rejecting.

The governor is elected by the legislature; and the constitution prescribes no qualification of age, fortune, or any other, for that office;—it simply says, that the legislature shall elect a proper person to fill it.

The duration of the functions of the two houses of the legislature, and of the governor, is one year.

The same person may be elected governor as often as the legislature chuses to appoint him.

The legislative council is the governor's executive council; three members form a sufficient number to exercise with him the executive functions. The governor unites the functions of president of the executive council, chancellor, and commander of the forces: he can, with the advice of the executive council, grant pardons, even of high treason.

The council is also a court of appeal from the decisions of the courts of law; but the council must, in this case, consist of at least seven members, with the governor.

The nomination of the judges, the superior officers of the militia, the justices of the peace, the attorney-general, and the secretary of state, is made by the council. All other officers are elected by the counties, except the officers of militia, who are chosen by their companies.

The judiciary state consists of a supreme court, a court of common pleas, and justices of the peace. The judges of the supreme court are chosen for seven years; the others for five; and they may be re-elected. An impeachment against them is made by the legislature, and judged by the council.

Uncontrouled liberty of conscience is granted by the constitution; which even declares, that no tax can be imposed for supporting public worship, repairing churches, &c.

The constitution gives the accused the same privilege of producing testimony in his favour, as is allowed to the accuser against him.

The constitution declares, that the property of suicides is not forfeited to the state, but ought to pass to their heirs, as in cases of natural death; nor does the instrument by which the death was inflicted become, as in England, the property of the state. In general it confirms the English laws, where they are not revoked.

Full liberty of bequeathing is given; and in respect of wills there is no alteration of the English law, except the addition of some simple forms, required to constitute their validity.

The property of persons dying intestate is divided into three parts; one-third to the widow, and the other two divided equally among the children, or their representatives;—in default of children, the widow enjoys one half, and the other half is distributed among the nearest relations. If a person die intestate after the death of his father, and leave no widow or child, his fortune is divided equally between his brothers, his sisters, and his mother.

According to a law of 1792, marriages may be performed by a minister

ster of the church, or by a justice of peace, in the option of the parties. The marriage instrument must be sent to the secretary of the county, and registered in a book, which is evidence in the courts.

Divorces, which formerly were granted by the legislature, are now pronounced by the court of chancery, in virtue of a law of 1794. They are granted in cases of adultery—repeated bad treatment—desertion for seven years—and also in cases where the marriage has been contracted between persons within the degrees of propinquity prohibited by the laws of the state.

Every imprisoned debtor may, by a law passed in 1795, be set at liberty by the court of common pleas, upon his surrendering all his property, according to a declaration made by him before that court, except some very trifling furniture for him and his wife. If his declaration be proved false, he is punished with the pains of perjury. If, after his sentence of liberation, it can be proved, that in his declaration he has concealed any part of his effects, such effects are to be made over to his creditors, besides his being punished. But the property which he may acquire after his discharge is not subject to be claimed by his creditors.

By the criminal code, revised in 1796, the punishment of death is confined to persons convicted of high treason, premeditated murder, and attempts to rescue from prison those accused of capital crimes. All other crimes are punished by greater or less fines, and a longer or shorter solitary confinement. It is the legislation of Pennsylvania a little softened. A law of the last session has directed the erection of a prison, on the model of that of Philadelphia, where similar works are to be established.

The negro slaves are subject to the same laws, and tried before the same tribunals. The courts may order them to be whipped, instead of being imprisoned. The pain of death is not inflicted on a master for the murder of his slave; but in that case, or where he wounds him severely, he is punished by fine and imprisonment. There is no restriction upon slavery in the state of Jersey, nor is there any law yet made to put an end to it; but a law of 1788 directs, that all slaves under the age of twenty-one
years

years be taught to read, charges their masters with this duty, subjecting them, in case of neglecting it, to a fine of twelve dollars and a third. The introduction into the state of other slaves is forbidden, by a clause in the same law.

The highways are repaired in this state by the labour of the inhabitants, but may, in their option, be converted into money.

The stage coaches belonging to Philadelphia and New York, are subject to a duty to the state of Jersey, for the repairs of the roads through which they pass.

The poor-laws are the same as in most of the other states. Poor-houses are established in several counties, and relief is also given to paupers at their houses, under the direction of inspectors of the poor.

The law for the observance of Sunday is here equally strict as in New England. Every inhabitant has a right to arrest a traveller who is going any where but to a place of worship, and carry him before the officers of justice. The stage coaches are not to travel upon a Sunday, under pain of being seized; but this law, although of a recent date, is only executed in the other states where it is promulgated. They travel through Jersey on Sunday, in the same manner as on other days; and even the public stages, which do not travel during the morning service, are not interrupted during the rest of the day, more than if this prohibitory law did not exist. The same is the case in respect to the laws against gaming and drunkenness. Lastly, there has been passed, in the beginning of this year, an act against horse-racing; which in all probability will be put in execution no more than the other two, as it would clash too much with the habits of the people; and because, were the public officers even to be most strictly watchful, there would be so many ways to evade their vigilance. Will men never then leave off making impracticable laws, or allowing laws not executed to be in force! Governments do not sufficiently consider, that there cannot be a more certain way of destroying the morals of a people; for the first point of morality, especially among a free people, is an entire obedience to the law, and to all the laws.

The state of Jersey encourages those works which have for their object

ject the facilitating communication by inland navigation and bridges, and also for the erection of the college ; and for these they allow lotteries, which are otherwise prohibited in the state. Every inhabitant who purchases a ticket in a lottery not sanctioned by a law of the state, and even in the lotteries of other states, may be carried before the magistrates, and punished by a fine.

A law of New Jersey, passed in 1704, authorises any foreigner, belonging to a power at peace with the United States, to acquire and possess property in the state, as if he were a citizen. This privilege ceases at the end of 1799, but it will undoubtedly be renewed.

The laws of the state impose taxes on lands cultivated and uncultivated ; houses, and the lots on which they are built, not exceeding ten acres ; forges, furnaces, mills of every kind, tan-works, passage-boats, ships, fisheries, horses, and cattle ; and lastly, merchants keeping shops, and batchelors, either keeping horses and slaves or not. Carriages of every kind were also taxed before the beginning of the present year, when a law was made to abolish that duty.

All these objects of taxation are valued from time to time at a certain rate by the legislature ; the lands by a scale of degree according to their fertility and situation. The valuation is every where low.

An assessor, appointed annually by each township, demands of every inhabitant a declaration of his taxable property, and makes up a statement of it. Any person refusing to give such declaration, or giving a false one, may be charged by the assessor double what he estimates may be the tax of the person refusing.

Horses and cattle are taxed at the same rate throughout all the state. The taxes upon licences, slaves, &c. never vary, and are called specific taxes.

On a day appointed, all the assessors for the county meet, and bring with them the statements of the taxable property of their several townships. The amount of the specific taxes payable in the county is then calculated, and the difference between these and the sum required from the county is assessed upon the different townships, according to the opinion

opinion of the majority of the assessors. The detailed statement of these assessments, signed by each assessor, is transmitted to the collector for the county.

Each assessor then gives to the collector of the township a state of the sums he is to collect. A similar list is sent to the collector for the county, to be by him laid before the legislature.

Three proprietors, named by the general assembly of each township, are the judges of appeal to whom the persons taxed have a right to apply.

If the collector do not receive the tax in the course of a month after demanding it, he makes a complaint to a justice of the peace, who grants a warrant to sell the defaulter's goods, to the amount of the tax and charges.

The collector for the township pays the amount of the money received by him into the collector for the county, who pays into the treasurer of the state the amount of the money received from all the collectors of townships in the county.

The law has provided against the negligence and dishonesty of the collectors, by making the townships and counties who chuse them, responsible for the monies received by them.

The assessors receive for their trouble one and three quarters per cent of the sums they assess: the collectors for townships have the same allowance. This three and a half per cent is levied with taxes of the township. The commissioners of appeal are paid a dollar for every day they are employed. The collectors for the counties receive a penny in the pound, or the two hundred and fortieth part of the sums they pay into the treasury of the state, and six-pence a mile for travelling expences. They are paid by the treasurer.

The taxable articles, according to the low valuation of the particulars by the legislature, amounted, in 1794, to three millions four hundred and fourteen thousand eight hundred and eighty two dollars.

The taxes are paid regularly and promptly in the state of Jersey.

The expence of government amounts yearly to about twenty-seven thousand

thousand dollars. In 1796 the state still owed one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, but from the additional taxes and some other resources, this debt will probably be entirely extinguished in four years.

According to a statement of the balance of the debts between the different states by the commissioners of Congress, the State of New Jersey is a creditor to the Union in forty-nine thousand dollars.

The articles on which the county taxes are raised are the same as for the state taxes.

POPULATION AND INSTRUCTION.

The population of the State of New Jersey was, according to an enumeration made in 1791, one hundred and eighty-four thousand one hundred and thirty inhabitants, including eleven thousand four hundred and twenty-three slaves. Its extent is calculated at about eight thousand four hundred miles square, which gives somewhat more than twenty-two inhabitants to the mile square. The increase of population in this state is inconsiderable, there being a good deal of emigration. Habit more than necessity induces this, for the quantity of uncultivated land is yet considerable; it is in general capable of raising good crops, and the price is not high. We may perhaps consider as one great cause of this emigration, that New Jersey is peopled from all nations, whence there is among the inhabitants less of a national spirit towards the state, if I may so express myself, than in any other part of the United States. Besides, these people of different nations, settled in Jersey, live more in separate districts than in any other of the states; and when there is any emigration from a particular district, it generally consists of a number of families.

There can be no where less attention paid to education than there is in Jersey. The legislature of the state have never yet taken it into their consideration. Some schools are kept in certain townships at the expence of such of the inhabitants as chuse to contribute to them. The number of these is not considerable. They pay poor salaries to the master, who of course is ignorant and negligent. Thus no people in the

United States appear to me more ignorant than the inhabitants of Jersey; and, although the state has, as I have already mentioned, a good college at Princetown, and some of the inhabitants are men of merit and understanding, the proportion of persons of education is much less here than in any other of the states.

Toleration in religion being unbounded in New Jersey, all sorts of sects are established; and have places for worship; but the Presbyterians are by far the most numerous.

Few of the families in Jersey make cloth or linen for their use; they purchase almost all they want. The facility with which they can procure foreign goods from New York and Philadelphia contributes, no doubt, to this defect of domestic economy in the people of the state.

COMMERCE.

Although in Jersey is situated Amboy, one of the best ports in the United States, accessible from the sea, and by a single tide to all sorts of vessels, it has no foreign trade. Its vicinity to New York and Philadelphia induces its inhabitants to get every thing from these cities. The communication with them is at once easy and secure. The sale of their produce is more certain and quick, the price better, the choice of returns greater, and the credit longer; and, lastly, old customs: such are the reasons which have always rendered fruitless the attempts of the legislature of Jersey to attract merchants to Amboy and enlarge its trade. The country furnishes corn of all kinds, plenty of wood, lintseed, iron, leather, salt-meat, and is particularly famous for hams. In the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia are raised much poultry, and they cultivate a great quantity of pulse; but a very small portion of all these articles of produce is exported from Amboy. A number of the vessels loaded with it descend the Rariton, pass before Amboy, and proceed with their cargoes to New York.

The value of the exports from Amboy, in 1791, was seventeen thousand four hundred and three dollars; in 1792, it was nineteen thousand seven

seven hundred and twelve dollars; in 1793, it was forty-nine thousand six hundred and seventy-three dollars; in 1794, it was fifty-eight thousand one hundred and fifty-four dollars; in 1795, it was one hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and seventeen dollars; and, in 1796, it was fifty-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-nine dollars.

The state has three other small ports where there are custom-houses; Burlington, on the River Delaware; Bridgetown, on the bay of that name; and Great Egg Harbour, on the sea coast; but none of them has any thing of what may be called trade. It often happens that in a whole year there does not sail from them one foreign vessel. This may be seen from the total exports of New Jersey, in which are included those of Amboy, whereof I have given the amount. The whole of these exports amounted, in 1791, to twenty-six thousand nine hundred dollars; in 1792, to twenty-three thousand four hundred and five dollars; in 1793, to fifty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-eight dollars (the three small ports exported nothing); in 1795, to one hundred and thirty thousand eight hundred and fourteen dollars; and, in 1796, to fifty-nine thousand two hundred and twenty-seven dollars.

PATERSON FALL.

The fall of the River Passaick, about twenty miles from New York, is one of the most noted in North America. It should be visited by all those who admire natural curiosities. The course of that river through rocks, which it has rent in precipitating itself from a height of sixty-six feet, presents a grand spectacle. From the appearance of the soil there seems formerly to have been two courses, but which by some convulsion in nature have fallen into one. At the fall it is from twenty to twenty-five feet wide. On the day I visited it the sun shone bright; the weather was hot, the wind pretty high; all which circumstances combined to give great beauty to this magnificent scene. There is an agreeable view from the upper part of the fall over a tolerably well cultivated plain.

The little town of Paterson is built at the foot of the fall. It contains

a variety of machinery, but all in a state of decay. In 1791 a company was formed for their establishment, but its funds were soon consumed, indeed before they were completed. A lottery was granted by the State of Jersey to assist it, but was not attended with success. They talk of new efforts. Certainly no situation can be better adapted for all kinds of machinery.

This town was called Paterfon, after WILLIAM PATERSON, formerly governor of New York, and who is at this day one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States. He is one of the most respectable and enlightened men in the country. He was appointed by the legislature of New Jersey to revive and publish their code of laws. The law which conferred upon him the commission, gave him even a power to alter the criminal laws, and to him is owing the reform in the penal code which I have mentioned.

The stones that form the basin into which the river falls are mostly sandy. There is a kind of hard granite very common in all the plain, lying in a compact bed of basalt. The flints that are found in the bottom of the fall, being the fractures of the rocks above, are of the same nature. The river below the fall runs through a flat and marshy country, and in consequence its course is very slow and undulating.

I waited upon Mr. Paterfon at New York, where I remained a considerable time. In the following book I shall give the observations which I collected respecting that great state, the second of the Union for riches, for the spirit with which it is cultivated, and for the extent of its commerce.

STAY

STAY AT NEW YORK, IN AUGUST 1797.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

SUCCINCT HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK.

THE state of New York belonged originally to the Dutch. It is true, that before that some plans were formed to colonise this country, but they were very vague.

Elizabeth, Queen of England, had, in 1584, granted to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, a patent to occupy, under the sovereignty of the crown of England, all the country of North America, not in the possession of any other Christian Prince.

James the First, disregarding of that patent, divided this immense possession, then known under the name of Virginia, and which extended from Carolina to Nova Scotia, between two companies. To the former, called *The Company of London Adventurers*, he granted the right to establish colonies, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude; and to the other, *The Plymouth Company*, a similar privilege, from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degree. But the lands thus granted, and even their coasts, were then in a great measure unknown.

HENRY HUDSON, in a vessel belonging to the Dutch India Company, first discovered Long Island, and ascended the great northern river, to which he gave his name. The Dutch, ignorant of the grants made of these countries to the two companies, and paying no regard to it, declared themselves the sovereigns; in 1614 they sent there a colony, which
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built the towns of Fort Orange and New Amsterdam, calling the country itself New Holland.

James the First having sent some forces to lay waste the new settlements, the Dutch proprietors preferred to a hopeless resistance the more safe and prudent measure of acknowledging the English sovereignty, thus preserving their possessions, on payment of a tribute to England.

The troubles of that kingdom, during the latter part of the reign of Charles the First, enabled the Hollanders to shake off the English yoke, which indeed they had repeatedly before attempted. They succeeded also in destroying a Swedish colony, settled upon the Delaware. But afterwards Charles the Second sent troops from Europe, who without difficulty seized New Holland, and expelled from thence the Dutch, who on their part proceeded to invade Surinam. Charles the Second, having thus got peaceable possession of this vast territory of the continent of North America, granted the western part of it to his brother the Duke of York, and New Holland got the name of New York, New Amsterdam also changing its name for that of New York; and this extensive province reached from the banks of the river St. Laurence to the mouth of Hudson's River, without encroaching upon the limits of the Plymouth Company.

Such is briefly the history of the province of New York, up to the late revolution.

THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

This province was much longer than any of the other colonies in beginning their opposition to England. Its great commercial connections with that kingdom, and the circumstance of English troops being constantly stationed in the town of New York, supported a spirit of aristocracy and dependence. At length it followed the example of the other states; and its legislature, assembled at Kingston, formed, in 1777, a constitution, upon the same principles with those of the other states.

This constitution is neither introduced nor followed up by any declaration

tion of rights; and its preamble, which recites the different acts of the general congress, seems to be rather an excuse for that constitution, than the effervescence of liberty and resentment, which appear to have dictated almost all the others. Each county names one or more members of the assembly of representatives. The constitution fixes their present number at seventy; it also determines provisionally the number to be elected by each county. A new enumeration is to be made every seven years; and when the number of electors is in any county increased one-seventeenth part, such county is to return an additional deputy. The whole number is never to exceed three hundred; and precautions are taken in that event to proportion the number of members of each county to the excess of population. The members of the assembly are chosen for one year.

The electors must be twenty-one years of age—must possess a clear property of twenty pounds, or fifty dollars; or rent property in the county to the amount of forty shillings, or five dollars a year at least—must pay taxes to the state, and reside in the county.

The senate, by the constitution, is composed of twenty-four members; but this number is only fixed temporally, like that of the members of the house of assembly.

The members of the senate are chosen by districts, the state being in this view divided into four. The number of senators which each of these districts is to elect, is also determined by the constitution. When on the new enumeration there is found an increase of a twenty-fourth part in the population of the district, such district is to appoint one more senator, and so on, till the senate consists of one hundred members, which number it is never to exceed. The senators are elected for four years, and a fourth part of them is annually renewed.

The electors for the senators must be freeholders, and possess a clear property of the value of a hundred pounds, or two hundred and fifty dollars. The list of electors of both classes amounted, in 1795, to sixty-four thousand and seventeen.

The electors who have the qualification required for voting for members

bers of the senate, also elect the governor and lieutenant-governor; but in these elections they vote by counties.

The legislature assembles annually the first Tuesday in January; but it may be called together oftener by the governor, and it can adjourn itself.

The governor and lieutenant-governor are chosen for three years.

The governor is commander of the forces both military and naval: he may grant pardons of every sentence, except in capital cases, where he can only suspend the execution, until the matter be finally determined by the legislature. The nominations to offices, civil and military, are made by the council of appointment, at which the governor presides. This council is composed of four members of the senate, one from each district; they are appointed every year by the assembly, and cannot be named two years successively.

If the governor should be absent on any account, the lieutenant-governor takes his place: he is president of the senate.

The chancellor, the judges of the supreme court, and the chief judge of every county, are named by the council of appointment. They continue in office during their good behaviour, but never after they are sixty years of age.

The sheriffs and coroners are appointed annually, and cannot continue in office more than four years. The military commissions are revocable at pleasure.

The governor has power to refuse his consent to laws, with the advice of the council of revision, which is composed of the chancellor and the judges of the supreme court. But such refusal must be given in the course of six days; and the bill must be sent back, accompanied with the reasons of refusal, signed by the members of the council. The bill, notwithstanding this refusal, becomes a law, if two-thirds of each house persist in it. The bills approved by the council are returned to the house from which they proceeded, with the subscription of the governor only.

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The members of the council of revision receive no salary nor allowance for that function. Their sittings must be during the session of the legislature.

The treasurer of the state and of the counties are appointed by the legislature.

The constitution guarantees the grants of land made by the kings of England previous to the month of October 1775, and annuls all those made since that period.

The electors for the nomination of the president and vice-president of the United States, are, by a law of the 12th of April 1792, chosen in the state of New York by the two houses of the legislature.

TAXES.

The taxes in the state of New York are imposed in the gross by the legislature, and afterwards assessed by it upon the different counties, according to the value of the properties respectively contained in them.

That first division being made, the inspectors of each township meet by counties, and determine, after the same rule, the part to be raised by each township.

The inspectors and the assessors make in each township a similar division among the individuals; and for this purpose, they are by law directed to inform themselves of the amount of the property, moveable and immovable, of every person. The taxes being thus assessed, they are levied by the collectors, and remitted by them to the treasurer of the county, who pays the same to the treasurer of the state.

No object of taxation is specified in the laws; no principle prescribed for valuing property; no means taken to obtain from the individuals a declaration of their property; whence the assessment of the taxes by the legislature, the inspectors and the assessors, can be determined only by an arbitrary estimate of the general and relative riches of corporations and individuals.

The following is the manner in which they annually proceed to make the assessment.

In the month of April every year the inhabitants of the different townships elect an inspector, from three to seven assessors, and one or more collectors.

Every inhabitant chosen to these functions must accept of them, or pay a fine.

The assessors meet, after having taken an oath for the faithful discharge of their duty; they make an estimate of the property of each inhabitant, distinguishing real from personal property, and set down such estimate in a list, which is signed by the majority of them, and transmitted to the inspectors before the end of May, under the penalty of a fine of twenty-five pounds, or sixty-two dollars and a half, to the use of the county.

The inspectors of each county meet the last Thursday in May, and from that estimate of the assessors they assess the tax upon the different townships, adding to the tax of the state that necessary for the expences of the county, and the maintenance of the poor in every town. The statements are sent by the inspectors to the collectors of every division, with an order to levy the taxes conformably to them. From the first of the money raised, the amount of the sums ordered for the support of the poor is paid to the inspectors of the poor of each town; and the remainder, including the part required for the taxes of the state, is paid into the hands of the treasurer of the county.

The county treasurers are appointed by the inspectors of taxes, and must give security.

The orders for levying sent by the inspectors to the collectors, authorise them to sell the effects of the persons taxed in case of non-payment; and in default of moveable property, the produce of their lands.

When the collector is in arrears, the treasurer of the county directs an order to the sheriff to sell his property, real and personal, to the amount of the value of the taxes unaccounted for. He is however acquitted of this penalty, on satisfying the treasurer of the county, upon oath, of his not having been able to obtain the payments.

When the state has imposed taxes for its use, the treasurers of counties are, before the end of March, to send the amount of this part of the taxes

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to the treasurer of the state, with the reasons for any deficiency in the levy, in default of which the same steps are to be pursued as against collectors in arrear.

It is the duty of the county inspectors, at their annual meeting, to examine the deficiency in the levy of taxes imposed the preceding year; and if, notwithstanding the report of the collectors, the inspectors are of opinion, that the persons who have not made good their payments are able to do so, they are intitled to direct anew such levy.

If they approve of the reports of the collector, or if they are satisfied of the insolvency of the collector himself, they add an additional sum to the amount of the deficiency, for the township which has not made good its payment, and the sums first levied the year following are appropriated to make up such deficiencies in the former year's taxes.

The allowances made to the inspectors and their clerks, and to the assessors, are included in the annual county rates. The collectors are intitled to deduct five per cent from the amount of their collection. The sheriff receives two and an half per cent of the sums he levies upon the collectors in default. The treasurer of the county has a commission of three quarters per cent on the sums received.

The total expence for the assessment and collection of taxes in the state of New York, is estimated at from fifteen to twenty per cent of the sums levied.

There has been no tax for the state since 1788; it was that year fifty thousand dollars, three fourths of which was paid into the treasury the first year; the rest was not completely paid in two years.

As to the taxes necessary for the expences of the counties, they are annually fixed at a meeting of all the inspectors of each township and town, and are imposed, upon the same principle with those of the state, at so much a pound of the estimated value.

The poors rate is regulated at the same meeting, on the report of the inspectors of the poor named by the inhabitants; but each town supports its own; and the state has, in order to prevent the settlement of the poor in their territory, or their change of residence from one town to another,

enacted laws, which are in some measure, but not entirely, free from the faults of the English poor-laws.

The few poor there are in the state are to be found chiefly at New York, which, like all great towns in the different parts of the world, contains at once more riches and more wretchedness than towns less populous and commercial, and still more so than in the country.

THE CIVIL LAWS.

The laws relative to intestates at New York, as in all the other states of America, divide the property equally among the children, after allowing a third to the widow; but the liberty of bequeathing is in this state, as well as the others, reserved entire; and the manners, especially in the great cities, and among the rich, are not in this respect so republican as the laws.

The roads are made altogether by the labour of the inhabitants of the township through which they pass. Every individual is obliged annually to contribute twenty days labour, or more, on the roads. The commissioners are directed to proportion justly the number of days, according to the circumstances of the persons who are to contribute. Personal labour is commutable for money, at the rate of half a dollar a day. The use of a carriage and horses is received as an equivalent for three days labour. The justices of the peace are the head inspectors of the highways, and determine questions respecting them. Individuals who make roads at their own expence, and for their own use, may erect gates on them. The townships are divided into highway districts, for the more easy execution of this law, which was made in 1784. In certain cases where there is an extraordinary public advantage, or any particular difficulty in forming roads, as well as in other circumstances, the state gives some assistance. In spite of these laws, the roads in general are very bad in this state.

There are in the state of New York no bankrupt laws; but there is a law respecting insolvent debtors, which is nearly the same thing. This law was made in 1788, and has since received some trifling and immaterial alterations.

Every

Every debtor, who cannot or will not pay his debts, may be imprisoned by the courts of justice; and he cannot be liberated from prison, but upon a petition of three-fourths of his creditors to the court of chancery, the supreme court, or other court in the state.

Those of his creditors whose debts are secured by any mortgage, cannot concur in such petition. The court to which the petition is addressed may decree the prisoner's discharge, upon taking his oath that he has given a just account of his effects and debts, and that his petitioning creditors claim no more than the exact amount of the debts due to them.

In the prisoner's declaration of his property real and personal, and the release he executes of it, are comprised all effects which he may succeed to by inheritance; but the judgment pronounced of his liberation, discharges from all claim the property which he may thereafter otherwise acquire.

There are great complaints in the state of New York of this law, as very unjust. An honest debtor, who has become insolvent from misfortune, remains for a series of years, often all his life in prison; he is not liberated, but perhaps from the neglect of his creditors to pay his subsistence, and then he is in a state of wretchedness; while the fraudulent debtor gives a false statement of his property, conceals part of his disposable effects, and falsely putting down as creditors his friends, who are made to form the three-fourths of his creditors, he presents a petition for his enlargement, obtains it, and then freely enjoys that part of his fortune of which he has defrauded his real creditors.

The law, it is true, appoints punishment by fine, for persons appearing falsely as creditors; but that proof is never to be got. Unfortunately, in this, as in other cases, a debtor who is a rascal is better off than one who is honest and unfortunate.

They talk much of amending this law; but it still exists, and is extremely injurious to trade, morality, and virtue.

The laws of New York do not allow foreigners to acquire landed property; for this it is necessary to be a citizen of the state, or of the United States. The legislature however grants, without much difficulty, exceptions

ceptions to this general prohibition, and there are few sessions in which such grants are not made to foreigners. In other respects, the right of citizenship is easily acquired.

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

The criminal jurisprudence of the state of New York was, until last year, the English law in all its rigour. The example of Pennsylvania has, however, prevailed over ancient custom; and in the last session the legislature has reformed it, after the mild and reasonable code of that state.

Premeditated murders, and robberies committed in churches, are at present the only crimes punishable with death. The latter part of this law affords rather a painful consideration—that in a state which allows all religions to be equal, where every one is at liberty to contribute or not as he thinks proper, to the support of any kind of worship, and where robberies, even made with an armed force in dwelling-houses, were only punishable by imprisonment, this great additional severity should have been made against robbery in churches. A remnant of the barbarous prejudice, which proves the influence of priests, could alone rank this species of robbery with premeditated murder. Had reason been consulted, it could only have been classed with ordinary robbery in a dwelling-house; indeed it is undoubtedly less dangerous in all its consequences, than a robbery in an inhabited house, there being nothing to steal in churches but benches and prayer-books. But in the state of New York, as elsewhere, opinion is more powerful than law; and the consequence is, that criminals guilty of this kind of robbery are generally acquitted by the juries, who think it their duty to be more just than the act, which is thus rendered a dead letter; all respect due to the law is thus taken away, which proves its impropriety.

There are some other laws of this state to which similar observations will apply. Such, for example, is that passed in 1788, that condemns every person who gets drunk to pay a fine of three shillings, and to stand in the pillory for two hours, and inflicts a fine of six shillings for every oath;

oath; another law of the same date, which forbids travelling on Sunday, under a like penalty of six shillings; and lastly, an act of the same year, which inflicts a penalty of five times the sum lost on every person losing at play more than twenty-five dollars in the space of twenty-four hours.

An old established government might find some pretext for not revoking obsolete laws, which are not and cannot be executed, but there is no excuse for a legislature to make new laws of that description. Governments are yet too little persuaded that public order can rest only on the most absolute obedience to the law. A single law allowed to remain unexecuted, gives a great shock to respect for the laws, and when its not being executed proceeds from its execution being impossible, from the manners, opinions, and other circumstances, it is the legislators who are to blame, that the law loses the veneration necessary to it in a well-established order of society.

The new criminal code of the state of New York, enacted in 1796, directs that two state prisons shall be built, one at New York and the other at Albany, and prescribes their regulations, which are nearly the same as those of the prison of Philadelphia. The expence of erecting and supporting them is to be defrayed by the state.

SCHOOLS.

The legislature of New York has also, in 1795, made a step towards the establishment of free schools in its territory; but little has yet been done, nor does there appear any certainty that they ever will be established.

Twenty thousand pounds, or fifty thousand dollars, are annually appropriated to the funds of the state, "to encourage and support, in the different towns and townships of the state of New York, schools in which children shall be instructed in the English language and grammar; in arithmetic, mathematics, and other most necessary and useful branches of knowledge, so as to furnish a complete English education."

Each county, according to its known population, receives a part of this sum,

sum, in the proportion regulated by the legislature. The inspectors of each county subdivide among the different towns the proportion allotted to the county. Each town must add, for the same purpose, from a tax raised among themselves, a sum equal to half of what it receives from the state.

The mayors, aldermen, and municipalities of the towns of New York, Albany, and Hudson, are the head inspectors of their towns, and may, as they judge most proper, apply the sums collected to this purpose, either in supporting the schools already established, or the charity-schools, or in the establishment of new schools. The same powers are given in the townships to the head inspectors of the schools, who are elected by the freeholders.

Two commissioners for each school, chosen in the same manner as the inspectors, are to superintend the management of the schools, the appointment of masters, &c.

This sum of twenty thousand pounds given annually, is only for five years. The establishment of free-schools is not prescribed by the law; and the admission of negro children, or those of colour, even in the charity-schools, is left to the discretion of the head inspectors.

The establishment of free-schools through all the state, an object so truly desirable, and the advantage of which is incontestibly proved by the example of Massachusetts, is not then a necessary consequence of this liberal donation of the legislature of New York. Some are established; elsewhere the sums are applied to the improvement of the schools already existing, and which are of no utility but to those in easy circumstances; lastly, the children of slaves, and even of free negroes, have not a right to that education, which would be the first step towards their solid, their useful emancipation. This law then is far from uniting all the advantages to be expected from a great state, engaged in the important object of the education of youth, and making sacrifices to that object. What a difference between this law and that of New England upon the same subject!

Another law of 1796, which, like that respecting schools, is meant to facilitate

facilitate public education, incorporates the societies formed in different counties and towns for the establishment of public libraries. This law gives the legislative sanction to such establishments, but does not grant one shilling of the state's money to promote them.

SLAVERY.

The state of New York is not one of those which appear to have the most liberal ideas as to slavery. It is therefore natural, that the laws, which in every country follow more or less the public opinion, should also in this respect be rather illiberal.

It is easy to conceive why, in the southern states, the great number of slaves render their emancipation difficult, and why this difficulty gives a pretence for the opinion of the necessity of severe laws against slaves; but in the state of New York, where in a population of more than four hundred thousand souls, there are not twenty thousand negroes, it is impossible to conceive what so great obstacles there can be to the emancipation, and upon what they can found their opinion, that on account of this trifling number of negroes there is a necessity for more rigorous laws against them than against persons of another colour.

Be this as it may, a law, so late as 1788, confirms the state of slavery in every negro, mulatto, and mestee, who was a slave at the time of its enactment; declares every child born, or to be born of a female slave, to be a slave; authorises the sale of slaves, and subjects them for petty crimes to be tried by justices of the peace, who may sentence them to imprisonment or whipping. One clause of the act subjects them to this trial, and to this kind of punishment, for striking a white person, without any exception in the case where the white man is the aggressor. The privilege of a trial by jury is, however, allowed to a slave, if the crime of which he is accused be capital. He is also permitted to adduce evidence in criminal cases, where other negroes are implicated.

The new criminal code, founded in general on principles of humanity and justice, does away none of the truly unjust and barbarous enactments.

of that law. At the same time, slaves are generally treated with greater mildness by their masters in the state of New York, and less oppressed with labour, than they are in the southern states. The manners, in this respect, prevail over the rigour of the laws; but the manners are here, as in many of the other American states, impregnated with avidity and avarice. This disposition alone prevents the abolition of slavery. It has been frequently proposed in the legislature; but hitherto every measure, even of a preparatory nature, has been rejected. Although the disproportion of free men to slaves is so great, that the greater part of the inhabitants of New York possess no slaves, the small number of those who do possess them are the richest and greatest proprietors; and in the state of New York, as elsewhere, such persons have the principal influence.

The respect due to *property* is the arms with which every proposal for their enfranchisement is combated. I have heard one of their most enlightened lawyers, a gentleman who in all other respects entertains the most liberal opinions, insist, "that it would be an attack upon property, to declare even the children of female slaves free; for (said he) the masters who have purchased or inherited slaves, possess them under the idea that their *issue* shall be their property, which they can employ or dispose of."

Thus, while in Virginia they assert, "that it is impossible to abolish slavery, without exporting at once all the negroes in the state,"—in New York they say, "that it cannot be thought of to abolish slavery, or take any steps with that view, without paying to every proprietor of a slave the present value of their negroes, young and old, and the estimated price of their expected descendants." This is certainly throwing every possible obstacle in the way of the abolition of slavery, and shewing themselves fairly inimical to such a measure.

The obstacle presented by the citizens of New York is the least difficult to conquer. Admitting the principle of the necessity of an indemnification to the masters for their negroes, on their being made free, and valuing each negro at one hundred and thirty dollars, the whole amount would

would be only three millions of dollars. This price would still bear reduction, from the powerful motives of public interest and honour, to which every member of society must make sacrifices.

The question of the property of children unborn would not take a quarter of an hour to discuss, if it were agitated in the legislature; lastly, this enfranchisement, if made as it ought to be, by degrees, would cost the state much less sacrifices; and being done in succession, it would be almost imperceptible in their finances, which, besides, could certainly not be more worthily employed.

At New York, as elsewhere, the enfranchisement of the negroes ought to have for its end the advantage of the state, its good order, and the benefit even of the negroes to be made free. Were this measure too quickly and suddenly general, it would fail as to different objects of the first necessity. I shall not here repeat what I have observed in another place in that respect, and what so many others have said before me. The expence to the state then would be reduced to a very small sum, in comparison to the utility and the duty of the measure. But while the state of New York, surrounded with the examples of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, does nothing towards this liberation, but seems to approve of the permanence of slavery by the silence or the refusal of its legislature, it leaves its constitution and its laws stained with a blot which, without exaggeration, may be called dishonourable, as it cannot be excused, or even palliated, by any circumstances existing in that state.

The exportation of foreign slaves into the state of New York is prohibited by the same law which confirms the slavery of those who were in the state at the time of its enactment. This disposition therefore in that law, and the mild manner in which the slaves are here generally treated, is a confirmation of the opinion, that pecuniary interest, more than a real approbation of slavery, prevents the legislature from proceeding in this respect with that justice and judgment with which their other deliberations are for the most part conducted.

THE MILITIA.

A law of 1793, passed in consequence of the militia law of the United States, regulates the formation and the government of the militia of the state of New York. It is distributed in four divisions, one for each of the grand districts of the state. Each of these divisions is commanded by a major-general, and subdivided into different brigades, each brigade into different regiments, and these again into companies. The number of these corps is left at the discretion of the commander in chief (the governor of the state), who is guided in this respect by the population of the different districts and counties. A company of artillery and a troop of cavalry is attached to each brigade.

The militia are to assemble three times in the year; twice by companies, and once in their regiments. The companies of artillery and cavalry are embodied on the orders of the major-general of the division.

Courts martial, for the cognizance of military offences, are ordered by the governor, the general officers, and the major generals of the divisions, and also by the field officers of regiments, &c. according to the rank of the accused. A fine is the most usual punishment for neglect of duty, &c. and such fine cannot exceed twenty-five dollars for the first fault, nor a hundred and twenty for any subsequent offence. Dismissal is the highest punishment which a court martial can inflict on an officer, and in this case the sentence of the court martial must be approved of by the commander in chief.

In the case of fines, the sentence must be approved by the commandants of division or brigade, according to the rank of the officer, and of the commander in chief, if the officer convicted be a commandant of division. The subalterns and privates are sentenced to a fine by a council of officers of their regiment or brigade. These fines are appropriated to the general expences of the regiment, such as the purchase of colours, drums, &c. Besides the persons excepted from public duty by the general law of the United States, the following exemptions are made by the law of the state of New York, namely, the governor, the members
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of the legislature, and their officers, the chancellor, the judges, the secretary, the treasurer, the auditor, the attorney general, the chief surveyor, all the inferior officers of justice, including jailors, two boatmen for each passage-boat, where the roads cross rivers, all the clergy, physicians and surgeons, (except in so far as their professional services are required) professors and students, school-masters engaged in that profession for three months or more, persons belonging to the post-office, one man for each corn mill, all the firemen belonging to insurance companies, and the persons employed in iron works and glass works. Every other free man, from eighteen to forty-five, is subject to militia duty, except Quakers, who are relieved upon payment of three dollars annually. The governor, in his character of commander in chief, may call out the militia in case of invasion, or in any other particular emergency.

THE FINANCES.

The state of New York is rich. Its annual revenue, proceeding from the interest of money, lodged mostly in the banks of the state, and in that of the United States, is two hundred and thirty-four thousand two hundred and eighteen dollars. There has not, as already mentioned, been any general tax for the state imposed since the year 1788.

The annual expence of the civil list is about seventy-five thousand dollars, and the money expended by the public treasury upon the university, the college, the hospital, schools, and casualties, exceeds this sum.

The state still owes two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, mostly treasury-bills granted during the war. In this sum is not included the debt due to the United States, which the commissioners of accounts have ascertained to be two millions seventy-four thousand eight hundred and forty-six dollars; and it appears that the State of New York is less disposed to pay than any other of the United States debtors.

TRADE.

Of all the towns on the continent, New York is best situated for trade. It is the only port in the state, and is one of the greatest and most flourishing in America.

All

All the produce of the state is brought to New York by water-carriage, as well by the river as by canals, which the legislature are unremittingly employed in completing, and which will establish a free communication between Lake Ontario and this port. Another intended canal is to run from Lake Champlain and Hudson's River, by which the productions of Lower Canada will be conveyed directly to New York. The length of this canal will not exceed eighteen miles; it is to terminate at South Bay, which communicates with Lake Champlain.

New York also receives, by its noble river, all the productions of that part of Massachusetts, situated on the west of the Green Mountains, and of that part of the state of Vermont, which is in the same tract.

The impossibility which the State of Connecticut finds of extending its commerce for the want of a sufficient capital and good ports, adds to the trade of New York all that of Connecticut. New York is also the place of exportation of most of the provisions from New Jersey, as well as of the importation necessary for this state, which, as we have already seen, carries on little or no trade at its fine port of Amboy.

None of the states is more rapidly increasing than New York. All its new lands, to the west of Albany, along and behind the Mohawk River, which were not formerly inhabited, are peopling very fast. The immense country, extending from the Mohawk River by the Wood Creek, as far as Lake Ontario, and which has, at different times back, been purchased by companies on speculation, begins to be divided and cleared. In that still larger tract, which runs to the south of Lake Oneida, as far as the boundaries of Pennsylvania, there are a number of settlements still farther advanced. Genesee, which was in a manner a desert four years ago, is peopling beyond every expectation; and all the immense territory of the State of New York is now inhabited, except a tract between the river Genesee and that of Niagara, which was acquired from the Indians only last month, and a small part still retained by the Indians, which they will soon be obliged to dispose of to speculators.

These lands will be soon inhabited; they are good, some of them of the first quality; and the flats of the Genesee, which I spoke of in my journey

journey in the year 1795, are at least equal to the German flats along the Mohawk River, which has been considered the richest land in America. This country will be peopled by the inhabitants of New England, the most industrious, active, and enterprising of all the United States; and if, as is expected, the obstructions in the navigation of the River Oswego and Wood Creek were removed; if the canals projected, and already begun, to join Wood Creek and Mohawk River; and the canal to make Mohawk River, navigable as far as Albany, were completed; and if the sand bank in Hudson's River, six miles below this town, in the midst of the islands called Overlaugh, which at present prevents large vessels from going up to Albany, were, as it is thought practicable, cleared away, New York would enjoy a great part of the fur trade.

This year two small sloops have already made this voyage from Niagara. But what was to them a matter of labour, will undoubtedly be soon made easy for larger vessels, and will add much to the prosperity of all the states of New York, and particularly its capital.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the place of the greatest trade in the United States. The amount of its exports in 1791 was two million four hundred and ninety-one thousand and fifty-four dollars; in 1792 it was two million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand and ninety-five dollars; in 1793 it was two million nine hundred and eighteen thousand three hundred and three dollars; in 1794 it was five million four hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and twenty dollars; in 1795 it was ten million three hundred thousand six hundred and forty-two dollars; and in 1796 it was twelve million two hundred and eighty-eight thousand and twenty-seven dollars.

The articles of commerce are the same as in the other principal ports of the United States; and these, as well as in all the others, the re-exportation of the produce of the Antilles makes a great part of their exports. I have not been able to procure equally satisfactory details in respect of the imports, exports, and tonnage of this great port as I obtained in several others; for having requested from Mr. Wolcott, secretary

cretary of the treasury, a letter to the collector of the customs, by which means alone I could get the information, he said that in the present political situation of the United States with France, such compliance to a Frenchman was impossible: and although I saw in this the personal disposition of the secretary of the treasury, and that this statesman did not wish to disclose what he considered political secrets to one whom he looked upon in some degree as an enemy, I was obliged to submit to his harsh answer. The value of the exports from the State of New York in 1788, was one million nine hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Potashes are more exported from New York than from any other port of the United States. That commodity is here, as in all the other states, subjected to inspection, and it is the only article that is always sold for ready money. All the other articles of produce subject to be inspected in the other states are so in this. The examination of flour, although more strict than in the southern states, is less so than at Philadelphia.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

New York is, next to Philadelphia, the largest and best town in the United States. These two cities rival each other almost in every respect. Philadelphia has hitherto had the advantage, but from the fine situation of New York there is reason to expect that sooner or later it will gain the superiority.

It is calculated that this city contains at present upwards of fifty thousand inhabitants. There have been no less than four hundred and fifty new houses built here in this present year. It is increased and beautified with unheard of quickness; a circumstance owing, no doubt, in a great measure, to the immense benefit its trade has derived for these two or three years from the present state of Europe. But if peace diminish, as it certainly will, their excessive profits, the extension of the cultivated lands and settlements in this vast territory, the produce of which will find, directly or indirectly, a vent by Hudson's River, will insure a solid foundation, independently of all foreign circumstances, for the increasing prosperity of the trade of New York. To all these advantages New York

adds

adds that of lying more to the eastward, and nearer to the sea than any port in America, except Boston; and it is never choaked up with ice, although that part of the bay, which is formed by the mouth of the river and the sea, is sometimes frozen so hard as to make an easy communication on the ice between the city and the islands called Governor's and Staten Islands.

New York is built at the extremity of the island of Manhattan, now generally known by the name of New York Island. This island, which is fifteen miles long, and three broad at the widest part, is formed by Hudson's River and East River, improperly so called, it being nothing else than an arm of the sea, which separates Long Island from New York Island and the continent. The first houses of New York, then New Amsterdam, were built in 1614 by the Dutch. The English made themselves masters of it in 1684, and retained it till 1783. It was the last town on the continent which they quitted.

In 1775, when it was evacuated by the American troops, the best part of the town, and that situated next the fort, was, as the Americans say, burnt by the English, and, according to the English, by the Americans.

This quarter of the city has been rebuilt since the peace, and is now one of the handsomest parts in it. The town had formerly been built without any regular plan, whence every where almost, except what has been rebuilt in consequence of the fire, the streets are small and crooked; the foot-paths, where there are any, narrow, and interrupted by the stairs from the houses, which makes the walking on them extremely inconvenient. Some good brick houses are situated in these narrow streets; but in general the houses are mean, small, and low, built of wood, and a great many of them yet bear the marks of Dutch taste. The new part of the city built adjoining to Hudson's River, and parallel with its course, is infinitely more handsome; the streets there being generally straight, broad, intersecting each other at right angles, and the houses much better built. There is not in any city in the world a finer street than Broadway; it is near a mile in length, and is meant to be still farther extended; it is more than a hundred feet wide from one end to the other.

Most part of the houses are of brick, and a number of them extremely handsome. From its elevated situation, its position on the river, and the elegance of the buildings, it is naturally the place of residence of the most opulent inhabitants. Broadway is terminated, at one end, by a handsome square, in the front of which is the governor's house, built in a very good stile of architecture, upon the spot where the fort stood before the revolution. The demolition of this fort has also left between the governor's house and the river a large space, which has been formed into a public walk, upon the banks of Hudson's River, and from thence round to East River, commands a view as far as the narrows at the entrance of the roadstead. Thus, in this promenade, the eye embraces at once all the outlets of this great port, and sees all its shipping come in and go out. This walk, which is called the Battery, might undoubtedly be kept in better order, and be made more agreeable to the use it is intended for, by planting some trees, &c. but as it is, its situation makes it incomparably the most delightful public walk any where to be found.

The fortifications erected upon Governor's Island, to defend the entrance of the harbour, are partly of brick and partly of earth; they are in a respectable state of defence. The works were begun three years ago, upon a very good plan, by M. VINCENT, a French engineer, and eighty thousand dollars granted by Congress have been already expended upon them; but it will take a great deal more to complete them; and this must be expended regularly, and without delay, which is seldom the case with works of this kind in the United States. It appears, however, evident to me, that to fortify the heights of Long Island, would be alone an effectual defence of the harbour of New York; at least that it would be an indispensable addition to its security, as there is nothing to prevent an enemy from landing in some places in that island; and having possessed themselves of these heights, they might soon become masters of New York, which they could easily destroy by their artillery.

New York was, till last year, the seat of the legislature of the state, which has been since that time transferred to Albany. The building in which the legislature held its sittings, and which contains also the courts

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of justice, is one of the most elegant, or, at least, the most spacious in the city. It is, however, much inferior to the descriptions given of it in all the American Gazetteers.

There are here nineteen places of worship, belonging to different religions. Of these the Trinity Church and St. Paul's are the largest and most elegant. St. Paul's is the episcopal church. The bishop, the ministers, and the rector are paid from its revenues, which there, as in all the others in America, are increased by letting out the pews. The monument erected by order of Congress to the memory of General Montgomery, who was killed at the siege of Quebec, in 1795, stands against one of the outside walls of St. Paul's Church.

There are three markets at New York, but all of them small and narrow, very much inferior to those of Philadelphia, both in size, and in neatness, and regularity. They are supplied from Jersey, and, in a great measure, from Long Island. The nearness of the sea makes the fish-market be better supplied here than at Philadelphia. All the trade of consequence is carried on by East River, where likewise come the vessels from Connecticut. It is only the vessels belonging to Hudson's north river that land their cargoes at the keys upon that river.

The water is, in general, bad at New York, although in some quarters it is less so than in others. There is a pump placed at the extremity of the city, where those families that are not satisfied with the wells and common pumps, get their water. The spring which supplies this pump belongs to one of the inhabitants, and is by him let for twelve hundred dollars, to a person who is said to sell daily from fifteen to twenty thousand gallons, and sometimes more. This water is known in the town by the name of *tea water*.

But I have said enough of this city. All the accounts which I could give of it would not equal the descriptions to be found in most of the American almanacks. I shall therefore confine myself to a few words on its public establishments.

HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC CHARITIES.

An hospital fit to contain a hundred and fifty patients, is supported at New York at the expence of the state.

In this hospital are admitted all the poor inhabitants of New York, and even strangers. An order, signed by one of the directors, is all that is required; and from the number of patients, which seldom exceed sixty, it appears that this facility of admission is not abused.

Those patients who can afford it, pay to the institution two dollars and a half weekly for their expences.

A skilful physician visits the patients regularly once a day; and a young physician and an apothecary live in the house. The students who attend the physician in his visits, pay, as at Philadelphia, a small sum towards forming a library. More attention seems to be paid here to the patients than at Philadelphia; or, at least, the hospital is regulated so as to be of more benefit in the instruction of the pupils, and even of the physicians. A very correct journal is kept of the different diseases, their management, the effect of the medicines, &c.

Upon the whole this hospital seems to be well managed, but the patients labouring under different disorders are not kept sufficiently apart, which is principally owing to the small number of the sick. The hospital having been burnt during the war, it has been rebuilt partly by subscription, and partly by the public money. It is at this time supported altogether by the state, who have endowed it with the sum of twelve thousand five hundred dollars paid annually by the treasurer. The directors have applied for an augmentation of this sum, which is required for the additions and ameliorations as well of the buildings as of the ground surrounding it. They will obtain this augmentation from the wise liberality of the legislature, which never refuses useful and beneficial expences, although they might sometimes employ them with more advantage and judgment than they have done.

The poor's-house is supported by a poor's-rate raised among the inhabitants of the city, and is under the direction of inspectors of the poor.

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There are generally from six to eight hundred paupers kept in this house, besides six hundred more who received assistance from it during winter. The building was erected last year, and cost twenty-five thousand pounds, or an hundred and thirty thousand dollars. It is kept remarkably neat, and the poor well treated. A great number of these are infirm, decayed, and children, so that the only labour that can be expected from them is the kitchen-work, washing, sewing, and working in the garden belonging to the house.

The annual expence of each pauper is calculated at forty pounds, or an hundred and fifty dollars. The annual poor's-rate amounts to thirty thousand dollars, and is in proportion to one third of the whole taxes raised in the city in those years where there is no extraordinary expence.

If a poor's-house be any where proper, it is undoubtedly in a great city, but, in my opinion, it is seldom a good institution either in a political or charitable point of view. According to the acknowledgment of the inspectors of the poor at New York, the poor-house of New York produces paupers.

It is astonishing, that we see nowhere in America the establishment of benefit-clubs, where the working class might, by contributing a small part of their earnings, secure to themselves, in their old age, a support arising from their economy, which would prevent that kind of shame ever attending the receipt of public charity, and would be, in its effects, as beneficial to the morals of the people as to the finances of the state, and its true prosperity. Such institutions should therefore receive every public encouragement.

A numerous society, called the *City Dispensary*, provides also, by subscription, for the relief of the indigent sick, in providing them with medicines. A physician, a surgeon, and an apothecary, are appointed and paid by the society to give their advice to the patients who attend there in virtue of an order from a member of the society. In cases of necessity they are also to visit the poor at their own houses, and to inoculate them if required. The subscription is five dollars a year, which gives the member a right to have two patients at all times on the list; and a mem-

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ber may nominate more upon the additional payment of two dollars and a half for each. A subscription of fifty dollars is the qualification of a member for life. This society annually relieves from seven to eight hundred sick. It is a kind of institution common to all the large towns of the United States, and seems to be one of great utility.

At New York, as in all the great trading towns on the continent, there are a great number of prisoners for debt. A society has been established by voluntary subscription, which provides amply for the wants of those debtors who have no other recourse to procure garments and bed clothes. The juries called in courts of law, who are allowed a shilling a day each for their attendance, generally also give up this small salary to the above purpose. The relief thus granted to the poor prisoners amounts annually to five or six hundred dollars.

There are several other charitable societies established at New York, all with a view of relieving the unfortunate, the sick, and of different descriptions; each of which has its particular regulations.

This is the proper place to mention the relief granted by the state and city of New York to the unfortunate colonists who escaped from St. Domingo, and which has been continued ever since the year 1793, when it was begun.

Immediately upon their arrival at New York, a subscription was quickly raised for their relief, amounting to the sum of eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-four dollars, and since that time eleven thousand two hundred and fifty dollars more have been granted by the legislature of the state for the emigrant colonists. The state of New York has had also the distribution of seventeen hundred and fifty dollars, as their proportion of fifteen thousand dollars voted by Congress in 1794 with the same intention; so that the unfortunate colonists of St. Domingo have received from the state of New York the sum of twenty-four thousand six hundred and twenty-four dollars, or an hundred and thirty-two thousand nine hundred and seventy French livres.

The benevolent spirit which induced the subscription and vote for these sums has also presided at their distribution. Immediately on their
arrival

arrival houses were taken to receive those most destitute of resources; they were there supplied with food, clothing, and fuel; the less necessitous received a small weekly allowance of from six to twelve dollars, according to the number of their family. By degrees these succours became less necessary. France provided for the support of a great number of families; a number of others, from time to time, returned to the colonies, or proceeded to France; but the state of New York has never ceased to exercise its benevolence, and there now are raised funds to secure the French families in the city who are destitute of resources, against the wants and severity of the approaching winter. The distributors of these succours have been LAWRENCE EMERY and RICHARD LARÆNER, both Quakers, who deserve every praise, and the particular gratitude of all Frenchmen, for the goodness, the justice, and the unremitting attention with which they have discharged this honourable function. Richard Laræner is now the sole agent, Lawrence Emery having been dead for these two years.

BANKS.

There are two banks established at New York; one of these is a branch of the bank of the United States, and is conducted in the same manner, and under the same regulations, as the other branches of that bank; the other is the bank known by the name of the *New York Bank*. It was incorporated in 1791; its capital is nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in nineteen hundred shares of five hundred dollars each. The rules and the business carried on by this bank are similar to those of the others established in the United States, particularly in Pennsylvania. In its administration, and in all its transactions, it is absolutely independent of the state, which, by a particular regulation, may purchase as far as a hundred shares, but has no farther vote in the deliberations, than in proportion to its shares as an ordinary proprietor. This bank deservedly enjoys the confidence of the public. Its dividends are about nine per cent per annum. The present value of shares is about twenty-five per cent above their original price.

PRISONS.

PRISONS.

I have before mentioned that the criminal jurisprudence has been reformed in the state of New York, and, with the exception of the crime of robbery in churches, has been made altogether similar to that of Pennsylvania: that new system necessarily produced the present regulation of prisons. The legislature of New York have been anxiously engaged in this particular, and in the construction of a prison at New York for state convicts; and in the mean time, since passing the law, it has been ordered to delay building the prison at Albany.

The new prison at New York is already nearly finished, and it is upon a very complete plan. Its walls inclose four acres, and nothing is wanting in respect of security, extent, good air, division of the different classes of prisoners, facility of superintendence, and every other circumstance necessary to this sort of institution, and will, without doubt, be one of the most perfect buildings of its kind. It may give some idea of the liberality of the legislature of New York in defraying expences for public utility, to state that this prison will cost upwards of nine hundred thousand dollars. It will not be entirely completed till the next year, but in the present year the chief of the lodging part will be finished, and the *convicts* are to be removed thither in the course of a month.

This prison is intended for that class of prisoners only; prisoners for debt, and those committed by the police, being confined in separate prisons. It were to be wished, that it had been built within the city, from which it is about half a mile distant, as it would in that case have been in less danger of being forced from without, and the persons in confinement rescued. But the city of New York is extending so rapidly on that side, that in a very few years it is probable the prison will not be thus insulated: and even now it is not at so great a distance but assistance may be easily got when necessary.

The internal government of this prison will be conducted, as at Philadelphia, under inspectors, principally Quakers. One of those, THOMAS EDDY, whose philanthropy, virtue, and zeal, merit equally the esteem
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of the public, will render this institution in no respect inferior to that of Pennsylvania. He is one of the most excellent of men, his first wish being to do good to others. In giving him this praise, I do not mean to detract from the merit of his coadjutors, who, he assures me, are animated with the same sentiments as himself; but, as I happen not to be acquainted with them, I cannot speak from my own knowledge.

The convicts are at present confined in the ordinary prison, and are well superintended: four or five of them are in the same apartment; but they are not made to work, the place not permitting it. In the same range of buildings where the convicts are kept, is the house of correction, for women confined by order of the police. It is the old system of the *Salpetriere* at Paris, in all its imperfections. I could not see, without horror, two or three girls, twelve years of age, arrested as public prostitutes; and one of them was there for the second time. The vices of large cities are every where alike.

THE COUNTRY ABOUT NEW YORK.

The island of New York being the only place round the city that can be reached without crossing water, the ground there has risen to an enormous price. In this place the most opulent inhabitants of New York have their country seats. Among these, that of Mr. OLIVE is most distinguished for its simplicity and taste, and for its pleasure-grounds, planted with all the European trees, reared with an attention very uncommon in America, and which is fully recompensed by its success. Mr. Olive's house is still more remarkable for the truly patriarchal and hospitable life he there leads. He passes at this villa all the time he can spare from his business as a merchant, and has the happiness to be, with one of the most accomplished of wives, surrounded by a charming family. He is of the first rank among those Frenchmen whom no private interest could induce to make them forget that of their country. The Americans allow, that this disposition is more common among the French, than among any other people.

The soil is in general bad in the island of New York; it sells however higher than any of the grounds in the environs of Philadelphia.

The land in Long-Island, which is the dearer in proportion to its vicinity to New York, is of a very inferior quality. In other respects, however, that island is extremely agreeable. The land, although very indifferent, is well cultivated, the market of New York furnishing a certain and profitable vent for their produce. Yet towards the middle of the island there is a good deal of ground, of a light and dry sand, that has been hitherto considered as unfit for cultivation. Although I went through the whole of this island, I do not consider it sufficiently interesting to enter into any details respecting it, such as I have given of my other journies. In a space of four hundred miles square, Long-Island contains, according to an enumeration made in 1790, thirty-eight thousand two hundred and nineteen inhabitants, including four thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine slaves.

THE MANNERS OF NEW YORK, AND NOTICES OF PERSONS INCIDENT TO THE SUBJECT.

Every thing is still dearer at New York than at Philadelphia: the shops are not so well supplied, and the shopkeepers not so civil and obliging.

The manners are the same at New York as in the other large towns in America, throughout all the different classes of society. In point of hospitality, the inhabitants hold a middle degree between those of Philadelphia and those of Boston.

Their political opinions were more favourable to England two years ago than they are now; and it is at present doubtful whether Mr. Jay, who owes his election as governor of the state to that disposition, will be re-elected the ensuing year.

I had great pleasure in again meeting here Mr. Hamilton, who, as I have already mentioned, is one of the most interesting characters in America: he unites, to an enlarged understanding, a great degree of courage and

and firmness, with mild and extremely agreeable manners. It is generally thought, and apparently with some foundation, that he strongly influenced, and even directed the conduct of General Washington in the last years of his presidency. Mr. Hamilton is, more than any other of the federalist party, exposed to the ill-will of the opposite party: he is a very eminent Barrister at New York, and his professional conduct is highly liberal. Born without a fortune, he quitted the office of secretary of the treasury without a fortune, when the circumstances of the consolidation of the public debt, the extensive sales of land, &c. gave him immense opportunities of becoming rich, without the risk of public censure, if he had chosen to profit by them; but a disinterestedness in pecuniary matters, every where rare, but particularly so in America, is a universally allowed trait in Mr. Hamilton's character; and I have been informed, by his clients, that their only contest with him is respecting the smallness of the fees he requires.

Colonel BURR, who is also one of the most distinguished characters in the United States, for the extent, precision, and clearness of his judgment, for his acquired knowledge, and for the delicacy and generosity of his sentiments, and whose friendship I have enjoyed for these two years, made me acquainted with the aged General CLINTON, formerly governor of the state of New York, who is now as ardent in his love of liberty as he was at the age of thirty; and as he has devoted himself during the whole course of the revolution, and since that period, to establish and preserve the liberty of his country, he also has a number of enemies in the federalist party; but, from what I have seen, and from what I know of him, I consider him a man of the most estimable character.

Another inhabitant of New York, whom I frequently met during my last stay there, where my intention of returning soon to Europe induced me to keep little company, is EDMUND LIVINGSTON, one of the most enlightened and eloquent members of the opposition party in congress. When the American politics, coming round towards England, restrained public expressions of attachment to the unfortunate Lafayette, whom they knew in fact more as the prisoner of George the Third, and under

the influence of that monarch, than that of the Emperor, and prevented any attempts being made to loosen his chains; Edward Livingston more than once raised his voice in congress, to engage them to take proper steps towards the deliverance of that unfortunate but estimable character, and to call the honourable attention of congress towards his son. Although Edward Livingston is too young to have served with Lafayette in America, and could have no particular tie to him, he saw in his cause that of the friends of liberty, that of America, and he has supported it with warmth. He has always been seconded by a number of his colleagues, and often by the majority; he would have been so by the whole, in any other state of political dispositions.

I shall be pardoned for adding the name of KOSCIUSKO to the list which I delight in commemorating. There is no heart friendly to liberty, or an admirer of virtue and talent, in whom the name of Kosciuszko does not excite sentiments of interest and respect. The purity and liberality of his intentions, the boldness of his undertakings, the able manner in which he conducted them, and the misfortunes and atrocious captivity which have been their consequence, are too well known to require repetition. It is also well known, that Paul the First signalised the commencement of his reign by the enlargement of this respectable sufferer, whose imprisonment and barbarous treatment made every generous mind condemn Catharine, if the whole life of that infamous woman, blackened with crimes and vices, could be sullied by an additional crime. In America, where he served with distinction in the war of the revolution, has Kosciuszko come to seek an asylum. He lodged, when I saw him, at the house of the brave General GATES, in whose army he was employed at the memorable affair of Saratoga. The consequences of his wounds, which still prevent him from the free use of one of his legs, and his rigorous confinement, have impaired his health, but it now begins to be re-established. Simple and modest, he even sheds tears of gratitude, and seems astonished at the homage he receives. He sees in every man who is the friend of liberty and of man, a brother. His countenance, sparkling with fire, discovers a soul which no circumstances can render dependent,

pendent, and expresses the language of his heart, *Shall I never then fight more for my country?* He speaks little, particularly on the misfortunes of his country, although the thought of these occupy his whole soul. In a word, elevation of sentiment, grandeur, sweetness, force, goodness, all that commands respect and homage, appear to me to be concentrated in this celebrated and interesting victim of misfortune and despotism. I have met few men whose appearance so much excited in me that effect.

His young friend NIEMCEWICZ, who was wounded in the same battle with Kosciuszko, and, like him, was imprisoned in the dungeons of Catherine, has followed him to America, and devotes to him the fondest attentions of friendship. Niemcewicz is, from his noble sentiments, the agreeableness of his manners, and the extent of his knowledge, a person particularly interesting. He is said to hold the first rank among the poets of his country.

After having seen both these great men as often as I could, I left them, with a sincere wish for the happiness of their country, which was returned with an equal wish on their part in behalf of mine.

GENERAL

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING given a sketch of the constitutions and principal laws of the union, I have now to speak of the federal government, which exercises a sovereign power over the whole, and forms the bond which unites them together.

The political character of the times gives a degree of importance to this part of my work that belongs to no other; were it not, indeed, absolutely necessary to render the notions of my reader more distinct and perfect respecting the United States and their several governments.

SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES PREVIOUS TO THE
YEAR 1787.

Early in the American revolution, and in the midst of the dangers of that war it occasioned, a congress was held of deputies from each of the states, who, sitting together in one chamber, formed the government of the union. The only bond which connected the several states, at this period, was the common cause in which they were engaged; and the general confidence was the sole authority of the congress. But so imperious were the circumstances in which they acted, and so perfect the zeal of their constituents, that the orders they issued, many of which exceeded their authority, were promptly and scrupulously obeyed. The congress thus strengthened with the public opinion accomplished many great objects; it levied armies; raised extensive loans; formed important alliances; maintained the war with vigour; and proclaimed the independence of the country.

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The articles of confederation which were not adopted till 1781, gave the congress a more extensive authority; but one that was still very limited, and, in many respects, incomplete. By those articles it had authority to require of the different states the money necessary for the war, and the expences of the union; but it was totally destitute of all means of coercion on the states, or even individuals, who should refuse to bear their portion of the public burthens; and all regulations of commerce, however general, were left to the several states.

At the peace, zeal and confidence abated with the absence of the dangers that gave them birth. The congress found the limits of its authority too narrow; it was destitute even of power to execute its own laws; and was, on that account, unwilling to pass many that were necessary. The inadequacy of the government to its object was felt in every direction; the several states neglected to fulfil engagements made by the congress, in the name of the whole, to pay debts contracted for the war; the paper of the congress was depreciated; credit existed no longer; and commerce languished. England laid heavy duties on the importation of the produce of the American states. Some of the states, it is true, imposed heavy duties on English goods; but that measure was not general, and, in the condition of the country, the expedient was prejudicial to the states by whom it was adopted.

It was in the midst of these and other calamities, and with a design of applying a remedy to them, that the Convention of Annapolis, and afterwards that of Philadelphia, were convoked.

This last convention framed the constitution which at this day exists in the United States. Although it is already well known, I will here set it down entire and in its own words. A constitution is a thing of which a perfect idea is not formed from a mere abstract; and a complete idea of the American constitution is necessary to comprehend what I have to say concerning the debates on this constitution, and the opposition it had to encounter.

CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1st. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Seet. 2d. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such a manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations

tions one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3d. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen in every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill up such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate; but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president, *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside;

and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to a removal from office, and a disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall be nevertheless subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4th. The times, places, and manner of holding election for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.

The congress shall assemble at least once every year, and such meetings shall be on the first Monday of December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5th. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications for its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such a manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as in their judgment may require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6th. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation

tion for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and the breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Seet. 7th. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on any other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed in the house of representatives, and the senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States; and if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such re-consideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall also be re-considered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournments, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives, may be necessary, except on a question

of adjournment, shall be offered to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sect. 8th. The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish the uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of sciences and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences committed against the laws of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque, and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money for that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To

To provide for the calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia; and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings: and to make all laws which shall be necessary to carry into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof.

Sec. 9th. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the year 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless in cases of rebellion or invasion, or when the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.—No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts

receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sec. 10th. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress.—No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay duty on tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any engagement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1st. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America: he shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president chosen for the same term, be elected as follows.

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be intitled in the congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for

two

two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all persons voted for, and the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign, certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted.

The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such a number be a majority of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for president; and if no person have a majority then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in the like manner, choose the president. But in choosing the president the votes shall be taken by states, the representations from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the vice-president.

The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability,

both

both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during that period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“ I do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.”

Sec. 2d. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states; when called into the actual service of the United States, he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of the departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3d. He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information

tion of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4th. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sect. 1st. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. 2d. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to disputes to which the United States shall be a party; to disputes between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and between a state or the citizens thereof and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact,

with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the congress shall make.

The trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trials shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any of the United States, the trials shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Sec't. 3d. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec't. 1st. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec't. 2d. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in each of the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he has fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sec't.

Sect. 3d. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union, but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sect. 4th. The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive power, when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions of three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding:

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the convention of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in the convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the 17th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, president, and deputy of Virginia.

Deputies of *New Hampshire*. John Langdon.

Nicolas Gilman.

Massachusetts. Nathaniel Gorham.

Rufen King.

Connecticut. William Samuel Johnson.

Roger Sherman.

New York. Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey. William Livingston.

David Brearly.

William Paterson.

Jonathan Dayton.

Deputies

Deputies of Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Franklin.

Thomas Mifflin.

Robert Morris.

George Elymer.

Thomas Fitz-Simons.

Jared Ingerfoll.

James Wilson.

Governor Morris.

George Reed.

Gunning Bedford, jun.

Richard Basset.

Jacob Brown.

James Mac-Henry.

Daniel St. Thomas Jonifer.

Daniel Caroll.

John Blair.

James Maddifon, jun.

William Blount.

Richard Dobbspaight.

Hugh Williamfon.

John Rutledge.

Charles Cotefworth Pinckney.

Charles Pinckney.

Peter Buttler.

William Feer.

Abraham Baldwin.

*Delaware.**Maryland.**Virginia.**North Carolina.**South Carolina.**Georgia.*

Attested WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

STATE

STATE OF PARTIES AT THE TIME OF PROPOSING THE NEW CONSTITUTION TO THE CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA.—DEBATES IN THE CONVENTION.

The constitution did not pass without warm debates; but as the struggle was occasioned as much by the views and passions of the different parties that agitated America, as by the advantages or defects of the constitution itself, I think it right, before I speak of these debates, to say a word of the state of parties at that period.

Although there was a perfect accord among the friends of the revolution during the war, many of the Americans, and especially of the inhabitants of the towns, were not of that number. Many who opposed the stamp-act, expressed less repugnance to the tea-act. There were many even of those who concurred in the opposition to that last act, who wholly disapproved of the measures of defence for which America prepared on the arrival of the troops from England. Finally, there were opponents, both in and out of congress, to the declaration of independence, that great and decisive measure, which alone formed the safety of the United States, by placing them in the necessity of conquering, or giving up every thing for which they contended. Many of the opponents of independence threw themselves, one after another, into the arms of the Tories, who, under the influence of England, were exerting all their powers to defeat the revolution. Others, although they could not oppose the will of the majority of the country, gave it a very lukewarm support; and these latter, who called themselves the moderate party, were viewed with equal dissatisfaction and mistrust by each of the other two.

When the revolution was effected, its partisans, without difficulty, were reconciled to the moderate party, whom the success of the revolution had already brought over to them; and the Tories were for some years the only objects of the hatred of the reconciled parties.

Success begets clemency in a nation, as well as among individuals, and consequently

consequently a disdain of the opposition of their enemies, which indeed is a second and not a mean triumph to the conquerors. The Tories were in time viewed with less dislike. In some instances their confiscated estates were restored to them; in others, they were permitted to enter on their estates, on repaying the purchase-money to the present possessors, which in general was small: those who were banished were suffered to return to their country, and all these took the oath to maintain independence; and thenceforth the dissensions of the revolution seemed to be for ever healed.

The conversion, however, of many of these, was far from being sincere; and, if among the converts some have steadily maintained the independence of the United States, they certainly were not the majority.

Peace was no sooner concluded, than the United States fell into the greatest distress. The debts due from the merchants to England, the payment of which had been prohibited by the congress during the war, were now impatiently demanded. The American merchants were almost universally sued, and the remnant of their effects seized, by the agents of English houses. To relieve their distress, they proceeded against the retailers, who had been unable to pay them during the war, and who, at this time, had as little power of satisfying their demands. The greater part of the merchants were ruined; and, being compelled to abandon their commercial concerns, they gave place to new adventurers, who were chiefly English, and most of them agents of the English creditors. So widely did this ruin extend, that at this day there are not among the American merchants one in fifty who was engaged in commerce, even so lately as the year 1783.

The several states had themselves contracted debts for the war. Some of these, willing to fund their debts, imposed taxes for the purpose, which were so far beyond the means of the inhabitants that they could not be levied without extreme rigour: merchandise, cattle,—in fine, all kinds of effects, were almost universally seized, while very small and ineffectual levies were obtained. The extremities to which government proceeded

ceeded in these cases, occasioned general discontents, and were the cause of insurrections in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode-Island.

The paper money, both of the Union and the several states, was depreciated to the lowest point, and inundated America. The embarrassments of commerce, and in some cases its utter ruin, the natural consequence of this state of things; the inability of the laws to enforce the taxes of the different states, and even those of the congress; a spirit of jealousy and rivalry among the several states; the incoherency of their several commercial regulations, and its deplorable consequences; the inadequacy of the congress to produce unanimity, or to apply any remedy to these complicated evils—produced something little short of anarchy in the United States. The partisans of the mother country, and that country itself, now made themselves certain that this new born nation could not exist without England, and would soon be compelled to return to its former condition.

The discontent was universal. The friends of freedom were alarmed. They saw at once, that the drawing closer the ties of the Union, and the extension of the powers of the federal government, were the only things that could preserve the independence of the United States.

Such were the dangers which gave rise to the convention of Annapolis. No more than five states sent delegates to this assembly; and these had powers only to frame a general system for the commerce of the Union, which, by advancing the interests of the whole, should maintain a good understanding among the several states. The delegates, perceiving how far they fell short of a general representation of the Union, and the inadequacy of their own powers to effect any important change, dissolved the convention, after drawing up an address to all the states, in which they urged the necessity of each of them sending deputies to a new convention, with full powers to deliberate on the general situation of the Union, and to devise means to add solidity and force to the present constitution; indispensable as that was to the restoration of their affairs. They concluded, by proposing the assembling of that convention in the following

following May; and they dispatched copies of the address to the congress, and the executive branches of the several states.

The invitation of the delegates of Annapolis was accepted by every one of the states, but that of Rhode-Island; and was the parent of that great and memorable convention held at Philadelphia in 1787, whence sprang the present constitution of the United States.

But the designs of the different states, in deputing members to the convention, and the opinions of the delegates themselves, were far from being of one kind. Even the several friends of liberty were not unanimous in their plans. Few of the states gave their deputies power to deliberate on a new constitution; they were all willing to give efficacy to the constitution in existence, and to make a code of regulations for the general commerce; but few wished to advance further. The enlightened men of the time saw, that a confederation hastily made, in the moment of a revolution, and in the midst of the imminent dangers and imperious wants of the war, was not such a form of government as was necessary for the durable prosperity of the Union. Each of them strongly felt the necessity of a new constitution, but were far from being agreed as to the parts of which it was to be composed.

It was to be expected, that the English constitution would find partisans among the members of states that were so lately English colonies; that constitution was familiar to them; they had long been conducted by its principles; it was the most free form of government at that time known, and had been justly ranked above all others; the vices of the English government were independent of its constitution; and the abuses which had crept into the constitution might with facility be separated, in its adoption, from its better principles—every trial of a new system was dangerous to a country; the advantages of the English constitution were proved by experience; England had reached the highest degree of prosperity under its auspices—such reasonings as these were sufficiently powerful to account for the conduct of those who proposed to adopt the English constitution in the United States, or to frame one approaching it as near as possible, without seeking to disgrace them with motives of per-

sonal interest and ambition. On the other hand, that scheme could not fail to find many opponents, precisely because it was of English extraction. A people who had so recently bent their whole force to throw off their dependence on the crown of England, could scarcely be supposed to look for the security of their liberty, and the continuance of their independence, in a constitution from which they had derived so many misfortunes. That constitution, in whatever manner it might be modified, appeared to them to affect the equality of ranks existing among all the inhabitants of the state, to which were strongly attached that immense number that had nothing to expect from the destruction of equality. The public sentiments were at that time almost universally republican; and the English constitution would plant seeds of aristocracy, that it was feared would grow up to the extirpation of those of liberty. The English constitution might be suitable to a people grown old, powerful, and wealthy, and be very unfit for a people in a state of infant weakness. In a word, the servility of imitating the English constitution, seemed to be a step towards the old subjugation to England; and the disposition of the United States was greatly averse to such a disgrace. These reasonings raised opponents to the adoption of the English constitution, even among those who acknowledged the necessity of a change; and this, properly speaking, is the era of the origin of parties in the United States.

Such were the dispositions of the two parties, when the twelve delegates arrived at Philadelphia—Rhode-Island not having sent any to the convention. That assembly soon split into two parties—one desirous of establishing a form of government as monarchical as possible; in a word, on a basis very different from that of the confederation;—the other determined to take the confederation for their ground-work, clearing it from the vices pointed out by experience, and strengthening it on the side of its power; nevertheless, in a manner consistent with the rights of the different states, and on principles perfectly republican.

It is asserted, that some of the leaders of the first party had formed the project of a monarchy, on the exact plan of that of England, on the throne of which was to be placed the Bishop of Osnaburg, now Duke of York;

York; and that on these terms the English government had promised the cession of Canada to the United States, and the gift of several vessels of the line and frigates. According to this plan a perpetual offensive and defensive treaty was to be made with England. There is no appearance, however, that such a project was ever entertained. Letters, in which it was sketched out, were indeed circulated through different parts of the United States previous to the meeting of the convention; several persons, whose veracity I cannot dispute, have assured me that they have seen such letters; but in truth they might be circulated by the artifice of the republican party, to prejudice the people, by presenting this extreme to their consideration, against any attempt of their opponents to destroy the ground-work of the federal government.

Whatever were the case, early in the sittings of the convention a plan was presented, which proposed the establishment of a president for life, and senators for life, and expressed a desire to make both one and the other of these functions hereditary, and to subject the laws of the respective states to the revision of the general government. But this plan met with no support; and a committee was appointed, who laid the basis on which the present constitution stands.

The republican principle prevailed among the greater number of the deputies, and was even prevalent throughout the whole states; but the delegates of the more powerful states were desirous of giving those states more influence in the government they were framing than to the weaker; and a party more enlightened and more just in their views, were equally determined to preserve the equality which all the states had in the original confederation. The former of these two parties, in most disputes, ranged themselves on the side of the committee that framed the constitution, from whom they hoped to gain better terms than from the purely republican party. The inequality in the general representation, founded on the basis of the population of the states, was one of the advantages they gained by their policy; but it was not even without long and violent debates.—Another was, the right given to Virginia, and the southern states, to reckon in the population which formed the ratio of delegates

of each state, three-fifths of the slaves—a concession that exhibited a deplorable departure from the principles of a free people; it was a concession that gave to some states a degree of power and influence over the others, in proportion as the former violated, by the maintenance of slavery in their own states, the very principles of the Union; it was a concession which encouraged and encreased the growth of slavery, by the natural operation of the political interests of the states where that injustice still exists; and in a word, a concession which was wholly absurd, because it gives the privileges of freemen, in the election of the general government, to persons who are regarded by the laws of the state in which they reside as part of the stock of the land, and are sold with other stock by its proprietors.

The delegates of the great states did not, however, obtain all they demanded. The powers of the several states were not restricted in the degree they desired; the title of *national constitution*, which they proposed to be given to the new frame of government, was rejected, and that of *federal constitution* adopted; the inequality of the representation in the house of representatives was not gained by them, till they had agreed to the equality of representation in the senate.—The accommodation in this article between the two parties was effected by Benjamin Franklin.

The deputies of the great states proposed, that the house of representatives should be chosen for three years, and that of the senate for seven; and by the constitution the former was restricted to two years, and the latter to six. They proposed that the president should be elected by the congress, and that the term of his continuing in office should be seven years; the constitution gave the power of chusing the president to the electors of the several states, and restricted the term of his remaining in office to four years.

Many, however, of the deputies of the powerful states, when the particular interests of their constituents were no longer concerned, voted with the party purely republican, which indeed was consistent with their general principles.

In

In this convention the votes were given by states; and when the delegates of a state differed in opinion, the majority was reckoned the vote of the state.

Some members of the republican party, which was then called the federalists, disgusted with their want of success, and convinced that their opposition would not prevent the preponderance of the adverse party; believing also that the constitution would not receive the sanction of the states, when it should be presented for their acceptance, withdrew from the convention—many even a short time after the commencement of its sittings. It is affirmed, that several new articles were introduced into the constitution during the last twelve days of the sitting of the convention, when almost the whole of the republican party, thinking it finished, had retired; and that even other articles, which had already passed, were at the same time modified. The obscurity of some of the articles has given rise to an opinion, that the intention of their authors was to acquire the power by this means of giving their own direction to the constitution, without an open establishment of their principles. It is to be noticed, that the sittings of the convention were never public; and to keep its debates secret, in one of its first sittings, a resolution passed, that no member should hold any correspondence with persons out of doors, on the objects of their discussion, nor should take notes of the debates, nor copies of their resolutions. This precaution was attributed to the fear of the ruling party, that its views would be opposed by the majority of the states.

To this day the journals of the convention have not been published; and it is only to the notes of some of its members, in despite of its resolutions, that we are indebted for the account we have of the debates of that assembly.

I cannot finish this article without gratifying myself with the pleasure of giving my reader the truly disinterested and patriotic speech of Benjamin Franklin, in the debates on the question of the adoption of this constitution by the convention.

“ Sir,

" Sir,

" I am very ready to acknowledge that I do not, at this moment, entirely approve of the constitution now offered to us; but I am not the less ready to own that I do not feel myself sure of my continuing in my present sentiments. In the long career I have already run, I have more than once been compelled, by subsequent reflection, to abandon opinions I had openly maintained, and which I thought well founded from the deep consideration I had given them. As I grow older, I am more and more disposed to question my own judgment, and to pay respect to that of others. There are some men, as well as some religious sects, who imagine, that reason is entirely on their side, and that their opponents plunge deeper into error, in proportion as they depart from their opinions. Struck with these examples, which are but too common, I accept of this constitution, with all its faults, even supposing I am not mistaken in my opinion of its faults; for I am persuaded that a general government is necessary to our safety, and that no form of government that is well administered is incapable of producing the happiness of the people; and I think there is reason to believe that this constitution will be well administered for a number of years, and that it will not end, as too many other governments have done, in despotism, unless the American people shall reach that degree of corruption in which at once, incapable of being directed by a free constitution, and unworthy of its blessings, despotism becomes necessary to their existence. I therefore give my vote for this constitution, both because in the present circumstances of this nation I cannot hope to see one more perfect, and because I am not sure this is not as perfect as any it can have. I make a sacrifice of the opinions I have expressed of its defects to the public happiness. I have never uttered my objections out of this house; here they had their birth, and here I wish them for ever to be buried. If every one of us who have opposed the constitution, when we return to our constituents, were to unfold the motives of our opposition, and endeavour to gain partizans to our side, perhaps we might prevent the unanimous adoption of the constitution; but by this we should only lose the advantage which the appearance

pearance of unanimity will give us with foreign nations, and indeed with our own people. The general good opinion of a nation, respecting its government, is as necessary as the wisdom and integrity of its administration to the happiness of its people. I trust, therefore, both for our own safety, as members of the community, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall be of one mind in recommending this constitution wherever our influence reaches, and that afterwards our whole thoughts will be bent to its happy administration. I cannot forbear to form the wish that such of us as still entertain objections to this constitution will follow my example, and doubt a little of their infallibility; and sign this constitutional act, that no question may be left of our unanimity."

Franklin had not only fostered principles the most purely democratic, but had always openly declared for them. A single house of legislature, and the executive part of the government extremely limited in its power with frequent elections of the persons exercising its functions, formed, in his opinion, the only desirable constitution. The sacrifice he made of the opinion of his whole life on the altar of his country, on this great occasion, certainly deserves our most profound admiration; and his example is an inestimable lesson to the present times. Who will flatter himself that there is no mistake in the most rooted of his opinions? Who will not hesitate to conclude, that even the experience of past ages is infallible to prove the fitness of any of the old forms of government for the present age? Will not the present times, in like manner, belong to the experience of posterity? And the immense changes that have been wrought in society by the acknowledged vices of governments, a change in manners, the detection of long prevailing errors, the recent discovery of a variety of truths, and the extension of knowledge in almost all its directions, do these make the present time so perfectly similar to the past, that a reasonable man cannot hesitate to say, that every proposition relative to forms of government that was once true, continues still to be so? Is it not safer to say with Franklin, that there is no constitution, which, administered by the government and obeyed by the people with mutual attachment

attachment to the public welfare, is not capable of securing to the people the only true object of government? And is it not true, that attachment to the public welfare is at once the duty of every citizen, and his own individual interest?—Oh my country! may you learn this indubitable truth, in which alone will you find your safety and happiness!

DEBATES IN THE CONVENTIONS OF THE SEVERAL STATES, ON THE QUESTION
OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The reference of the constitution to the several states, for their adoption or rejection, occasioned still greater debates than those of the convention at Philadelphia. The several states formed the tribunal of appeal on that great question. A majority of nine states were to decide it irrevocably. Each of the parties now directed all their efforts to this point. Pamphlets poured from the press; the papers were filled with discussion; "Public liberty is in danger if the constitution is accepted"—such was the language of the opposition papers; while the papers on the other side declared, that "the independence of the United States could be secured only by its acceptance." The two opinions were respectively supported not only by argument, but also by the exaggerations and other artifices of party.

The greater number of the states went into an analysis of the constitution, in its provisions, its detail, and its consequences; but none of them in the same degree as Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia. The arguments of the opposition in the several states were much the same. The following were their principal objections:

1st. That the convention was assembled only to revise and correct the articles of the original confederation, and not to frame a new constitution.

2d. That the convention, had it been authorized to frame a new constitution, had exceeded its powers, in declaring that the acceptance of the constitution by nine of the states should make it law, and that the acceptance was to be without amendment—that this declaration was, on the one hand, contrary to the rights of the people, who alone were to judge

of

of the form of the constitution under which they were to live ; and, on the other, to the rights of the several states, who, being independent of each other, could not be united in a political body by any deliberations but their own.

3d. That the constitution ought to have been preceded by a declaration of rights ; the people of the several states being, as the constitution stood, no longer secure of their own particular constitutions, inasmuch as the laws of congress would in future bind all the subjects of the union, and controul the laws of the several legislatures.

4th. That the people of the union were not to be adequately represented in the congress ; because the constitution, while it declared that the number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the inhabitants, provided that, till the number of the inhabitants in the union should be ascertained, the representatives in congress should not exceed sixty-seven—whence it was to be feared, that the congress itself would not hereafter permit the number of its members to be increased, according to the necessity of the occasion ; and that, consequently, questions of the highest importance might be decided by eighteen voices, as thirty-four members present were declared to be sufficient to pass any law.

5th. That the house of representatives, being the only one in which the people were represented, ought to have the exclusive disposal of the public purse ; and that the power given to the senate of making amendments in money bills, was contrary to the interests and safety of the people—and also that other power, of fixing the salaries of officers, which were to be nominated by them, in conjunction with the president.

6th. That no executive council being given to the president, as had been proposed, to consist of two members from the northern, two from the southern, and two from the midland states, the consequence would be, to associate the senate to the executive power in many of its functions ; and thus the separation of powers acknowledged to be an essential condition to every good government, was departed from—that the senate, becoming necessarily connected with the president, by its concur-

rent nomination to places, would be the more ready to join in improper appointments, because its members, being eligible for any appointment, their complacence to the president might be the price of their own advancement, and the public liberty thereby endangered—that the interests of the United States was even more affected by the power given to the president, to make treaties with the concurrence of two-thirds of the senate, and without the intervention of the house of representatives.

7th. That the jurisdiction given to the federal courts would be vexatious to the individuals of the several states, who would be incessantly taken from their homes to appear to suits instituted in those courts, of which the tribunals of the several states were the natural judges—that those jurisdictions would draw to themselves all the affairs of the tribunals of the several states—that the want of precision in the judgments of the federal tribunals, would be a fertile source of new suits, and afford new opportunities of enlarging their jurisdiction—and, finally, that the power given to these tribunals to pronounce judgment according to the *spirit* as well as the letter of the constitution, submitted the constitution itself to their discretion, by authorising them to explain it according to their own caprice.

8th. That the prerogative given to the president to pardon criminals sentenced for high treason, endangered the public liberty, by enabling him to screen those whom he himself had employed to conspire against it.

9th. That the power given the congress to name the times and places in which elections for its members were to be held in the different states, at once attacked the sovereignty of the several states, and exposed the electors to journeys that might draw them to a greater distance from home, and for a longer time, than was absolutely necessary to the discharge of the duty of choosing members of the legislature.

10th. That the power given to the congress to impose all kinds of taxes, to apportion them among individuals, and to cause them to be levied, was vexatious—that it might take from the several states the resources necessary to their particular expences—and that, increasing the expence of the collection, it augmented the contribution of individuals without

without advantage to the state; an inconvenience that would easily be avoided, if the congress, satisfied with naming the sum to be raised by each state, should leave to its legislature the care of its collection, reserving only the power of levying the taxes on a refusal of any state to pay them, or in the case of negligence in collecting them.

11th. That a simple majority of voices in the congress being sufficient for all laws relative to navigation and commerce, the southern states, having a surplus of produce of a valuable nature, but being without shipping for its exportation, would be subject to the monopoly of the northern states, who had not an equal quantity of surplus of produce, and abounded in shipping; an evil that would be remedied, by requiring a majority of two-thirds of voices for laws of that nature.

(It will be readily enough understood, that this objection was made only by the southern states.)

12th. That the trial of *impeachments* being committed solely to the senate, connected in interest with the executive power by the constitution itself, would neither secure the acquittal of the innocent, nor the condemnation of the guilty.

13th. That the prerogative given the president to confer appointments in his power on members of the two houses of legislature, was a means of corruption, and an enemy to freedom of debate.

14th. That the function of president being capable of being indefinitely continued in the same hands, might give an ambitious and politic man an influence dangerous to the congress, to individuals, and even the constitution itself, which through that defect might cease to become republican.

15th. That the public liberty was endangered by the power given to congress to maintain a standing army in times of peace.

16th. That the public liberty was endangered also, and the rights of individuals infringed, by the want of juries in civil matters before the federal tribunals.

17th. That the invariable and indispensable use of juries in criminal matters, was not declared with sufficient precision.

18th. Finally, that nothing in the constitution guaranteed the liberty

of the press, nor liberty of conscience—and that no assurance was left to the several states, that the congress would not successively assume the several powers of which the constitution did not at present demand the sacrifice, and which were at once their right as independent states, and the only safeguard of their independence.

Many of these objections were by no means forcible; and the apprehensions they expressed were exaggerated, as has been sufficiently shewn by the event. But if some of these are to be ascribed to a spirit of party, and to the desire of the several states to make as little sacrifice as possible of their own authority and powers to the general government, it is not the less true, that the greater part of the opposition to the new constitution had its source in the spirit of liberty which at that time animated the citizens of the United States, the struggle for the acquisition of liberty being then recent; and in that fear of aristocracy and monarchy, to which it was thought there was a tendency in the new constitution—in the republican temper which was then common to all the United States—and, finally in the strong mistrust, which was the natural consequence of these circumstances.

It is indeed certain that a very great majority of the people of the United States were averse to the adoption of the constitution; and that it had not a majority in the several conventions, but from a general conviction among its opponents of the inefficacy of the articles of confederation, and the necessity of giving greater power to the federal government; and from the fear they had of prolonging the anarchy in which the country was at that time plunged, and of rendering that anarchy more incorrigible by the delay that must be occasioned by the convoking a new assembly to frame another constitution.

It is said that these powerful motives were strengthened, in many of the adherents of the constitution, by individual interests, ambitious views, and, above all, by the prospect of lucrative speculations in the public funds and in the purchase of public lands, which were stated to be the inevitable result of the new government.

The support which was given to the constitution was not, however, the same in all of the conventions. In the states of Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia, its acceptance was unanimous. In Connecticut, Maryland,

Maryland, and Pennsylvania, a minority voted against it; but it passed without any amendment. In Pennsylvania, where the opposition was the strongest, the minority withdrew, and entered a protest, accompanied with the motives of their objection to the constitution. South Carolina, Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts, accepted the constitution, by a very small majority, and joined to their acceptance the proposition of several amendments, which they represented as indispensable to the public liberty and safety; and declared, that their resolution not to obstruct the action of the government, and the hope that a new congress would yield to their representations and demands, were the only motives on which they accepted the constitution. New York was on the eve of rejecting the constitution, when intelligence arriving that it was accepted by nine of the states, and proving the futility of further opposition, it was accepted by that state. New Hampshire separated without coming to a resolution; and having afterwards assembled, gave its assent, accompanied with propositions for amendments. North Carolina proposed amendments, and made them the conditions of its acceptance; but some time afterwards accepted the constitution without reserve.

Rhode-Island, instead of calling a convention, referred the constitution to the assemblies of the towns; by whom it was rejected, with the exception of Newport, Providence, and some others, who declared themselves incompetent to enter into the discussion, and proposed the convoking of a convention for the purpose; which, being afterwards called, accepted the constitution.

The following is a table of the periods when the several states accepted the constitution, and of the manner in which it passed in the several conventions.

States.

States.	Period of accepting the Constitution.	Manner of passing it.		
Delaware - -	Dec. 31, 1787	Unanimously		
Pennsylvania - -	— 13. —	For, 46—Against, 23	Maj. 23	
New Jersey - -	— 19. —	Unanimously		
Georgia - - -	Jan. 2. 1788	Ditto		
Connecticut - -	— 9. —	For, 128—Against, 40		88
Massachusetts - -	Feb. 6. —	— 187 — 168		19
Maryland - - -	April 28. —	— 63 — 12		51
South Carolina - -	May 23. —	— 149 — 73		76
New Hampshire - -	June 21. —	— 57 — 46		11
Virginia - - -	— 15. —	— 89 — 79		10
New York - - -	July 26. —	— 30 — 25		5
North Carolina - -	Nov. 27. 1789	— 193 — 75		118
Rhode-Island - -	May 29. 1790	— — — —		2

The several amendments proposed by some of the conventions, without being precisely the same, related to the same objects. The congress, in its first sittings after the acceptance of the constitution, took them into consideration; and from their purport, drew up twelve new articles, as a supplement to the constitution, which, in virtue of the fifth article of the constitution, were submitted to the legislatures of the several states, for their ratification, in the following terms.

Articles proposed to be added to the Constitution, and submitted to the States for Ratification.

“ In Congress, 4th March, 1789.

“ The conventions of certain of the states having, at the time of their adopting the constitution, expressed a desire in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: and, as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution, it was

“ *Resolved* by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring,

curing, that the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several states, as amendments to the constitution of the United States; all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution.

"*Art. 1st.* After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand, until the number of representatives shall amount to one hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

"*Art. 2d.* No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

"*Art. 3d.* Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

"*Art. 4th.* A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

"*Art. 5th.* No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

"*Art. 6th.* The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

"*Art.*

"*Art. 7th.* No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall be tried twice for the same offence; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

"*Art. 8th.* In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

"*Art. 9th.* In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

"*Art. 10th.* Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

"*Art. 11th.* The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

"*Art. 12th.* The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people."

The two first of these twelve articles did not receive the ratification required by law. The other ten being ratified, make part of the constitution.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is not my design here to enter into a minute examination of the merits of the constitution of the United States. The information I have gathered as to the situation of affairs, and the temper of parties, at the period of its adoption, induces me to believe that it is the best which could at that time be carried into execution. I shall confine myself to speak of its principal and inherent defect; which I regard as an obstacle to the public welfare in any constitution where it is found. I confess there is some degree of boldness in speaking thus freely on this topic; for what I consider to be a fundamental defect in the constitution of the United States, is viewed by almost every American as its most valuable quality. I am alluding to the federal form of the government, I admit the conception to be of a sublime nature, and calculated to delight in theory. Sovereign states ceding to a general government part of their authority, for the public benefit, presents, in a more fascinating way than ordinary, the image of men united in society, making a sacrifice of a portion of their rights and liberties for the secure enjoyment of the rest, and for the general prosperity; but experience will shew this scheme, pleasing as it is to the imagination, illusory, and incapable of execution. The propensities of governments have a power, of a nature and extent very different from that of individuals; their apparent motives are much more plausible; and the suppression of them by force is much less prompt, and less easy in the execution, than that of the passions of individuals—meanwhile they inherently oppose themselves to the advantages that form the object of the compact, which is the general welfare of the union. Without pursuing the discussion of the principles and results of a federal government, I will give two striking examples of its serious evils in the United States.

In 1787, the old congress, desiring to settle the claims of the different states upon the general government, passed a law, on the 7th of May,

providing, that five commissioners should be sent successively into all the states, to receive the accounts of each, for sums expended by them during the war, for the service of the Union, in virtue of orders of congress, or without such orders, where proofs of the expenditure so applied could be given. The commissioners were to examine the several claims; to strike the balance of each; returns of which balances they were to make to the treasurer of the Union, accompanied with the several documents, for which they were to give acknowledgments to the states to which they respectively belonged; and also with their remarks on the nature and validity of such documents; and the law enjoined the different states to furnish such documents and titles to the commissioners within the space of six months, to be by them transmitted to the treasury in the current year. It further provided, that, when the above returns should be made, the congress should name three other commissioners to examine all accounts and documents, and finally to strike balances of the several claims; acting on the opinion of the first commissioners as to the validity of the documents, where such were produced, and on the principles of equity, where claims were made for expences in the war not previously authorised by orders of congress. This law declared the decisions of the majority of the three commissioners to be conclusive, and not subject to appeal; and it finally enjoined the commissioners to complete the decision of all such claims within eight months. At the expiration of that term, these claims still remained unsettled, the public mind being occupied by the presentation and adoption of the new constitution. A law was therefore passed in the new congress, on the 1st of August, 1790, authorising the president of the United States to appoint three new commissioners, with the same powers as were delegated to the former; who were, on an examination of the claims and titles on the one hand, and of the returns of the treasury of sums advanced by the Union to the several states on the other hand, to strike the several balances; and to make such states creditors of the Union as should have expended more than their receipts from the treasury, and such states debtors to the Union, as should not have expended the sums advanced to them by the Union. This

law fixed the 1st of July, 1792, for the latest period for the returns of such balances to be made. By a law passed on the last day of February, 1792, the time for returning such balances was extended to the 1st of July 1793.

The law which thus authorised the president to appoint three commissioners for this important service, passed almost unanimously; and Mr. Washington, the president, made choice of men of acknowledged integrity and information;—these were, WILLIAM IRWINE, JOHN KEAN, and WOODBURY LANGDON, whose appointment gave universal satisfaction in the states. These commissioners finished their labour within the time prescribed; and the following is a table of the returns they made of their decision.

States, Creditors of the Union.		Sums.
New Hampshire	-	75,015 Dollars.
Massachusetts	-	1,248,801
Rhode-Island	-	280,611
Connecticut	-	610,121
New Jersey	-	40,030
South Carolina	-	1,205,978
Georgia	-	10,888
States, Debtors to the Union.		
New York	-	2,072,846
Pennsylvania	-	76,709
Delaware	-	612,428
Maryland	-	151,640
Virginia	-	100,879
North Carolina	-	501,882

It was not till towards the close of 1796, that the question was agitated in congress, of the means of bringing into the treasury of the Union the sums due from the states that were debtors to it, which sums were destined to discharge the debts due from the Union to the other states;

and then it was soon demonstrated, by the turn the debates took in the question, that the states, debtors to the Union, had no intention of discharging their obligations, notwithstanding the distress of the treasury of the Union, and the flourishing condition of the finances of most of those states, especially that of New York. A regard to the particular interests of the several states, and a jealousy of each other, were universally manifested. The debates abounded with sophistry, and ill faith to the public. An attention to the concerns and interests of the Union was no where to be found in them. Although many sittings were given to the discussion, no resolution passed on the subject; and no other result was apparent, than that the states, debtors to the Union, or the greater part of them, would never discharge the debt; and that the Union was destitute of means to enforce payment—for an attempt to obtain the payment by arms, was to provoke a civil war, and hasten the dissolution of the Union. The loss to the treasury of the Union amounted to three millions seven hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; or rather three millions nine hundred and four thousand three hundred and fifty-one dollars, including the interest. The welfare of the Union was made a ready sacrifice to the rapacity and injustice of individuals, who opposed the execution of a law against which they had solemnly engaged to make no appeal. The object of the federal government was in this instance entirely defeated.

The other instance I have to give of the inconvenience of the federal system, is relative to the fortifying of the harbours of the states. The constitution, in the first article, and the eighth section, provides, that the Union "shall exercise exclusive legislative authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislatures of the several states, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;" and by a law passed in December 1794, whose object was to provide for expences incurred in the fortification of some places on the coast of the United States, it is declared, "that the president shall receive from the legislatures of the different states the cession of the lands necessary to such fortifications, or shall purchase them, if they are not the property

property of the states." The greater part of the states refused to cede the lands wanted for this purpose, or to authorise the president to acquire them by purchase, in the case of their being the property of individuals. They demanded sums of the Union, in aid of the sums they consented to expend from their own treasuries, in fortifications to be raised on their own lands; but the assistance they gave the law went no further. The consequence was, that the fortifications were constructed on the plans, and according to the notions of individuals, the several states in which they were erected attending only to their own advantage; that they were built on sordid principles, and in a very inadequate manner, the resources of the several states not appearing competent to construct them either in the extent or with the solidity the object required; that they are raised in places where the expence of the erection would be less, rather than in such places as would best cover the towns, and add to the general defence of the country. In the last sitting of the late Congress, in February 1797, very extraordinary debates were held on this subject; in which it appeared, by the language of the deputies of Massachusetts, New York, and South Carolina, that those three powerful states, possessing the most important ports of the country, were resolved not to cede to the Union the lands necessary for the erection of fortifications for the safety of those ports. In the discussion, the government of the United States was reproached, by the deputies of Pennsylvania and Rhode-Island, (which states had ceded to the Union the lands demanded of them), with being less occupied with the defence of the states who paid obedience to the law, than that of the states refusing to make any cession of their lands. And the deputies of the refractory states used the argument of the neglect of the government toward the states of Pennsylvania and Rhode-Island, as an excuse, and even a subject of praise to their own states, for having refused to cede their lands to the general government. Whatever might be the degree of justice with which these reproaches were cast upon the government of the Union, they were only used as a pretext for the refusal of the refractory states to cede the lands in question, the real motive being the jealousy constantly existing between the several sovereign

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reign states of the Union and the general government—a jealousy natural enough to man, but more particularly prevailing among true republicans; inasmuch as the general government, having citadels and troops in the midst of the several states, and in the most important posts, might be the more readily tempted to abridge or destroy their independence.

The result of this state of things is, that the most important points along the coasts of the United States are not fortified, or are in a worse state—for the confidence which is placed in incomplete and insufficient works, and which avail nothing to the safety of the places they affect to cover, is a fatal error; besides, in an extensive country, fortifications most completely made, and placed with the greatest judgment for particular objects, contribute nothing to the general defence, if they are not connected with a system, which, having the general defence for its object, expends frequently, with the greatest utility, the largest sums on posts that may be unimportant to the local interests of the place, but are, notwithstanding the keys of the country. It is no exaggeration to say, that the coasts of the United States are defenceless; and that the finest and richest ports of the Union are not secure even against a *coup de main*. And this great evil is entirely occasioned by the refusal of some of the states to cede the lands necessary to a plan of general defence.

By these two examples, we see—that the derangement of the finances of the United States, and the defenceless condition of their coasts, are the result of the federal system—a result, destructive of the end of the Union, but one that is the necessary consequence of a system which places the interests and passions of the several states in opposition to the welfare of the Union, and is destructive of the unanimity, without which no government, however excellent in its form, can afford its subjects the protection and other advantages for which it is instituted. And if these inconveniences are already felt in the United States, where population is so disproportioned to the extent of country, what will they not be with a great population, and a time far removed from the origin of the Union?

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STATE OF PARTIES FROM THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

The opponents of the constitution, both in congress and out of doors, submitted, on its being adopted by the several states, to its authority; but they nevertheless formed a party in opposition to the new government. The constitution, although called a plan of *consolidation* by its opponents, because its object was to make one body of the different states, by diminishing in too great a degree, according to their opinion, their respective sovereignties, was in truth a federal constitution. It had, indeed, the title, and all the properties of such a constitution. But although its opponents contended for no other purpose but to establish a constitution more completely federal in its nature, they were by the other party named *anti-federalists*—a name that by no means belonged to them; but which, at that time, being the most odious that could be given them, it was natural their adversaries should stigmatize them with it. The friends of the constitution called themselves *federalists*, a title assumed to give them popularity. Thus the two parties, without having changed opinions, objects, or policy, had suddenly changed names; and each continued to be distinguished by that which its adversary was known a year before.

The *anti-federalists* (for we will use the denominations of the parties as they are applied) had long reproached the other party with a submission to English influence. I do not know that the *federalists*, in the early times of the new constitution, had betrayed any other symptoms of this influence, than the attachment of many merchants belonging to that party to the English commerce; an attachment that their commercial interests readily accounted for. Afterwards the senate, in which the *federalists* were very numerous, agitated a design of giving the titles of his *illustrious highness* to the president of the United States; of *right honourable* to the members of the senate; and *honourable* to the house of representatives;

representatives; but the senate itself abandoned the project, the public opinion being evidently averse to it, and the house of representatives disposed to throw it out.

About this time was discussed the system of finance, which now exists, and which was vehemently combated by the opposition. This debate appears indeed the only one which openly exposed the views of the two parties, till the period of the French revolution.

Some inconsiderable tumults that happened in several of the states, on the subject of the excise, were not perhaps regarded with so unfavourable an eye by the *anti-federalists*, as the other party; because the former saw in them nothing more than the consequences they had foretold of an unpopular mode of taxation, which indeed had been once rejected by the congress, and was not finally adopted but with great difficulty, and in a succeeding session.

But if the two parties were marked by the dispositions in which they severally viewed these tumults, it was but slightly; for no partizan of the *anti-federalists* gave his countenance to the disobedience of the law, and many of the party aided, in their several functions, to restore order. These events, therefore, cannot strictly be considered as a shock of the parties.

It was at the period of the French revolution, or rather at the second epoch of that revolution, that the two parties openly declared their respective views. The *federalists*, whose objects were to strengthen the government of the Union, to encrease the influence of the executive power, and to carry the constitution as far as possible toward monarchy, naturally beheld in the English government a barrier against the system of French republicanism. The *anti-federalists* as naturally turned to the system established by the second revolution in France, for aid in the plan they projected, of giving a purely republican direction to the constitution of the states. From that period, the attachment of the parties to their several opinions, their desire of accomplishing their respective views; in a word, the intention of one to give a *monarchical* tendency, and of the

the other a *democratic* tendency to the American government, gave them the appearance of being—the one English, and the other French parties, in the country.

The party, whose design it was to detach the United States from France, and connect them strictly with England, received, no doubt, a great accession of strength from the horrible crimes which the men in power in France seemed for two years to have made the habitual administration of that unhappy country; from their avowed system of a general disorganization of other governments; from the open attempts of M. Genet, the French minister in America, to force the states from their neutrality, which it was their interest as well as their right to maintain; and, in a word, from the intrigues of that imprudent minister to spread the principles of jacobinism through the states, which at once were inimical to the interests of France, and contrary to the rights of nations.

An abhorrence of the crimes of the governing party in France, and disgust with the conduct of its agents in America, were mutually felt by both the parties of the United States. The *anti-federalists*, however, continued to regard the disorders they lamented as temporary; while the other party imagined they saw, or affected to see, in the evils that afflicted France, something that was permanent, or at least likely to be of some duration. At this period was formed a confederacy of the kings of Europe against France; and it was natural for the government of the United States to suppose the confederacy could not fail to be successful against an anarchy, stained at home with crimes and blood, assailed by the choicest troops of Europe, and having nothing in appearance to oppose to this force but new troops without experienced generals, and a treasury without any other currency than a discredited paper. At the same period England harassed the commerce of the United States, by taking their vessels, and pressing their sailors, and even menaced them with a direct war. Thus the danger of being involved in a war against an enemy already powerful, and who seemed to be increasing in power, gave great uneasiness to the United States; while their former ally, to whom in other circumstances they would have looked for aid, seemed on

the point of becoming a prey to that enemy. And if the fears of the American government were exaggerated, we cannot be surprised that its system of policy threw it into the arms of the strongest party.

Although the *anti-federalists* neither approved of the disorganizing system of France, nor the practices of her minister in America, they did not apprehend any danger from an alliance with France to the interior tranquillity of the states, which they deemed to be incapable of the extravagance of the anarchists. The evils that afflicted France appeared to them temporary; and the spirit of liberty, they had no doubt, would enable her to repel all her enemies. They were even more attached to an alliance with France, when they saw England so lofty in her pretensions. Their policy was, to preserve the absolute neutrality of the states, and to avoid a war with England by every means that did not humble the states before her. If satisfaction could not be obtained from England for the affronts offered to the states, they proposed the sequestration of English property in America, and an interruption of all commerce with her; in a word, war—if England was resolved on war. And this party supposed that the arming of American privateers, a prohibition to carry provisions to the English islands, and the seizing on Canada, were more certain means of injuring England, than any she had with which to make reprisals on the states.

Warm contests were occasioned in the house of representatives by this difference of opinions and views, when the question came to be debated concerning the relative situations of England and the United States. The two parties opposed each other with the greatest animosity. The question equally agitated the people out of doors, throughout the whole extent of the United States; and although it was the general wish to preserve peace and maintain neutrality, the complaints uttered against the English were loud and almost universal; and the remembrance of the triumph of America over the English arms, giving assurance of success in a new contest, made a war with England little the object of fear with the populace. The dismissal, about this time, of Mr. Jefferson from the office of secretary of state, increased the discontent of the *anti-federalists*.

Mr.

Mr. Jefferson was of that party, and had always avowed an attachment to pure republicanism. His party ascribed his dismissal to the politics he adopted in the president's council. They were persuaded, however he might fear the states were in no condition at that moment to declare war against England, and however resolved he might be to leave no reasonable proposition untried to restore a good understanding between the countries, he was nevertheless equally bent upon rejecting every measure that would affect the honour and dignity of the states. The wishes of the party were, not to challenge England, but to shew her how the states had been insulted and injured by her conduct; to let her see they were offended, and to let her know they demanded reparation. They were not ignorant that Mr. Jefferson opposed in the council too close and intimate an union with England, whom he accused of treachery; that he opposed still more eagerly all measures tending to separate the states from France, where anarchy and its consequent crimes would soon give way to order, and where a regard to the interests of the United States was evinced even in the midst of the worst disorders that had disgraced the revolution. The same party knew also that it was Mr. Jefferson's firmness that defeated the dangerous pretensions and projects of M. Genet; and that he had been the cause of that minister's being recalled by France. And the recal of M. Genet they considered as a new and solid proof of the good will and friendship of France toward the United States.

In proportion as this party complained of the dismissal of Mr. Jefferson, the *federalists* expressed their triumph. These latter saw, with extreme satisfaction, that their views would be no longer thwarted in the president's council, where till then they did not think the English government sufficiently favoured. It was instantly determined to send Mr. Jay to England. It is universally believed that the instructions given to that minister by the president, were framed with great wisdom and moderation, and that they formally enjoined Mr. Jay to respect the engagements of the United States with France in any new treaty with England. However that were, it is certain the president was careful to

inform the French government, that the sending an ambassador extraordinary to England, had no other object than to avoid a war with that power, and to settle the differences between the two countries; and that the alliance with France would be maintained with the most perfect good faith on the part of the United States.

The choice of Mr. Jay for the embassy to England, gave great offence to the *anti-federalists*. This minister was chief justice of the United States; an office that seemed to make his presence in the country indispensable, and therefore appeared incompatible with any foreign mission. He was considered as devoted to England by his general habits, but more especially by a blind zeal for the doctrines of the English church. He was known to have an old dislike to France, which was said to have been excited by the manifest preference given by the French minister and the whole French nation to Benjamin Franklin, whose colleague he was at the making of the peace in 1783.

When parties proceed to extremes with each other, every thing serves as food to their mutual hatred and injustice. About this time the insurrection at Pittsburg broke out. The *federalists* accused their adversaries of being the contrivers and authors of the insurrection. They endeavoured to implicate many of them individually in its guilt, although the accusation was never supported with the smallest proof. That insurrection was no other than an explosion, of a very culpable nature, no doubt, but perfectly foreseen, of the discontents occasioned by the levying a tax on private distilleries; a measure that never could be carried into effect in that part of Pennsylvania, even when, previous to the establishment of the new constitution, that tax made part of the law of the state.

About this time also democratic clubs were formed in several towns in the United States; and the *anti-federalists* were accused of being the authors of this dangerous imitation of the Jacobin associations that had caused so many misfortunes to France. It was alleged against them, that it was their design to use the clubs as instruments of overthrowing the constitution, by introducing divisions among the states, and rending to pieces the federal system. As it generally happens, these accusations increased

increased the asperity, as well as of the party by whom they were advanced as those who were the objects of them.

In this situation of things, the treaty with England was concluded. It is not my intention to discuss the merits of any particular parts of that treaty; nor do I affect to give its history, much of which is known only to very few persons. I propose merely to take some notice of its effect on the two parties. It is perfectly known, that the president perceived the treaty to be so little conformable to the instructions he had given Mr. Jay, and so little consistent with what he thought the interests of the United States, that it was long before he could prevail on himself to present it to the senate for its sanction—that this treaty occasioned violent debates in the senate, which would not have ended with its ratification, had not the majority of that assembly been previously determined to accept it, even without knowing the articles it contained—that, as soon as the treaty was made public, addresses for and against its ratification crowded in from every town and corporation of the United States—that the question of its ratification or rejection begat the deepest concern, and the warmest discussions among the inhabitants of the northern states—that the general confidence placed in the president tempered in the majority their aversion to the treaty—and that, finally, when the sums for carrying it into execution came to be voted in the house of representatives, a long and violent struggle, relative to the merits of the treaty itself, was the effect; although the right of that house to interfere with its ratification was denied by the friends of the treaty, the letter of the constitution having, as they said, withheld that privilege from them. It is to be observed, that the representatives maintained the right of entering into the merits of the treaty, from the very letter of the constitution, so little precision is there in the wording of it.—The dread of involving the United States in a war with England, at length gained a majority in the house for the treaty; in the same manner as that motive had influenced not only the president, but the majority of the individuals in the states, who finally adhered to the treaty, to the latter of whom

whom all alliance with England, of whatever kind, was extremely obnoxious.

The old animosity of the two parties was further inflamed by these discussions. The debates in the congress, and the pamphlets, and writings in the papers, on the subject, were loaded with personal abuse and mutual accusations. The *anti-federalists* were accused of encouraging a spirit of disorganization for dangerous purposes, and from the sordid motive of French gold. The other party was accused of sacrificing the national honour; of shamefully humbling the states at the feet of England; of violating their ancient engagements to France; and of corruption, through the medium of ambition or gold. The most fatal consequences were predicted to flow from the treaty, and ascribed to the federalists, as injuries brought by them upon the country. The spirit of party was excluded from no class of society. Political intolerance proceeded to the extreme; even frequently in the same dwelling, it was found to be the greatest; and the most disgraceful and hateful appellations were mutually given by the individuals of the parties to each other.

The displeasure which France expressed at the treaty, widened the breach between the parties. The *anti-federalists* having foretold it, considered the expression of that displeasure as the eulogium of their opposition; while the *federalists* declared them to be the authors of the dissatisfaction of France. The latter even went so far as to say, that their opponents had, by underhand intrigues, engaged the government of France to complain of the treaty, when it was not disposed to do so; and thus they openly denounced them as enemies of their country.

The executive government of the United States, the centre of the party of the *federalists*, could not be ignorant that their treaty with England placed France in a much less favourable situation than formerly relative to America, and even in a less favourable situation than England, especially in times of war; but whether they did not foresee the displeasure of France, or they braved the consequences, they affected to be surprised and offended with the complaints of the French government;

and

and immediately, whether in pursuance of a system they had projected, or from a fear of giving advantage to the opposite party by resorting to open and frank means of reconciliation with the French, they seemed in haste to plunge into measures calculated to heighten the displeasure of the French government, and to encrease, if possible, the animosity of the *anti-federalists*, whom they no longer hesitated to denominate 'jacobins, and agents of France.

Among the measures with which the *anti-federalists* reproached the government as being inimical to France, was the sending of a new ambassador to Paris, without powers to adjust the differences between the countries, and without even authority to place France and England on a footing of equality with respect to the United States. They certainly, without any injustice, considered among the measures openly hostile to France, a delay of eight months of the secretary of state in answering one of the dispatches of the French minister; the insulting answer that was given, after so extraordinary a delay; and the drawing up a *manifesto*, under the title of *instructions* to the American minister in France, that was a libel on both the old and new governments of France, and that did not scruple to attribute to *perfidious designs*, the signal services rendered by France to the United States during their struggle for independence; and above all, the laying these *instructions* before the congress, that they might be published to the world, without the blame of this insult being, in point of form, imputed to them. In the conduct of the government and the federalists, their opponents pretended to see an intention of breaking with France at all events, and of joining England, against that faithful ally of the United States; they imputed the conduct of the governing party, either to total ignorance of the interests of America, or to corruption;—for, of the incurable hatred of England toward the States, and her secret resolution to involve them in difficulties, and to detach them from a powerful ally, in order to have complete power over them for the purposes of her ambition, that party affected to have no manner of doubt.

The election of a new president afforded fresh aliment to the animosity
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of the parties. The leaders of the *federalists* were desirous of advancing to the office of president Mr. Pinckney, who had lately been ambassador in England, and who had made the last treaty with Spain, which gave general satisfaction in America; and had given his sanction, at least nominally, to the treaty with England. He was a man of acknowledged merit, of a family exceedingly respected in South Carolina, and of a personal character greatly valued. His services, however, did not procure him the first office in the Union. The vice-president, John Adams, seemed to be naturally called to that situation. Eight years exercise of the office of vice-president, old and important services to the States, and a long life of eminent virtue, gave him a title that, in the opinion of persons among the federalists uninfluenced by intrigue or personal considerations, was infinitely preferable to that of every other among nine candidates for that high office. The leaders of that party, notwithstanding, considered Mr. Pinckney as a man more likely to be directed by their influence. They associated his name in the votes with John Adams, professing to the majority of their partisans, only to raise him to the office of vice-president. They considered it as probable, that he would have the second greatest number of votes in the north; and that in the south, especially in Carolina and Georgia, where it was not expected John Adams would have any, he would have the majority, or at all events the second number, if Mr. Jefferson should happen to have the majority; and that thus he would have a greater number of votes than any other candidate, and would consequently be president.

The *anti-federalists* openly and unanimously supported Mr. Jefferson; and his title to the office, founded on his eminent talents, on the share he had in the declaration of independence, and on his services as secretary of state and as ambassador in France, could not be questioned, except by the prejudices of party, which are equal in power to more solid arguments.

The two parties strained every nerve, and rejected no advantage that intrigue could furnish. They mutually accused each other of unfair proceedings, and even of tricks to invalidate votes, and of frauds in the returns

turns. The leaders of the *federalists* were deceived in their expectation of secretly gaining a majority for Mr. Pinckney. John Adams had, however, but one vote more than the majority required by law. He was declared president, and Mr. Jefferson vice-president.

The most recent shock of these parties, constantly and vehemently excited against each other, was occasioned by an extraordinary sitting of the congress, assembled by the president, to take into consideration the refusal of the French Directory to receive Mr. Pinckney as minister from the United States. Although the *federalists* had a majority in the congress, the opinions of their opponents frequently prevailed. Almost every proposition for measures of hostility against France was rejected; and the sending of three ambassadors, to demand an explanation from the French government, was scarcely followed by any preparations for a war. It is not a little remarkable, that in this contest the orators of the *federalists* held the same language which, three years before, had been employed against them by their opponents; when on the question of sending Mr. Jay to England, the *anti-federalists* recommended vigorous measures, to restore the United States from the ruinous and humiliating condition to which they were reduced by England—and that the *anti-federalists*, to crush the hostile spirit which the other party expressed against France, advanced the same arguments which the governing party used on the former question, to recommend conciliatory measures toward England. The members of the house of representatives who, although generally voting with the *federalists*, were not in the secrets of the party, on this occasion carried the votes of the congress toward conciliatory measures. The debates, however, were more violent than ever. They were more than ever filled with personal abuse, especially on the side of the *federalists*, who accused their adversaries of having advised the insults that the states received from France, and of being engaged by the French government to sacrifice the interests of their country; and by this accusation endeavoured to subject their opponents to the odium of the people.

The temper of the two parties continues to be the same at this time; and so inveterate is their mutual hatred, their respective policy is so

widely asunder and so rooted in their affections, and their reciprocal insults are so many and so offensive, that it is impossible to hope for a reconciliation. It is the business of the politician to enquire into the final issue of their strife. I have here undertaken only to state facts, in order to give an idea of the state of these parties. Yet I cannot but observe, that the names of *federalist* and *anti-federalist*, by which they are most commonly known, are as little conformable to the meaning of these words as the denominations *English adherents* and *French adherents*, which they mutually give to each other. Their several objects are, to give the constitution a monarchical or a republican tendency; and to find, in the ambiguity of parts of its text, an authority for their designs, as circumstances happen to favour one or the other. Both the parties are attached to the union; and I am persuaded that the *anti-federalists* cannot, with the least justice, be reproached with being less so than their opponents. The one is the governing party, the other is in opposition; and we know that when parties have long combated with each other, their original objects become secondary. Their love of power, and their hatred of each other, are motives continually acting upon them; and every occasion of gratifying their rage, jealousy, and ambition, is mutually seized by them. It is to be ignorant of the passions of party, not to know, that they are as tumultuous as any that can agitate and torment individuals and society. The imputation of being adherents of France or England, is as unfounded as the other. The leaders of one party look to England as the natural support of their power, especially since France became a republic; but they do not wish to subjugate America to English influence. It is said, and not without the appearance of probability, that there are individuals among them who carry their attachment to England something further than this; having in contemplation, either the re-union of America to England, or the establishment of a monarchy with a house of peers, that shall be closely and permanently allied to Great Britain. But if there are such, as will be readily enough believed, they are not the whole of those leaders, and they do not admit the rest into their secret; for in that case they would soon see the number of their adherents diminish

diminish. It is by exciting a hatred of some of the measures of France, and, by a common fraud, turning that hatred against France herself, that these persons endeavour to execute that project, while they conceal from their partizans their real designs.

I cannot be persuaded that the American government has entered into these designs, which appear to me to be too far removed from common sense to be adopted by the government, and to be rather the views of individuals blinded by their interests and passions. Yet, if we look coolly at the conduct of the government from the time of concluding the treaty with England, if we consider how little conciliatory measures towards France have been studied in its public acts, how profusely its ministers have lavished insults on the French in their public dispatches, and how profound a respect the same ministers, at the very same time, expressed for the government and the ministers of England, and, finally, what rude language toward France, equally removed from prudence and decency, has been held by the immediate dependants of the government in both houses of the legislature, we shall acknowledge, that it is not without appearance the American government is accused of a partiality for England, which is not the genuine result of an attention to the interests of the United States. On the other hand, if it be recollected, that there is a necessity, or, at least, that there is the habit in politics, as well as in private transactions, of following one false step by another still more erroneous, to avoid an acknowledgment of mistake, and, still more, the giving an advantage to the opposite party—if we take into the account that Mr. Pickering, the American secretary of state, who was the author of the dispatches I have alluded to, and the principal actor in the scene, did not acquire his situation (for which no intelligent person of his party deemed him qualified, either by his talents, or his political experience) but in consequence of its being refused by a more able man, to whom it had been offered by Mr. Washington, at that time president, and that the difficulty of finding another person to fill the office is as great now as it was then (for the offices of government are in little request in America, which is unquestionably a misfortune, if it be not a vice proceeding from

the constitution), and that the machinations of a party are employed in making the difficulty of finding Mr. Pickering a successor, appear greater than it really is—if we call to mind the reasonable discontent of the American merchants at the piracies committed on their property by the privateers and the governments of the French islands, and the general indignation of the people, although not immediately affected by these acts of piracy, we shall perhaps give another interpretation to the preference which is given to England, than that of a determination to subjugate the American states to English influence: a measure that would meet with the most active opposition among the *federalists* themselves, and which never can be carried into effect, unless France becomes an unnatural accomplice in the scheme by acts toward America contrary to her interest, her justice, and the greatness of her character.

As to a party consisting of adherents of France, it can with less truth be said to exist in the United States than a party devoted to England. I consider it to be a natural thing, that men who have uniformly endeavoured to give a republican tendency to the American constitution should look up to the present constitution of France as affording aid to their pretensions; but I am persuaded the *anti-federalists* entertain no designs derogatory to the independence and interests of the states. When the governing party affect to forget the services rendered by France to America, and boast of it as part of their political system, it is not surprising that their opponents more warmly cherish the remembrance of those services, and of the calamities inflicted by England, which latter seem to be forgotten by the government. The members of the legislature, who form the opposition, betray no criminal attachment to France; nor exhibit any signs of voting through the influence of the French government; nor have the appearance, in any respect, of looking toward France with any other feelings than those that naturally spring from the interest the United States have in an alliance with her—chiefly to balance the English influence, which they imagine they have too much reason to fear. I am still persuaded I am warranted in stating, that there is really in America less of what may be called a French party than an English one.

one. I do not know whether it is to be attributed to the misconduct of France, or to the want of address in her old or her new government, or to an indifference to the gaining a party here, but it is certain the French have no party in this country. Whoever will give himself the trouble to look steadily at the politics of the country, will be convinced with me that this is fact.

I am far from considering this as a subject of complaint; and I should be glad that it could be ascribed to the wisdom of the French government. The object of a government that forms a party in a foreign nation, is to influence its public acts, and to controul it by intrigue. The object is as destitute of justice as of magnanimity; it undermines the independence of the foreign state, and the rights of nations; and its means are of the most odious nature, being no other than the sowing of corruption and domestic dissensions in the country. Where such purposes can be obtained, by such means, detestable as one and the other are, the success can be but temporary. They are soon countermined by the use of the same means by the rival nation; and the only certain effect they leave behind is the depravity and consequent misfortunes of the people among whom they are practised. Although I hazard the disgrace of being deemed romantic in my sentiments on this subject, I am not the less willing to declare, that I consider generosity, good faith, and sound morals as the means of success the most efficacious and easily applied, in politics as well as in private conduct. How much is the power of a nation augmented, in the character it acquires, that demands nothing that is not just, and that gives in its treaties with other nations even more than is demanded. The intrigues of a rival nation with any of its allies will be more readily and perfectly defeated by a frank and plain conduct, than by an imitation of those intrigues, which, in truth, places the nation that employs them in a state of real hostility with that to whom it is even then, by its ministers, making professions of friendship. The reputation and importance of most cabinets, and most ambassadors, no doubt, would be infinitely reduced, if they were compelled to renounce their intrigues; but the interests of states, and the happiness of the people would

would as certainly be greatly increased; and it is a matter that I cannot question, that, if a regard to integrity is incapable of working a revolution in the policy of cabinets, such a revolution will inevitably be brought about by the natural progress of knowledge, which cannot fail to prove its utility.

Although the elections for offices in the federal government, and those in the several states, are under the influence of party, my reader must not conclude that the inhabitants of the United States universally range themselves on the side of one or other of the parties. Many are ignorant of their motives and objects; and a great number of others regard them with indifference, having no other intention than to return the candidate most proper for the office, and permitting themselves to be directed in their votes by such as they deem to be better informed on the subject than themselves. The security of liberty, the independence of the United States, and the preservation of the present form of government, are the objects of their attachment; and, in general, they live in the pleasing persuasion that there can be no other sentiment in public affairs.

A painful recollection of the calamities inflicted by England, during their struggles for independence, and a grateful remembrance of the services rendered them by France at the same period, are the common sentiments of the country; and the partiality for France is, no doubt, increased by the reflection that she contends for liberty with the enemy that opposed their independence; and by a persuasion that it was in America that France was first taught to love liberty. This preference, however, for the interests of France is by no means so obstinate as not to give way to a conviction, where it is excited, that France has designs upon the independence of the United States; and it is by engendering suspicions of that nature, that the party in opposition to the French interests, and their writers, have endeavoured for a year past to shake the attachment of the people to the French cause. To this end calumnies on the French government, and false and insidious constructions of their conduct, have been industriously spread through America.

Whatever has come within my own observation, or I have gathered
from

from others, convinces me that I have given a faithful picture of the mass of the inhabitants of the American States, and I cannot imagine that it will be said--that an affectionate remembrance of the share which France had in the establishment of American independence, and the resolution not to suffer herself to make the slightest breach in that great work, erected as it was with such immense cost, are, either one or the other, sentiments discreditable to the American people.

NEW STATES FORMED SINCE THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

At the time of the completion of the new constitution in 1787, and the first sittings of the new congress in 1789, the Union consisted of no more than thirteen states; but, since that period, three have been added in the manner prescribed in such cases by the constitution. Kentucky, which was a district dependent on the State of Virginia, was raised into a state by an act of congress, of the fourth of February 1791; and Vermont, which was a part of New Hampshire, was erected into a state on the 18th of June in the same year; and, on the 1st of June 1790, Tennessee, formerly part of North Carolina, and after the acceptance of the constitution voluntarily ceded by that state to the Union, under the name of *The Government of the Territories on the South of the Ohio*, was also declared an independent state.

The province of Maine, part of the State of Massachusetts, has demanded to be erected into a separate state; and will probably be declared such in the first or second session of the next congress, and it is to be expected that the Union, if it preserves its independence, will at length consist of a greater number of states than at present, by portions of territory being dismembered from the states of the greatest extent, and erected into independent states.

Besides the sixteen states which at present form the Union, there is an immense tract of land, bearing the name of *The Territory on the North-West of the Ohio*, which is attached as a district to the sovereignty of the Union, and

and is under the immediate jurisdiction of the congress. The act which formed this territory into a district under the old congress, on the 1st of July 1787, was afterwards modified by the new constitution. A governor, a secretary, and three judges, appointed by the president of the United States, the first for three years and the others for four, compose the provisional government of this territory; which, although it includes more than two hundred and fifty millions of acres, contains only four thousand white people. The Indians form the greater part of its population; but even their numbers are not great. By a law of the old congress, of the 13th of July 1787, this territory was authorised to chuse a legislative assembly when its population of white people should amount to fifty thousand. The same law included other liberal regulations, associating the *Territory on the North-West of the Ohio* with the rest of America in the rights granted by the constitution. It also enjoined the inhabitants to observe a just and friendly conduct towards the Indians. It prohibited the purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals without the express authority of congress; and declared that this territory should bear its share in the expences of the federal government, and in the payment of the debts of the Union.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT, OF THE UNITED STATES.

The election of the president of the United States being a subject of the most weighty importance in this country, and it having happened that I was in America when an election to that high office took place, I am persuaded there are many details relative to the subject that will be given here with advantage.

The constitution, in the article on the executive power, having determined the conditions required for the office of president, and the extent and duration of its powers, enjoins the mode of election to the respective offices of president and vice-president; but I will not again cite the text, which will be found in the first section of the second article of the constitution.

On

On the 13th of September 1788, the old congress, having received the ratification of the constitution from eleven states, and the other forms prescribed for its ratification being complied with, declared the constitution to be in force. It appointed the first Wednesday of the following January, for the choosing the electors in the different states that had ratified the constitution, which electors were to nominate the president; and the first Wednesday in the February following, for the assembling of the electors in the several states, to chuse the president; and the first Wednesday of March, for the assembling of the new congress at New York, (at that time the seat of the government), when the several branches of the government were to commence their proceedings under the new constitution.

George Washington was elected president, on the first Wednesday in February 1789; and entered on the exercise of his functions, with the other authorities, on the first Wednesday of the following March. He had been president of the convention; his name had resounded in every part of America; the gratitude and veneration of the public were not only his due, but eagerly accorded to him; and his election was without a dissenting voice. John Adams was at the same time elected vice-president.

The constitution, in furnishing the legislature with a general rule for the election of president and vice-president, had not provided for every kind of vacancy that might occur, but had committed that task to the legislature; and I think it necessary to give the law as it exists at present on that subject.

LAW RELATIVE TO THE ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PASSED IN CONGRESS ON THE FIRST OF MARCH 1792, IN VIRTUE OF AN ARTICLE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Sec. 1st. The case of the election of president or vice-president of the United States before the usual period of election, which case is

hereinafter provided for, being excepted, the electors for the chusing the president and vice-president shall be named within thirty-four days immediately preceding the first Wednesday of December, 1792; and thenceforth, within thirty-four days immediately preceding the first Wednesday of December in the fourth year after the last election. The said electors shall be equal in number to that of the senators and representatives in congress, of which the several states shall have a right to compose their deputation, at the time when the president and vice-president to be chosen shall enter into office: provided that, if the new apportioning of representatives, in virtue of the new enumeration of the inhabitants, shall not take place before the period for chusing the electors, then the number of electors shall be proportioned to the number of senators and representatives of the present congress.

Sec. 2d. The electors shall assemble and vote on the first Wednesday of December, in each state, at such place as shall be named by the legislature of the state; and shall draw up and sign three certificates of their respective votes, and shall fold up and seal the same separately, and shall indorse upon the cover of each packet a declaration, that it contains a list of the votes of the state for the president and vice-president; and every elector, or the majority of electors, shall appoint by ballot the person to whom they will entrust one of the said certificates, to be by him conveyed to the president of the senate, at the place of residence of the government, before the first Wednesday of the January following; and shall address another of the said certificates, by the post, to the president of the senate, at the place of residence of the government; and shall transmit the third of the said certificates to the judge of the district in which their assembly shall be held.

Sec. 3d. The executive power in each state shall cause to be drawn up, and properly certified, three lists of the names of the electors of the state, and shall transmit the same to the electors before the first Wednesday of December; and the electors shall add one of the said lists to each of the before-mentioned lists of their votes.

Sec. 4th. In the case of a list of the votes of a state not arriving at the

the place of residence of the government on the first Wednesday in January, the secretary of state shall dispatch an express to the judge of the district of such state, in whose hands the third certificate shall have been deposited, who shall transmit it by the same messenger to the place of residence of the government.

Sec't. 5th. The congress shall commence its sittings on the second Wednesday of February, 1793; and thenceforth, on the second Wednesday of the February following each assembly of electors; and the certificates, or as many of them as shall have arrived, shall be opened, the votes counted, and names of the persons elected to fill the offices of president and vice-president declared and proclaimed, according to the forms of the constitution.

Sec't. 6th. In the case of the president of the senate not being present at the place of residence of the government, on the arrival of persons charged with the lists of the votes of the electors, such person shall deliver the lists to the secretary of state, who shall carefully preserve them, and remit them as soon as possible to the president of the senate.

Sec't. 7th. The persons appointed by the electors to convey the lists to the president of the senate, shall receive, at the time of delivering the said lists, fifteen pence per mile for the distance, by the high road, from the place of election to the residence of the government.

Sec't. 8th. If any person, being appointed to convey the votes of the electors to the president of the senate, and having accepted that trust, shall neglect to discharge the same, he shall incur a penalty of one thousand dollars.

Sec't. 9th. In the case of the removal, death, resignation, or incapacity to fill his office, of the president or vice-president, the provisional president of the senate, or, where no such officer has been appointed, the speaker of the house of representatives, shall fulfil the duties of president of the United States, or vice-president, until the president or vice-president shall resume his functions, or a new election shall take place.

Sec't. 10th. When the offices of president and vice-president shall become vacant at the same time, the secretary of state shall give notice of

the same to the executive power of each state; and shall publish the said notice in one gazette at least of each state, in which it shall be declared that the electors for the president of the United States will be appointed or chosen in the several states, within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the first Wednesday of the month of December following, provided a space of two months shall intervene between the date of such notice, and the first Wednesday of the December following; but when the said space of time shall not so intervene, or if the term for which the late president and vice-president were elected does not expire on the third day of March following, then the secretary of state shall declare in such notice that the electors are to be appointed or chosen within the thirty-four days immediately preceding the first Wednesday of December in the following year; and the electors shall be appointed accordingly, and shall proceed as is provided in this act.

Sec't. 11th. The only evidence that shall be required of the refusal to accept the office of president or vice-president, or resignation of either of the said offices, shall be a declaration in writing to that effect, signed by the person refusing to accept or resigning such office, which shall be transmitted to and deposited in the office of the secretary of state.

Sec't. 12th. The term for which the president and vice-president shall be chosen shall be four years; commencing, in all cases, on the 4th of March following the day of the election.

By the provisions of this law, as well as those of the constitution, the power of declaring the manner of nominating the electors who were to choose the president and vice-president, was left to the legislatures of the several states; and the result was, that a uniform mode was not adopted. In some of the states the people were left to nominate *the electors*, in the same manner as they voted for other offices; in others, that power was confided to the legislatures themselves. The following is a statement shewing which of these modes was adopted by each state respectively.

States

States in which the Electors for the President and Vice-president of the United States are named by the People.

States in which the Electors for the President and Vice-president of the United States are named by the Legislature.

Massachusetts.

Pennsylvania.

Virginia.

Tennessee.

Kentucky.

South Carolina.

Georgia.

Vermont.

New Hampshire.

Connecticut.

Rhode Island.

New York.

Delaware.

New Jersey.

Maryland.

North Carolina.

It is certainly a circumstance at which one can scarcely express too much surprise, that a public act, including an interest so weighty and general as that of the choice of president, should not be conducted on uniform principles throughout the states; and that the privilege of nominating *the electors* should not universally reside in the people. The advocates for its residing in the legislatures contend, that the legislatures, being chosen by the people, and for a short period, their nomination of electors is, in fact, that of the people; and that the nomination of electors being always at a stated period, the people, when they choose the legislature, have it before their eyes that it has the electors to name, and therefore are called to vote for such members as they imagine may be entrusted with that function. Their opponents maintain, that the election of the president and vice-president by the people, in an immediate and direct manner, is an inalienable right, and which it was the intention of the constitution to ratify; that the constitution, in leaving it to the several legislatures to declare the manner of nominating the electors, had in view only the place and time of their assembling, and never meant to intrench upon one of the most sacred rights of the people; and that, although

though the legislatures are chosen for a short period, and the time of nominating the electors is fixed, so that the people may always, in their choice of the members of the legislature, keep in mind that particular trust, yet the functions of legislator and of elector are so absolutely distinct, that the man who is the most proper for one may be extremely unfit for the other.

Mr. Washington was a second time chosen president of the United States, on the first Wednesday in December 1792, but not unanimously, as in the former instance, an opposition already beginning to shew itself in the Union. He had, however, a majority, which was the greater, because many of those in opposition perceiving that he would be chosen in despite of their efforts, did not declare openly against him, while some of that party even gave him their vote. John Adams was again elected vice-president, with a majority that greatly exceeded the votes of any of the other candidates.

In the month of October 1796, Mr. Washington publicly declared his resolution of retiring, on account of infirmities of age, and requested his friends and adherents not to nominate him.

The scrutiny for president and vice-president was made in a sitting held for that purpose, according to the terms of the law. The senate having come down to the chamber occupied by the representatives, took their seats on the right, as is the custom when the two houses unite for particular objects. The vice-president, acting in his capacity of president of the senate, was seated in a chair on the right of that occupied by the speaker of the house of representatives. The chairs of the president of the senate, and the speaker of the house of representatives, stood upon a platform, elevated for the purpose. One commissioner, appointed by the senate, and two by the other house, sat at a table at the foot of the platform; and the secretaries of the two houses were respectively placed at tables, that of the senate on the right, and the other on the left of the platform, and immediately below it. The secretary of the senate having read the law regulating the mode of opening the scrutiny, and the instruments of the two houses respectively appointing the commissioners, the

the vice-president successively drew from two boxes, which stood before him, the votes from the several states for the nomination of president and vice-president of the United States. The votes, together with papers relative to the election, were sealed up in a packet from each state, agreeable to the law of the 1st of March, 1792. The vice-president, having broken the seals, read the general return of the election of each state, certifying its validity; after which, the secretary of the senate declared the several votes of the electors, and read their several signatures. All the papers were then, by order of the vice-president, handed to the commissioners, who mutually examined and checked the whole, and severally made entries of the votes for each candidate.. Mr. SEDGWICK, the commissioner of the senate, having compared and checked his list with those of Mr. SITGREAVE and Mr. PARKER, the commissioners of the house of representatives, read aloud the general summary of the returns, in the order in which the several packets had been opened by the president. The following is a copy of the summary.

Names

Names of the states.	John Adams	Pinckney	Jefferson	Burr	Sam. Adams	Patrick Henry	Jay	Clinton	G. Washington	J. Johnson	H. Ellsworth
New Hampshire	6										6
Massachusetts	16	13								2	1
Rhode Island	4										4
Connecticut	9	4						5			
Vermont	4	4									
New York	12	12									
New Jersey	7	7									
Pennsylvania	1	2	14	13							
Delaware	3	3									
Maryland	7	4	4	3		2					
Virginia	1	1	20	1	15			3	1		
Kentucky			4	4							
Tennessee			3	3							
North Carolina	1	1	11	6					1		
South Carolina		8	8								
Georgia			4					4			
Total	71	59	68	30	15	2	5	7	2	2	11

The vice-president then declared, that in virtue of the constitution, the candidate having the greatest number of votes above an absolute majority of the electors, was the person appointed to be president; and that the total number of electors being one hundred and thirty-nine, the candidate having seventy-one votes was in the present case duly elected.

As

As the choice fell upon himself, and by his present office it became his duty to proclaim himself president, he betrayed evident signs of embarrassment; and did not recover from his agitation till after some moments of silence; when he declared, that John Adams, having seventy-one votes, a number beyond an absolute majority required by the constitution, and no candidate having more votes; John Adams was elected and proclaimed president of the United States for four years—and that Thomas Jefferson, having sixty-eight votes, and no other candidate having the same number, was elected and proclaimed vice-president, for the same term of four years. He concluded this concise proclamation, by beseeching the Almighty to favour and protect the objects of the election.

The functions of the new president were not to commence till the 4th of March; and John Adams, in his quality of vice-president, continued to be president of the senate. Fifteen days afterwards, he requested that house to name a provisional president, that he might employ the interval in preparing for the functions of his high office.

The secretary of state, whose duty it was to inform Mr. Jefferson of his nomination to the office of vice-president, sent an express to him for that purpose, and at the same time a duplicate of the dispatch by the regular post. The precaution turned out to be necessary; for the extraordinary messenger fell so suddenly and extremely ill, at the distance of forty miles from Philadelphia, that he was not even able to declare the object of his dispatches; and it was by the post that Mr. Jefferson received the account of his nomination. Mr. Jefferson proceeded to Philadelphia, and on the 4th of March the new members of the executive authority entered on their functions.

The house of representatives, which by the constitution was dissolved on the 3d of March of its second year, no longer existed. The constitution, in prescribing to the new president the necessity of taking the oath before he entered on the exercise of his functions, had not declared at what time, or in what manner, or before whom the oath was to be taken. John Adams followed the example of his predecessor, he re-

paired to the house of representatives, preceded by the sheriffs, marshals, and other officers, and placed himself in the chair occupied by the speaker during the sittings of the house. Such members of the senate as remained in the town, took their ordinary seats; the other seats were filled with spectators, among whom were many ladies. Mr. Jefferson, the new vice-president, placed himself at the foot of the platform on the right, and the late speaker of the house of representatives on the left. In the front, and round a table, were four of the judges of the supreme court of the United States, among whom was Mr. ELSWORTH, the chief justice. The galleries and tribunes were crowded. The foreign ministers, although not formally invited, attended without ceremony, and, with many others, stood behind the platform. The president, the simplicity of whose dress was not distinguished by any thing but a black cockade and a sword, pronounced a discourse, in which he declared his political faith; after which, having descended from the platform, he repeated, in a loud voice, the usual oath, after the chief justice, and kissed the book of the evangelists, and then returned to the platform. In a short time after, he retired, preceded by the officers who accompanied him on his entrance.

Nothing can be more simple than the ceremony of this installation; but this very simplicity has something in it so delightful, so noble, and so nearly resembling the grandeur of antiquity, that it commands our reverence, and seizes upon our worthiest affections. I speak at least of the effect it produced on my feelings. This change of the persons exercising the most awful functions of the state, with so little pomp, but with so great solemnity; and which places a man who, the evening before, was among the crowd of simple citizens, at the head of the government, while he who held the first office of the state the preceding evening, is returned again to the class of simple citizens—is full of the qualities that constitute true greatness.

The presence of the late president, who mingled with the other spectators of this scene, added to its interest, and completed the greatness of its effect.

Mr.

Mr. Jefferson, having returned to the chamber of the senate, took the oath, in presence of the members and the secretary; having first pronounced a short discourse, full of talent and wisdom, and which received the approbation of all who did not attend with a resolution to be dissatisfied with Mr. Jefferson's conduct.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER, IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

There are three departments in the executive government—the department of state, that of finances, and that of war. A person, who bears the title of secretary of the department, is at the head of each; they act under the authority of the president, who may avail himself of their councils when he thinks proper, but is not compelled to do so.

An attorney-general of the United States is attached to the executive government; whose functions are, to prosecute in the supreme court of the States, all suits in which the government of the Union is interested, and to give his opinion on matters relative to law to the president, when he demands it; and to the heads of the several departments, in law matters concerning the department, when it is required of him. Laws that have passed since the creation of the office of attorney-general of the United States, have appointed the person who fills that office, one of the commissioners of the sinking fund, and for the reduction of the national debt.

He is permitted, in common with the attorneys-general of the several states, to pursue his profession in the affairs of individuals.

JUDICATURE.

The judicature of the United States is composed of courts of district, courts of circuit, and a supreme court; and these have exclusive jurisdiction of all suits that affect the interests of the Union. The courts of district are held in every state four times a year, by a judge appointed by the general government, and residing for that purpose in the state.

They take cognizance of crimes and offences against the general laws of the Union, committed within the district, or on the sea within its jurisdiction, when the penalty does not exceed thirty stripes with a whip, or the payment of a hundred dollars; and of all causes belonging to the admiralty, including seizures made in pursuance of the laws of the general government relative to imports, commerce, or navigation, when such seizures are made within their jurisdiction. They have also cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the particular state, and the courts of circuit, of causes in which foreigners complain of wrongs done in violation of the law of nations, or in violation of any treaty of the United States; and of all causes to be determined by the common law, in which the general government is the plaintiff, and when the objects in dispute do not exceed the value of a hundred dollars. The courts of district have also exclusive cognizance of suits against consuls and vice-consuls. All causes determined by the courts of district, except those concerning the admiralty, are tried by jury.

The courts of circuit are held by a judge of the supreme court, and judges of the district. The United States are divided into three circuits; the eastern circuit, comprising the states on the east, extending to, but exclusive of New York; the midland circuit, comprising the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and the southern circuit, comprising the states to the south of Virginia. Courts of circuit are held twice a year in each state: they have cognizance, in conjunction with the courts of the different states, of all civil causes, where the matter in dispute amounts to the value of five hundred dollars, independent of the expences of the suit, and in which the Union is interested, or a foreigner is a party, or the dispute is between citizens of different states; and an exclusive cognizance of all criminal matters committed against the Union. They are also courts of appeal from the judgment of the courts of district.

The supreme court of the Union is composed of a chief-justice, and five judges, which latter have rank among themselves, according to the dates of their appointment; it holds its sittings twice a year, at the place
which

which is the seat of the government; it has exclusive jurisdiction over all civil causes, where any one of the states is a party; except where the adverse party is a citizen of the same state; and over all suits instituted against foreign ambassadors or envoys, or their domestics, consistently with the law of nations. Its jurisdiction extends also, but not exclusively, to suits in which an ambassador or other foreign minister is plaintiff, or in which consuls or vice-consuls are interested. It is a general court of appeal from the judgment of the courts of circuit, or of the different tribunals of the several states.

All the federal courts have authority to make rules to regulate proceedings before them, and to administer oaths.

The attorney-general of the United States, who must reside at the seat of government, conducts the causes of the government in the supreme court; and a counsel appointed by the general government resides in each state or district, to conduct in the courts of district and courts of circuit criminal and civil causes on behalf of the government.

The distance of the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and of the province of Maine, from the seat of the federal government, making it inconvenient to hold courts of circuit in them, their courts of district are authorized to exercise the jurisdiction belonging to the courts of circuit, except in cases of appeal, which are carried before the supreme federal court. The same authority is given to the courts of district in the territories of the north-west, which as yet are not formed into a state.

The juries that serve in the federal courts are chosen according to the forms observed in the respective states where these courts happen to be held.

CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE.

The crimes and offences of which the federal tribunals take cognizance, are only such as are committed against the Union, or committed in territories under the immediate jurisdiction of the Union. In the first class are—treasons; rebellions; refusal to pay imposts enjoined by the Union; smuggling; frauds committed by officers of the revenue, in matters of revenue; in a word, every offence against laws passed by the congress.

congress. In the second class are—crimes and offences committed on the seas, or in forts or arsenals belonging to the Union; and, in case of the seat of government being removed to Federal-city, all crimes and offences, of what nature soever, committed in that city, or in a district surrounding it of ten miles square.

The crime of treason, as it is defined by the constitution; wilful murders, committed in forts, arsenals, &c. belonging to the Union, or committed on board of American vessels in the open seas, or in the several roads; the treachery of masters disposing of vessels or cargoes committed to their charge, for their own profit, or delivering such vessels to pirates; a conspiracy of sailors to prevent the master from defending himself against pirates; piracies committed by citizens of the United States, under foreign colours, on the vessels or cargoes belonging to the Union, or to citizens of the Union; forging of national securities; debasing of money by officers of the mint, or thefts committed by them of gold or silver coin from the mint; theft of money or notes from letters, made by the letter-carriers of the post offices; and the robbery or opening of the mail on the highways, or the robbery of them in the post offices, or opening of them by persons not authorised—are crimes punished with death.

Robbery, and the receiving of stolen goods, are punished with whipping, which is never to exceed thirty-nine stripes; and forging of bills of lading, ship's books, or registers, or other such documents, are punished with the pillory, and imprisonment not to exceed more than three years.

All other crimes and offences against the general government, including dealings in the slave trade, which the laws of the Union prohibit, are punished by fines and imprisonment of various degrees.

Although the criminal jurisprudence of the Union cannot be charged with cruelty, when compared with that of most states of Europe, especially England, one is not the less surprised to see, in a code abounding with the punishments of whipping, the pillory, and death, that fine and imprisonment are the only punishments for the crimes of wilfully flitting the noses, tongues, or ears of a human being.

I cannot prevail on myself to believe, that the congress will not, ere it be long, infuse into its jurisprudence the benign temper of the legislature

ture of Pennsylvania, whose example has been followed by many other of the states. Independent of the great moral and political motives which recommend that conduct to the federal government, it must at length be moved by the hard and cruel contrast of punishments inflicted in the same place, and for the same species of crime, according as the sentence happens to be passed by the tribunals of the federal government, or those of the respective states—for the sentence of a federal court is executed in the place where it is passed. This contrast is painful in an uncommon degree at Philadelphia; where the Union having no prison peculiar to itself, criminals sentenced by the federal courts to imprisonment are confined in the same prison with offenders sentenced by the courts of Pennsylvania, but are not permitted to partake of the benefits of the humane and salutary regulations of that state in its prisons.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

The laws of the Union in civil matters, like those of the several states, are for the most part the English laws, accompanied with all the delays and intricacies arising from complicated and difficult forms. It would be a great benefit conferred on the American people, to simplify the proceedings, and even many of the principles of the law; and it is a reform sometimes talked of, but the undertaking is great and discouraging. The lawyers, educated in the principles of this embarrassed code, and accustomed to its practices, would reluctantly change them for others; and it is to be supposed the greater part of them are so persuaded of the superior excellence of the system, that they would oppose the introduction of any other; and it is to be remembered that law-suits, although ruinous to clients, are the harvest of lawyers. This class of men composes much more than half of the legislature of the Union, as well as of the legislatures of the different states; and these, I am afraid, are too powerful reasons to permit us to hope for any speedy reform in the law.

One of the most remarkable laws of the Union is, that relative to slavery; but it may be considered as springing from principles of policy, rather than enlightened reasons of jurisprudence. We have seen that the constitution

constitution permitted, till 1808, the importation, in the federal states, of such persons as, till that period, the several states should judge it expedient to permit to be imported; and by this description the constitution meant to designate slaves; which temporary countenance given to the slave trade the constitution could not openly acknowledge, without an absurd contradiction of the liberal principles it had premised; nor could it openly prohibit the slave trade, without a certainty of the law being opposed by the southern states. By this vague designation the framers of the constitution crept out of this embarrassment; and, however gross the subterfuge may be, we can scarcely blame them; since, while they preserved the existence of the Union at the difficult period when the constitution was framed, they named a term not far distant for the extinction of that detestable traffic.

In 1796, the congress passed a law, prohibiting American vessels to carry slaves, under the penalty of two thousand dollars, and confiscation of the slaves and vessels; and this law, although sometimes eluded, is for the greater part rigorously enforced, of which I have seen many instances during my stay in America. It is even difficult and expensive to elude it; for the Quakers pursue offenders against this law with incredible activity and inveteracy. The merchants who make the attempt must provide false bills of lading, and make oath that the cargo is the property of foreign merchants, and employ others to take the same oath; and all this is attended with great expence.

A law of 1793, prohibits the giving of an asylum to any person engaged to serve another, ordaining a fine to be levied upon all offenders in this case, and declaring, that the person who flies from his master shall be liable to be sent back to him. In this law the congress avoided the use of the word *slaves*, although it was to provide against the flight or concealment of slaves that it was passed; there being little reason for apprehensions about domestics engaged for a term. The jurisprudence of the Union relative to slaves, is confined to these two articles.

DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The department of state is also that of foreign affairs, which indeed form its principal business. The secretary of state, who is at the head of this department, is the keeper of the seals of the Union. It is his office to counterfign the laws, and to promulgate them; he has the custody of the papers of the old congress, and has other functions; but his principal employment is to transact affairs with foreign powers. The expences incurred for foreign affairs amounted, for the four first years after the ratification of the new constitution, to no more than forty thousand dollars annually. Since that period the number of the ministers and consuls of the Union in foreign countries being encreased, the ordinary annual expences for foreign affairs have amounted to sixty thousand dollars; and the expences attending the execution of the different treaties made by the Union during the last three years, have occasioned the granting of extraordinary greatly exceeding the amount of ordinary expences. The treaty with Algiers cost the Union more than nine hundred thousand dollars. The amount of expences, ordinary and extraordinary, for foreign affairs, from the year 1790 to this time, is more than two millions of dollars.

I am inclined to believe that the United States might have spared a great part of this expence, had their politics been directed with a little more wisdom. Nor would the saving of money have been the greatest advantage they would have reaped; it is probable they would have been able to shun the interior troubles, with which it is too plain they are now menaced; to avoid the very delicate and embarrassing situations in which they have more than once been plunged, and are now more than ever involved; to preserve the blessings of peace for many years; to secure the existence of the Union, which is the source of their strength, and which cannot be shaken but through their connection with foreign countries; in a word, to place out of the reach of danger that independence which they won with so much glory to themselves, the right to which cannot be contested, but which has no longer any real existence, except in the

mouths of their own declaimers. Proud with reason of having thrown off the oppressive yoke of England, the United States were too ready to play a part among the nations of Europe; and to involve themselves in the interests of foreign powers, from which nature had most happily separated them. They involved themselves in those foreign interests the moment they sent ministers to foreign courts, and received their ministers in return; from that moment they exposed themselves to the dangers that the weak are placed in relative to the strong, among nations as well as individuals; they reduced themselves to the necessity of practising duplicity, an indispensable condition, when he who is weak allies himself to him who is strong; and the more indispensable in politics, inasmuch as justice has been hitherto contemned in that art, the will of the more powerful being the only law. In receiving foreign ministers, they gave rise to intrigues, the more dangerous, because their masters believed it to be their interest to disturb their tranquillity, and check their growing prosperity. In a state where political concerns are as yet little complicated, the residence of foreign ministers is more mischievous than in others, even when they have received no instructions from their courts to cultivate intrigues, which is a case difficult to imagine. They are ready enough to render themselves of importance, and to give consequence to their employments; if they succeed in some underhand practice, if they corrupt a secretary of state, or some member of the government, if they pave the way for the influence and interests of their courts, or seem to do so, they are sure to win the favour of their masters, for courts will intrigue every where, and will have a party wherever they can; and thus they pass for men of talents and industry; and while they sow the seeds of discord in the countries where they reside, they create a title to rewards, and gain a step toward preferment. And these truths are the more alarming, in proportion as the cabinet that sends the ambassador is strong, and has an interest in lessening the power of the state where he resides, and in proportion as that contains in it circumstances dangerous to its unanimity; in a word, as it contains more or less of those circumstances whose combination forms the existence of the United States.

The

The ambassadors of less powerful states act on the same principles; and the application of them solely is different. They flatter the opinions of their cabinets, and lull them with statements in which truth is not strictly consulted; and thus they cultivate, in their respective governments, opinions and designs mischievous to their subjects. If it happens that they belong to a party at home, their dispatches take the colour of the party. It is a universal passion to be of importance in the world, but the agents of governments are the most infected by it. They fill their dispatches with hearsays, conversations, suspicions uttered of some, denunciations against others, and reports springing from their prejudices only, from which they draw conclusions that fill the minds of their employers with perplexities, confirm them in their prejudices, and engage them in hasty and impolitic measures.

When a minister is charged with a negotiation, the danger is still more imminent. With whatever prudence and foresight his cabinet may draw up his instructions, still they must include some latitude. The ambassador's probity, his judgment, and his information, can be the only guarantees of his conforming himself to his instructions. He may even involuntarily exaggerate, in his correspondence, the obstacles he has to encounter; he may miscalculate the overtures that are made to him, on the part of the state with whom he treats; if he is to be corrupted, the ministers with whom he has to deal will not fail to give him his price, and he will consent to a treaty which sacrifices some of the articles of his instructions, or includes articles not to be found in them. In a word, he will agree to something contrary to the intentions of his court. How many more topics of the same kind might these observations include?—It is true the ratification of such a treaty is not inevitable; but the government of a state, already weak, is not in the same condition to refuse the ratification of a treaty, signed by its ambassador, that a powerful state is; and the danger that may be incurred by the refusal gives great opportunity of intrigue for the ratification of such a treaty.

A weak state, which sends and receives ambassadors, and would mingle in the concerns of powerful states, can scarcely avoid being drawn into

a party; its ambition and vanity will often hurry it on in a direction contrary to its usual policy; and it never belongs to such a state to take a part in the differences of other governments, by which it only hazards its own prosperity, and sometimes endangers its existence.

Had the United States, after the glorious war they had maintained for their independence, opened their ports to all nations with equal advantages, and permitted their merchants to trade wherever their interest led them, and had been wise enough to abstain from all other foreign relations, they would have approached nearer than at present to the object they desire, of being a powerful government. In the midst of internal tranquillity, they might have filled their arsenals, fortified their harbours, collected timber for the building ships of war, which they need not have sent from their ports till they were strong enough to protect the American flag; they might have escaped from their present situation, in which they are torn by domestic dissensions, swayed by foreign influence, and, in truth, less independent than they were on the 4th of July, 1776—which situation is the entire result of the politics of the government, for their population is doubled, their wealth increased, and their people industrious, enterprising, sagacious, and honest.

My opinion will, no doubt, find many opponents, and more especially in America; but if it be well examined, I believe it will find also many partizans. As to myself, I am so penetrated with the conviction of its solidity, since my residence here has given me some knowledge of the affairs of the country, that I do not hesitate to pronounce—that the independence of the states, and the tranquillity and happiness of the people (a people so worthy of repose, and so admirably placed by nature to possess a durable repose), will never be ensured till the day in which the government destroys all political ties with Europe. By that policy, it is not perhaps yet too late to secure the prosperity of America, although infinite mischiefs have been occasioned by the foreign connections the government has cultivated during the last fourteen years.

In expressing my opinion on the dangers incurred by feeble states in their connections with powerful ones, it is America, and America in her present

present situation, that I have had in view. If small states, such as Genoa or Geneva, send ambassadors to powerful nations, it is to solicit protection, and to acquire subsidies; they are destined to be inferior; they can never be a grain in the political balance; they may, therefore, without danger to themselves, indulge in diplomatic vanity. Does it belong to the United States, invited by nature and a concurrence of circumstances to become a powerful nation, but which can never stand in that rank except through the medium of a long continued peace, to endanger that important event by a narrow policy? Can they ever doubt, that they are objects of the hatred of their former masters?---A passion that is not less real for being enveloped in the forms of amity. Do they doubt, that the high destiny to which nature and the period of their birth called them, is an object of the jealousy of the political foresight of Europe? Have they not to fear their being the aliment of rivalry among the European powers, in the midst of whose contests they cannot remain neuter without entire passiveness? But, as if they had no knowledge of these truths, they have, without necessity, and even wilfully, staked all their advantages, and engendered maladies which already have tainted the state and threaten to spread to its vitals, to gratify the vanity of making a figure, while yet in infancy, on the political theatre, with the old and powerful states of Europe! It is with nations as with individuals, the premature use of the genial powers is succeeded by a life of debility and early decrepitude.

FINANCES OF THE UNITED STATES; THEIR HISTORY, AND PRESENT
SITUATION; TAXES; REVENUES, &c.

The new constitution had been contemplated and was framed to give the federal government a degree of power, the want of which was daily experienced by the former congress. Its weakness was chiefly felt in the levying of taxes, and the contributions of the several states toward the expences of the Union. The demands of the war, too greatly disproportioned to the resources of the United States, had not been completely satisfied.

tified by the loans which France and their other allies furnished with a generosity that now seems utterly forgotten. The congress, convinced as it was of the evils of a paper currency which had no existing funds for its foundation, was nevertheless forced into a prodigious emission of that currency, having no guarantee but the faith of a public destitute of all means of repayment. The paper issued by the several states was in similar abundance; and throughout it was depreciated almost to nothing. This debt was to be universally provided for; funds were to be found for the expences of the general government; the necessity for the creating a system of finance was apparent; and the old congress, feeling the importance of all these duties, by a direct declaration in 1783, pledged the honour of the United States for the payment of all the public creditors. The new congress, at the close of its first session, in September 1789, ordered the secretary of the treasury of the Union to lay before the legislature, at the commencement of the ensuing session, a plan for the restoring of public credit. Mr. HAMILTON, at that time the secretary of the treasury, acquitted himself of this duty, in January 1790; and the congress, adopting the plan laid before them, passed a law, on the 4th of August in the same year, whose object was the payment of the national debt. This law funded the debt due to foreign nations, as well as to the creditors at home; adding to the debt, not only a long arrear of interest, but interest upon interest. The debt due to foreign nations amounted to eleven millions nine hundred and eight thousand one hundred and eighty-eight dollars; and the domestic debt to forty millions nine hundred and five thousand four hundred and eighty-five dollars; making together fifty-two millions eight hundred and thirteen thousand six hundred and seventy-three dollars. The president of the United States was authorized to borrow twelve millions of dollars, on the best terms he could obtain, to pay the foreign debt. As to the loan to extinguish the domestic debt, the arrears of interest, and certificates of interest due, a paper then in circulation, were received as part of it, and funded at an interest of three per cent. The capital of the debt, comprising the paper money then in circulation, was funded at an interest of six per cent; with a provision

vision that a third of the debt thus funded should not receive interest till the expiration of ten years, that is to say, till the year 1800, and this part of the debt was for that reason funded under the name of the *deferred stock*; while two other funds were created, one of three per cent, and one of six per cent, to fulfil engagements of the state. The *deferred stock* was to be redeemed by the treasury, in the proportion of eight per cent per annum, which provision was regarded as a kind of compensation for the suspension during ten years of the payment of the interest. The different funds were redeemable also by the congress by annuities for twenty-three years, at eight per cent per annum, but which could not in that case be afterwards redeemed by any other fund. The same law contained provisions to make the Union responsible for the debts of the different states. It authorized a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thousand dollars; and permitted to be received, as subscriptions to the loan, certificates of debts of the several states for military service, or furnishing of provisions during the war, limiting the sums which each state might subscribe in this manner. A third of the debts thus funded bore an interest of three per cent; and the remaining two-thirds an interest of six per cent, but one-half of the six per cents was not to receive interest till after the year 1800. The subscriptions to this loan were to be made within a certain time; but the period was afterwards extended. The same law appointed commissioners to reside in each state, to verify the titles of claimants, to give certificates, pay the interest; in a word, to transact all business relative to this loan under the authority of the secretary of the treasury. The holders of certificates of debts due from any of the states, who were unwilling to subscribe to the loan, received an interest of three per cent on that paper.

The plan of transferring the responsibility for the debts of the several states to the congress was not adopted without long debates. No opposition was made to the funding of the foreign debt, nor even that of the domestic debt, but what should be admitted into the latter, and the manner of redeeming it, occasioned great disputes. Those who opposed the funding of the debts of the several states argued, that the claims were almost

almost obsolete; that neither the interest, nor any part of the principal, had been paid; that they had fallen to an eighth of their original value; and that in all probability they would continue to fall till they should be extinct. A large portion of these debts had been incurred for necessities for the troops during the war, at a nominal price greatly above the value of the articles, owing to the scarcity of money in the hands of the congress, and the uncertainty of its future power of payment; and another considerable portion accrued from paper given to the military for pay. The persons who originally held both these species of paper had sold them at a very low rate, some being compelled to do so by their own necessities, and others having lost all confidence in the paper. The present holders were speculators, who had acquired them for little or nothing from those who, by their real services, were persons truly entitled to the amount of the debts. The opposers of the plan therefore argued, that the discharge of those debts in the hands of the present holders of that property, would be an injustice to the contractors and soldiers, to whom they were in fact due; an insult to the distress that compelled them to transfer their claims for very inferior compensations, and an open protection given to public rapacity and jobbing, whose ill effects were uniformly acknowledged.

The proposition of the opponents of the secretary's plan was, that debts verified by the certificates of congress should be paid at their original nominal value; but that the holders of such certificates should receive no more than a portion equivalent to the highest price they had borne in the market from the time of their purchase of them till the acceptance of the present constitution, and that the surplus should be paid to the original creditors of the state.

The partizans of the secretary's plan appealed to the declarations of the old congress in the creation of the titles to this species of debt. They had been given for claims of the original possessors, or persons whom they had represented; the present holders had incurred the hazard of a still greater fall in the value of these certificates, and even of their annihilation, a danger to which the original possessors had preferred a loss by the sale

sale of them; the market was open, and the certificates sold on the principle of other possessions, and the right of the present holders was not to be infringed without a public injustice. To these reasonings it was added, that the difficulties and delays that would attend the plan of the other party would render it impracticable.

The two opinions were supported with a great deal of moderation; but with pertinacity and plausibility on both sides. Those who contended for limiting the payment of the present holders of the certificates to the highest price they had borne in their possession, and to pay the surplus to the original possessors, argued with most equity; for it was known that the greatest bulk of the original possessors, most of whom were soldiers, had been driven to sell their certificates, either by extreme distress, or by the artifices of jobbers to excite alarms for the validity of those debts; and that the present possessors were speculators, well informed of the intentions of leading men, and the real state of things, and who disbursed only inconsiderable sums for those certificates, the loss of the whole of which would little affect their fortunes; and that the greater part of these were foreigners, who had entered into these speculations for the purposes of plunder. The partizans of the plan that was adopted had reasons of finance on their side, forming a morality by no means equitable, but politic, and absolutely necessary to the restoration of credit, on which object the congress was immediately employed. And it is to be observed, that the confidence of the holders of certificates in the government for some liberal funding of the debt was such, that this paper had risen four hundred per cent, since the adoption of the new constitution.

The resolution to which the congress came on the subject suddenly created immense fortunes. Speculators bought up the paper from one end of the United States to the other. At New York, where the congress then held its sittings, its price rose and fell daily, as the speakers on one side or the other seemed to gain the advantage. Many members of both houses entered into this traffic. Mr. Hamilton, the author of the plan adopted by congress, was universally acquitted of this dishonourable conduct, and universally received the tribute due to his integrity.

The plan of the secretary of the treasury for the adoption of the debts of the several states by the Union, was not finally accepted without some modifications, nor till after it had been once rejected. The partizans of this plan argued, that the debts contracted by the several states for their particular defence, was, notwithstanding, for the common cause, and was in reality the debt of the Union—that the several states would encounter greater difficulties in raising taxes to discharge their debts than the Union, the levying of various taxes being prohibited them by the constitution; that such taxes as they could levy would only have a partial and inadequate effect, and in one state might be in prejudice to the means employed by other states for the same purpose, while the Union might employ uniform means throughout the whole states, without clashing of interests, and with a saving to the particular states, and with more perfect security to the public creditors, who would all by that means be placed on an equal footing; that the offices established by the Union in the several states for the liquidation of the debt of the congress, might be charged with the liquidations of these debts, and a great saving made in that heavy but necessary expence; and, lastly, that this plan would tend to consolidate the force of the federal government, by allying the creditors of the several states to the interests of the Union.

Their opponents maintained, that these debts were neither known in their amount, nor their several kinds; that, previous to any discussion on the utility of the plan, the nature and value of these debts should be ascertained, and those contracted for the defence of the several states distinguished from such as were occasioned by a neglect of levying the taxes, and a report made by the commissioners appointed for the purpose of striking the balances of the sums respectively due from the Union to the several states, and from the states to the Union; that from these balances would result the real debts of the several states, which the Union might afterward, if it were found adviseable, consolidate with its own debts, which measure would otherwise be rash, and without any knowledge of its extent and its operation; and that to augment the debt of the Union, by adding to it those of the several states, would depress the national credit,

dit, augment the paper in circulation, and cherish that spirit of public gambling, whose evil consequences were already perceived and whose dangers were daily increasing.

The partizans of the plan replied, that the national credit could never be firmly established without the consolidation of all the debts of the country; that all delay in the effecting such consolidation would intercept the benefits expected from the consolidation of the proper debts of the congress, in the diminution of the interest of money, and the raising the value of the funds; and that returns of the balances between the several states and the Union might be made with the same promptness and precision after such consolidation as before.

The reasonings of this party, as I have said, prevailed. The debts of the several states were calculated at twenty-five millions of dollars, and a loan of twenty-one millions five hundred thousand dollars was authorised by the congress.

It is to be observed, that this financial operation was not effected without a secret agreement among the deputies of certain states, relative to the interests of their constituents. The eastern states, comprising New York, were the principal debtors. Massachusetts alone owed six millions of dollars. In 1787, an insurrection took place in that state, of which the levying of taxes was the cause, or at least the pretext; and that state was not willing again to hazard its tranquillity by the levying new taxes, which must take place if it had its own debt to discharge. Massachusetts was therefore particularly interested in the adoption of the plan. The southern states, on the contrary, were all, with the exception of South Carolina, creditors of the Union; but it was a favourite project with them, to draw the seat of the federal government nearer to them; and Virginia was more eager in its prosecution than the rest, because the place designed for the future seat of the government was on its territories, and Virginia was the principal public creditor. On the other hand, the eastern states had an interest in preserving the seat of the government at New York; but this was not sufficient to weigh with the interest they had in the consolidation of the debts of the state. Their deputies, there-

fore, made a compromise with those of the southern states, agreeing to vote for the seat of the federal government being placed on the Potomack, on condition of the others voting for the consolidation of the debts. The state of Pennsylvania, although among the debtors, was not embarrassed with its debt, having sufficient means of its extinction; but a promise was made to its deputies, that the provincial seat of the government should be at Philadelphia for ten years, and they were not without hopes of preserving it for a longer term, and therefore acceded to the secret treaty. Thus the plan of consolidation passed.

It was provided, at the same time, that the sums that appeared to be owing by the several states should be taken as such by the Union, without previous examination, and should be placed to the credit of such states in their accounts with the Union; and that the balance which should appear, by the final accounts of the commissioners, due to any of the states, should be funded in their favour by the Union, which was to remain creditor of such states as by the final account appeared to be debtors.

The return of the commissioners, as we have already seen, makes the balances due to certain states, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, South Carolina, and Georgia, amount to three millions five hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred and eighty-four dollars; and those due from the other states, namely, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the same sum.

Mr. GALLATIN, in a work of great reputation on the finances of the United States, which he published in 1796, speaks in the following manner of this measure. "The states, whose debts amounted to the greatest sums, were, by the operation of this plan, found to be the most considerable creditors of the Union. And experience has shewn, that this great addition of debt with which the Union has charged itself, far from giving strength to the federal government, has occasioned more discontents than any other measure; not only by the imposition of new taxes to pay the debts, but still more by an apprehension, that persons in power will seek rather to augment and perpetuate the debt of the Union than to extinguish

guish or diminish it; and from a general belief, that the speculations and interests of individuals had more influence in the adoption of the plan than any other consideration. And although it may seem indifferent, whether the sums necessary to discharge these debts be levied on the people by the federal government or by the several states, yet the difficulty the federal government finds in augmenting its revenues by the excise, licenses, &c.—the rapid progress which individual states have made for the extinction of their respective debts, and the situation of the states whose debts were not adopted by the Union, because they were on the final account its debtors, are sufficient proofs, that a great part of the additional debt which now rests on the Union would at this day have been extinguished by the resources of the several states, if it had not been consolidated with that of the Union."

This writer adds—"That, had the consolidation of the debts of the several states with those of the Union been postponed till the final settlement of accounts by the commissioners, the debt of the federal government would have amounted to no more than eleven millions six hundred and nine thousand two hundred and fifty-nine dollars, instead of twenty-two millions four hundred and ninety-two thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars, which were acknowledged and funded by the Union; and that therefore the congress, by its precipitation, created an unnecessary debt of ten millions eight hundred and eighty-three thousand six hundred and twenty-six dollars."

The law that consolidates these different species of debts, pledges the public faith for the establishment of funds for the payment of interests granted on loans; and it sets apart lands belonging to the Union, in the territories of the west, to be sold, to create a sinking fund for the extinction of the national debt.

A sum of a hundred and ninety-eight thousand dollars was due to foreign officers, who served in the American army during the war; and it was destined to be paid out of the loans made in Europe, and has been faithfully discharged as far as claims have been made, which have amounted to a hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars.

Since

Since the year 1790, the congress has erected an office for the reduction of the national debt, composed of the president of the senate, the chief-justice, the secretary of state, the secretary of the treasury, and the attorney-general of the Union. It authorised four different loans for the reduction of the debt, by the redemption of several funds; and, in 1796, authorised the commissioners of the sinking fund further to borrow five millions of dollars, to pay certain sums and their interests, which the government were engaged to discharge that year. The bank of the United States was authorised, by the same law, to furnish this loan, or subscribe to it in part. The funds already in existence were received as subscriptions to the loan; the commissioners had a power to sell at their discretion, the several sorts of funds (three per cents, six per cents, or *deferred stock*) which they had in their hands, to discharge the whole, or part of the sums and interests that the loan was meant to extinguish, provided that they did not sell more than one half of such funds at a price below par; they were also authorised to sell the shares of the bank which belonged to the Union. The new debt thus created by this loan, the receipts for which bore an interest of six per cent, was not to be redeemed till the commencement of the year 1819.

The congress had incorporated the bank of the United States; and that bank had afterwards advanced to the Union two millions of dollars, to which amount the Union had subscribed in the formation of its capital, and these two millions were to be repaid in ten years, by equal payments. The congress afterwards authorised that bank to advance the Union three millions more; and again, five millions, in 1796, as I have before observed; and declared the revenues of the state to be subject to the payment of the interest of these loans, in the same manner as to the other expences of the government; and destined all surplus of the revenues to be a fund for the repayment of such loans.

The debt of the United States, in 1790, amounted to seventy-two millions six hundred and thirteen thousand two hundred and fifty-four dollars; and in 1796, to seventy-eight millions six hundred and ninety-seven thousand four hundred and ten dollars. It has therefore increased

by

by the sum of six millions eighty-four thousand one hundred and fifty-six dollars, although the office for the reduction of the national debt had extinguished two millions three hundred and seven thousand six hundred and sixty-one dollars, and although the United States have in that period enjoyed a profound peace, and have been favoured with circumstances which usually enable a state to restore order in its finances.

A greater economy in the public expenditure, the sale of immense quantities of lands belonging to the Union in the territories of the west which is practicable, and a prudent increase of imposts, are means that a wise administration would employ with effect to the speedy extinction of the national debt if war or some great internal convulsion did not arrest their progress. The national debt, according to engagements made with the public creditors, and plans presented to the congress and adopted by it, is to be entirely extinguished in 1823.

The office for the reduction of the public debt had, in its creation, like all such measures, the object of raising the public credit, by a prospect of the extinction of the debt. It was designed to be strengthened by the establishment of the bank of the United States, which made part of the general system of finance proposed by the secretary of the treasury. This bank was incorporated in 1791, with a capital of ten millions of dollars, two millions of which were subscribed by the United States, who were not, however, compelled to make good the subscription at the period imposed on the other subscribers. The remaining eight millions were furnished by the subscription of individuals; one-fourth part of which was payable in specie, and the other in certificates of debt. The commissioners for the reduction of the national debt employed a million of dollars in the extinction of this paper. Thus certificates of debt amounting to seven millions of dollars disappeared in the first year. The price of the remainder was naturally increased; but the artifices of speculators carried them to a price which they could not long maintain.

The following are the principal articles in the constitution of the bank of the United States.

1st. The incorporation of the subscribers, with certain privileges, till the year 1811.

2d. The power of extending their capital to ten millions of dollars.

3d. The power of holding possessions to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars, in personal or real estates, including their original capital.

4th. Of establishing, within the United States, such assistant banks as the directors shall judge expedient,

5th. The formation of an administration for the bank, consisting of a president, twenty-five directors, and a cashier.

6th. A prohibition to carry on any business but that properly belonging to the bank, to purchase any part of the national debt, to take more than six per cent for their loans and discounts—but with the privilege of selling the original shares of the bank.

7th. A prohibition to contract, by loans, discounts, or the emission of paper, a debt more than double the sum existing in the coffers of the bank.

8th. A prohibition to lend, without an express law of the United States, more than a hundred thousand dollars to the federal government, or more than fifty thousand to any one of the states, or to any foreign prince or power.

9th. An obligation to lay before the secretary of the treasury a statement of the actual situation of the bank, whenever he should demand such statement, with a power given to that officer to check such accounts with the books of the bank.

10th. A provision to make the notes of the bank legal payment, in all the offices of the United States.

11th. The pledge of the public faith, to establish no other bank in the United States, during the term of the charter granted to this bank.

Without entering into an examination of the nature of the security of shares in a bank, whose original capital should be formed like that of the bank of the United States, and which, placed immediately under the influence of government, might, in times of necessity, be compelled, by a law

law of congress, to furnish the loans that circumstances rendered necessary, I shall only observe the danger to which it exposes the finances of the Union; by the facility of the government to obtain large loans by a law of congress, and by the power vested in the bank of lending a hundred thousand dollars to the government, even without any new sanction of the congress. The present state of the national debt is attributed to this circumstance; without which, it is probable, the loans would not have been so multiplied, and a greater economy would have been practised in the expenditure of the government. The congress, perceiving the public expenditure exceed the public revenues, would have endeavoured to balance them by taxes which they only postponed, and which at present they are obliged to levy in a degree that would not have been necessary had they been earlier convinced of the evils of loans—taxes which, however heavy, cannot even at present supersede the necessity of new loans for the redemption of former ones provided to be redeemed at fixed periods; as, for example, those of the bank, and those for which the government was obliged to grant an enormous interest.

It is not certainly without great hesitation that I hazard my opinion in matters of finance, respecting which my information is by no means extensive: and the more so, as that opinion is in opposition to many persons who are esteemed able financiers. I shall at present confine myself to the observing, that, although I am persuaded of the real and important utility of banks, when their affairs are administered with prudence and equity, in aiding the efforts of commerce, industry, and agriculture, and adding by the credit to the wealth of a state, and consequently to its causes of prosperity; and although I even acknowledge that these advantages have been derived from banks by the United States, yet the mischiefs of the system on which banks are conducted appear to me greatly to exceed their benefits. The facility with which abuses creep into these establishments is so great, and these abuses are so powerfully protected and encouraged, both by the necessities of governments and the rapacity of individuals, that it is almost impossible for the most upright of the persons concerned in their management to exclude such abuses. Their

evils are the greater in a country where banks are numerous, specie scarce, and the desire of accumulation the common desire of the inhabitants. Instead of creating a currency double the amount of their real capital, banks create one ten times, and even twenty times greater; and the illusion which succeeds the first moments of commercial prosperity, that in a time of peace springs from the facility of extending individual capitals, is nothing more than a means of augmenting and precipitating the real calamities which must follow. The ruin of individuals, and even that of states, must sooner or later be the consequence; inasmuch as economy, and sedate views of the nature of enterprises, are no longer things that can be attended to. The present system of banking is upheld by an opinion, that a state, far from being impoverished by its debts, has in that medium a new cause of prosperity, resulting from a new activity given to circulation, and an opportunity given to individuals to turn to profit the gradual savings of the smallest revenues. This theory is no better, I think, than an abuse of ingenuity, employed in the aid of a desperate state of finance. It tends to augment, without bounds, that mass of debt so singularly metamorphosed, in the eyes of the vulgar, to the necessary aliment of public credit and prosperity. The most ordinary understanding is sufficient to discover, that there must at least be a point beyond which the debts of a state ought not to extend;—and, where is the government who will thus confine itself when it can, almost secretly, and altogether without the murmurs of the people, increase the means of its expenditure? Where is the government that, intoxicated with this system of indefinitely increasing its debt, is not daily hastening the nation it directs to inevitable ruin? The period of reckoning must at last arrive, when the people will not and cannot pay taxes which are neither employed in the defence nor any other service of the nation, but are raised merely to pay interests of loans, which economy in the finances would have rendered unnecessary; and when things have attained this crisis, the epoch is arrived which is the most dangerous to the tranquillity of the nation, the stability of its government, and the happiness of individuals.

The bank of the United States, being by its charter empowered to establish

establish assistant banks in such parts of the United States as it should deem expedient, has already established four—one at New York, one at Boston, one at Baltimore, and one at Charleston; but the capitals of these banks, known in America by the name of *branch-banks*, are not exclusive of its capital of ten millions of dollars. The following is a statement of the affairs of the bank of the United States, on the 31st December 1796.

<i>Debtor.</i>		<i>Creditor.</i>	
	Dollars.		Dollars.
Capital - - -	10,000,000	In the six per cents	3,524,331½
Dutch loan - - -	750,000	Discounted bills	2,080,641
Sums belonging to the government of the United States* - -	431,242	Due from the government of the United States - -	4,000,000
Sums belonging to individuals - -	873,238	Specie - -	521,415
Bank notes in circulation - - -	795,901		
Post notes† - - -	607,600		
Balance of 1796 - - -	232,873		
Interest on loans made to the government - - -	210,677		
Profits reserved in hand, after payment of the dividends - - -	132,848		

The capitals of the several *branch-banks*, furnished by the bank of the United States, are as follow:

New York - -	1,200,000 dollars.	Baltimore - -	400,000 dollars.
Boston - -	700,000	Charleston - -	500,000

The particular accounts of the *branch-banks* make part of the general account of the bank of the United States. This bank erected a new building in 1797, in which it has transacted business since the 1st of

* Government keeps its cash in the bank of the United States.

† Bills drawn on the *branch-banks*.

July of the same year: the ground on which it stands cost fourteen thousand dollars; and the cost of the building will exceed a hundred thousand. The dividends of this bank are eight per cent; and its shares bear a premium from fifteen to eighteen per cent. The following is a statement of the present price of the public funds.

Three per cents	-	50
Six per cents	-	82
Deferred stock	-	65

The public engagements are discharged in the United States with the greatest punctuality; and the loan granted by France was repaid before the period of its being due, at the desire of the French government.

The present revenues of the United States consist of the following articles:—1st, Duties on tonnage, and on the importation of foreign articles. 2d. Duties on spirituous liquors distilled in the United States; on the manufacture of tobacco; on refining of sugar; on public sales; on the retailing of wine, and foreign spirituous liquors; and on carriages. 3d. A profit on the postage of letters. And 4th, Dividends of shares belonging to the government in the bank of the United States.

The duties on tonnage are about three pence halfpenny per ton on American vessels, and half a dollar per ton on foreign vessels.

The following is a table of the tonnage employed in the different ports of the United States, during the last seven years.

<i>American Tonnage.</i>			<i>Foreign Tonnage.</i>		
In 1790,		Tons.			Tons.
Coasting vessels	-	113,181	English	-	228,631
Vessels employed in the			French	-	13,435
fisheries	-	26,522	Dutch	-	8,815
Vessels employed in fo-			Spanish	-	8,551
reign trade	-	362,823	Danish, Prussian, Ham-		
			burg, &c.	-	5,131
		<u>502,526</u>			<u>264,563</u>

Total of American and foreign tonnage for the year, 767,089.

In

*American Tonnage.**Foreign Tonnage.*

In 1791,	Tons.		Tons.
Coasting vessels -	106,494	English -	210,618
Vessels employed in the fisheries -	32,542	French -	8,988
Vessels employed in foreign trade -	303,854	Other nations -	18,860
	<u>502,890</u>		<u>238,466</u>
Total for the year, 741,356.			

In 1792,	Tons.		Tons.
Coasting vessels -	120,997	English -	206,065
Vessels employed in the fisheries -	32,062	French -	24,343
Vessels employed in foreign trade -	414,629	Other nations -	13,870
	<u>567,688</u>		<u>244,278</u>
Total for the year, 811,966.			

In 1793,	Tons.		Tons.
Coasting vessels -	141,630	English -	100,180
Vessels employed in the fisheries -	38,177	French -	45,287
Vessels employed in foreign trade -	438,864	Other nations -	17,759
	<u>618,680</u>		<u>163,226</u>
Total for the year, 781,906.			

American

*American Tonnage.**Foreign Tonnage.*

In 1794,	Tons.		Tons.
Coasting vessels -	192,686	English - -	37,058
Vessels employed in the fisheries - -	27,260	French - -	11,249
Vessels employed in foreign trade - -	527,194	Other nations - -	34,667
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	747,140		82,974

Total for the year, 830,114.

In 1795,			
Coasting vessels -	171,918	English	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; font-size: 3em; line-height: 1;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">I could not procure an exact statement of the amount of each.</div>
Vessels employed in the fisheries - -	34,102	French	
Vessels employed in foreign trade - -	580,277	Other nations	
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	786,297		62,000

Total for the year, 848,297.

In 1796,			
Coasting vessels -	200,372	English - -	19,669
Vessels employed in the fisheries - -	38,920	French - -	2,055
Vessels employed in foreign trade - -	675,046	Danish - -	10,430
	<hr/>	Swedish - -	5,560
	913,338	Anseatic Cities - -	4,987
		Ports of Italy - -	758
		Spain - -	2,449
		Portuguese - -	637
		Dutch - -	301
			<hr/>
			47,846

Total for the year, 962,184.

The

The quantity of tonnage in the preceding table is, with respect to American vessels, the quantity that sailed from the several ports; and, with respect to foreign vessels, that which entered the several ports; therefore, as most of the vessels would return, we may take the total quantity of tonnage at nearly double the quantity named in the table.

The duties on foreign articles imported into the United States vary according to the nature of the articles, from five to fifty-five per cent. Some are paid in proportion to the computed value of the articles; and others by the quantity. Foreign articles, imported in foreign vessels, are subject, since the month of July 1792, to ten per cent more than when imported in American vessels. The amount of these duties is always added to the duty on tonnage in the returns made by the secretary of the treasury. The amount of these consolidated duties, from the 1st of August 1789, to the end of 1791, was six millions three hundred and thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three dollars. In 1792, they yielded four millions seven hundred and thirty-one thousand and thirty-two dollars. In 1793, six millions one hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred and sixty-four dollars. In 1794, six millions seven hundred and twenty-five thousand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars. In 1795, seven millions nine hundred and fifty-nine thousand four hundred and nine dollars; and in 1796, six millions five hundred and sixty-seven thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars.

These sums are the net amount of these duties after the following deductions—first, drawbacks on foreign goods re-exported of the whole duty, except one per cent. Second, drawbacks on spirituous liquors distilled, sugars refined, and tobacco manufactured in the states, when these articles are exported to foreign countries. Third, bounties given to the fisheries, which vary from a dollar and a half to two dollars and a half per ton, according to the size of the vessel employed in them. There is also a bounty on every barrel of fish salted or smoked, of about four pence halfpenny. Fourth, the expence of collection of the duties, which amounts to about five per cent.

Fines for smuggling foreign articles into the states, or attempts to defraud

fraud the revenue, are also thrown into the mass of these receipts. But smuggling is far from considerable in the United States, the duties in general being moderate. It is however to be observed, that the produce of the duties on tea is decreased nearly half within the two last years, although the use of tea is far from being diminished. The smuggling of this article, for it must be acknowledged to be such, is attributed to the increase of the tax, which is from eighteen to thirty per cent for teas coming from China, and higher still for those imported from Europe; and also to the facility of secretly landing that article.

There are a few small vessels belonging to the United States whose employment it is to prevent vessels, coming from foreign countries, unloading in places where there is no custom-house.

The various expences of the revenue are paid by the collectors of each district, and deducted from the general account of their receipts.

The duties on some articles of importation were augmented in the last session, which ended in the month of March 1797. The duties on spirituous liquors distilled in the United States, were first imposed in 1794. At that time they were six pence halfpenny per gallon on spirituous liquors made from molasses, and five pence per gallon on those made from fruit or grain, the production of the country. In 1794 they were reduced to six pence per gallon on the former, and four pence on the latter; but this reduction was only on liquors of inferior quality, the duties on those of the first quality being raised to fifteen pence per gallon when made from molasses, and ten pence halfpenny when made from productions of the country. This tax, especially that part of it imposed on spirituous liquors distilled from home produce, has always been very unpopular. The law gave the option to the distiller to pay either the precise duty for each gallon, or a composition of two shillings and eight pence per annum for every gallon the stills employed could contain. The distillers generally preferred the first mode, because they were uncertain of occupying their stills the whole year, and because there was greater opportunity to elude the payment of the duties in that mode, the distilleries being scattered at great distances throughout the states, and not very vigilantly

lantly watched by the officers of the excise. The public opinion being averse to this tax, it never was universally collected. Many parts of some of the states, and even entire states, have refused to this day to submit to this tax. Congress therefore, in the last session, thought proper to deprive the distiller of the option the law formerly gave him as to the mode of paying the tax, and enjoined every distiller to pay a composition in proportion to the size of his stills. The distiller is, however, permitted to make the composition only for two weeks, or for any term between that and six months; the composition for two weeks is three pence halfpenny per gallon, for six months two shillings and one penny halfpenny per gallon, and the compositions between these two terms are in the same proportion, giving the advantage to those who subscribe for the longer term. By this regulation the number of excisemen is diminished, the receipt is more productive, and the inquisition attached to that species of tax is narrowed as much as possible. The tax is, notwithstanding, a burthen on the agriculture and industry of the country, and upon a branch of its industry calculated to diminish the employment of foreign industry and the consumption of foreign produce.

The distilleries that make spirituous liquors from molasses being chiefly in sea ports, and but few in number, it is not easy to elude the duty. Mr. GALLATIN, in his examination of the receipts and expences of collection of the various taxes of the United States, calculates the expence of collection on spirituous liquors distilled from the produce of the country to amount to nearly thirty-four per cent, while those on spirituous liquors distilled from molasses, known in America by the name of continental rum, amount only to fourteen and a half per cent.

The quantity of molasses imported into the United States for distillation amounted, in the years 1790 and 1791, on an average of the two years, to six millions six hundred and sixty thousand gallons per annum. In 1796, it amounted only to three millions six hundred and ninety-six thousand nine hundred and six gallons.

The joint net produce of the duties on these two sorts of spirituous liquors in the last six months of 1791, was one hundred and sixty-four

thousand five hundred and ninety-seven dollars; in 1792, four hundred and forty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-three dollars; in 1793, five hundred and thirty-nine thousand nine hundred and seventy-five dollars; in 1794, three hundred fifty-three thousand two hundred and twenty-five dollars; in 1795, one hundred and ninety-nine thousand dollars; and 1796, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars.

It is necessary to observe here, that the importation of foreign spirituous liquors considerably encreased from the year 1790 to the year 1795. In 1790, it amounted to three millions six hundred seventy-eight thousand one hundred and ninety-nine gallons; and in 1794, to five millions six hundred and ninety-nine thousand three hundred and sixty-nine gallons.

The importation of wine, exclusive of Madeira, in 1790, amounted to six hundred seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-one gallons; and in 1795, to four millions three hundred and thirty-six thousand and seventy-six gallons. The importation of ale and porter in 1790, amounted to seventy thousand five hundred and sixty-four gallons; and in 1794, to three hundred and thirty-one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight gallons.

The great increase in these importations is in part to be ascribed to the present war, which has increased the commerce of the United States; but if we consider that a small portion of these articles is re-exported from America, part of the encrease will be ascribed to other causes—one of which is, a great decrease in the importation of molasses; the quantity imported in 1795 being no more than half the importation of that article in 1790, and the spirituous liquors distilled from molasses in the United States was reduced from two millions to one million of gallons, between the year 1790 and the year 1795—another cause is the rise in the price of grain, which has been so great, that the distilleries that use that article have been scarcely able to maintain their ground. The following table will put this matter out of question.

Duties paid for the Importation of Wines, spirituous Liquors, and malt Liquors, into the United States, during the Years 1793, 1794, and 1795; and the Drawbacks for the Re-exportation of the same Articles, during the same Period.

	Years—1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties.	Drawbacks.	Duties.	Drawbacks.	Duties.	Drawbacks.
Madeira wines	121,752	4,692	166,623	14,258	196,842	5,952
Other wines	243,910	4,235	233,460	4,012	464,893	11,433
Spirituous liquors	1,034,564	31,320	1,618,364	38,117	1,492,492	59,181
Ale, porter, &c.	22,572		25,961	165	29,375	288

The drawbacks for the exportation of spirituous liquors distilled in the states, are a halfpenny per gallon for those made from the produce of the country; and two pence per gallon for those made from molasses, which difference is a compensation for the duties paid on the importation of molasses into the states.

The law that imposes these taxes was passed in March 1791; and their produce is appropriated to the payment of the interests and capital of loans made and to be made for the extinction of the national debt; and it is provided, that these taxes shall be continued to be levied till that event takes place.

The duties on the importation of molasses was increased one halfpenny per gallon in the session before last; and the drawback for the exportation of continental rum increased in the same proportion.

The mode of collecting the duties on manufactured tobacco has undergone several alterations since its establishment, which was in 1794. At first the duty was laid on the article at the rate of four pence halfpenny per pound, but the smallness of the receipts being attributed to frauds from the difficulty of knowing the quantity manufactured, the congress laid the tax on the mills, it being varied from one hundred and forty to two hundred and forty dollars, according to the size and kind of mill; and the produce of this tax amounts now to more than three times the former receipts. The drawback, however, of three pence halfpenny per pound on

the exportation of that article having exceeded the produce of the tax, it was plain there was immense fraud in these exports; and the legislature entirely suspended that tax for one year, in the session of 1796. In the last session but one they re-established the tax; but its produce, which should it even continue to exist, will never be considerable, cannot at present be placed on the side of the receipts of the revenue.

The law which laid a duty on the refining of sugars in the United States, passed in the beginning of 1794; but the duty did not take place till the 1st. of October in the same year. It is one penny per pound on the sugar, when it is refined; and a drawback is allowed of two pence halfpenny per pound when it is exported, the additional one penny halfpenny being the amount of the duty imposed on raw sugars. The same law, with a view to encourage this branch of American commerce, imposes a duty of two pence per pound on foreign refined sugars imported into the states, and no drawback is allowed on the re-exportation of such sugars. An addition of a farthing per pound has been lately laid on the importation of raw sugars, and an additional halfpenny per pound allowed for the exportation of raw sugars refined in the states. In 1795, this duty produced thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifteen dollars; and in 1796, thirty-eight thousand dollars—the expences of collection, which amount to five per cent, being deducted.

The law imposing a duty on public sales also passed in 1794. This duty varies from a quarter of a dollar to half a dollar on effects sold to the amount of a hundred dollars; in 1795 it produced thirty thousand four hundred and fifteen dollars; and in 1796, thirty-three thousand six hundred and forty-five dollars—the expences of collection, which amount to two and a half per cent, being deducted. Notwithstanding the provisions made by the law for the payment of this duty, the integrity of the auctioneers, who are obliged to take out a licence, is its only guarantee.

The tax on retailers of wine and spirituous liquors was also imposed by a law of 1794; it is five dollars per annum for every retailer of wine in less quantities than thirty gallons, and of spirituous liquors in less quantities

ties than twenty gallons. Public houses are exempt from this tax. In 1795 it produced fifty-three thousand five hundred and forty-seven dollars; and in 1796, more than fifty-eight thousand dollars—independent of the expences of collection, which are two and a half per cent.

The duty on carriages was also first imposed in the same year; it is from two to fifteen dollars per annum on each carriage, according to its kind; in 1795 it produced forty-one thousand four hundred and twenty-one dollars; and in 1796, fifty-three thousand two hundred dollars. The expences of collection amount to five per cent.

In 1796 a cause was determined in the supreme court of the United States, on a question arising out of this tax. The constitution says—*that no capitation tax, nor direct tax, shall be imposed by congress, except such as may be imposed on the different states in proportion to their federal number.* A person residing in Maryland refused to pay the tax on carriages, on the ground that it was a *direct tax*, because it was levied directly on the article in the possession of the consumer; whereas to be indirect, it ought to be laid on the persons dealing in that article. The counsel for the person appealing from the tax were Mr. INGOLSON, attorney-general of the state of Pennsylvania, and Mr. CAMPBELL, a barrister of Virginia; and the counsel for the government were, Mr. HAMILTON, and Mr. LEE, attorney-general of the United States. The latter gentlemen maintained, that the tax was indirect, inasmuch as it was levied upon an article of the appellant's expenditure, and not on his revenue.

The term *direct*, used as it is in the passage of the constitution above cited, is so vague, and the writers on this subject have given the term such opposite interpretations, that the arguments on both sides were allowed to be of equal force. The supreme court, being empowered by the constitution to determine upon principles of equity as well as law, in all cases resulting from different constructions of the constitution or the laws, gave judgment in favour of the tax, declaring the tax on carriages to be an indirect tax; and it was certainly reasonable, in the great doubt the judges must feel on this nice question, they should be determined by the

the necessity of making this branch of the revenue productive, especially as the tax affects only an article of luxury.

The five last of these taxes were imposed by laws that passed nearly at the same period, and are to cease in August 1801.

It is said that the taxes on public sales, and on retailers of wine and spirituous liquors, would be displaced with advantage to the country by a small increase of the duties on importation, and on wine, and on the distilleries. It is maintained that the receipt would be greater, would be without additional cost, would be less vexatious, and would, notwithstanding, affect the persons who pay the two taxes objected to.

These five taxes are known by the name of *the five new taxes*, and are placed under the same heads in the returns of the secretary of the treasury.

The post office is in the hands of the government, and its profits form a branch of the revenue. It was in 1794 the last law was passed relative to the administration of this department. From the 1st of October, 1789, to the 30th of June, 1791, the revenue produced by the post office amounted to four thousand one hundred and eighty-two dollars, from the 1st of July 1791 to the 31st of December 1792, to sixteen thousand four hundred and one dollars; for the whole of the year 1793, to twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-two dollars; for 1794, to thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight dollars; for 1795, to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five dollars; and for 1796, to seventy-two thousand nine hundred and nine dollars. This branch of the revenue is still increasing; but the government, prudently extending the benefits of the post to places at present very little inhabited, the receipt in such places does not even pay the expences of conveying the letters to and from them.

Letters are carried here, as in England, in coaches or diligences, which are at the same time public carriages; so that the government pays less for the conveyance of the letters. In roads where stage-coaches are not established, the letters are conveyed on horseback.

The

The price of letters is three pence halfpenny for a distance of thirty miles, and one and three pence for a distance of four hundred and fifty miles. Double letters, and covers enclosing more than one letter, pay at the same rate for every letter. Packets weighing one ounce pay the price of four letters. Letters coming from abroad, and put into the post office at the port where the vessel lands, pay two pence over and above the postage, if sent to any other part of the United States.

The number of shares of the bank of the United States belonging to the federal government was five thousand, whose dividends produced a hundred and sixty thousand dollars half yearly. Two thousand two hundred and forty were sold during the last six months of 1796, towards the discharge of loans, whose period of repayment was arrived. The return of the secretary of the treasury makes the amount of the dividends for the last half year of 1796, forty-five thousand dollars.

Patents granted by the government for new inventions, and privileges to authors for an exclusive right on their works, also produce a revenue to the United States, but the amount has never exceeded sixteen hundred dollars, and in 1796 was no more than twelve hundred and sixty.

The return of the secretary of the treasury also contains the receipts, from the mint, of the coin of the United States; but the expences of that establishment are placed on the other side, and greatly exceed the receipts.

The produce of all the duties, of which I have given the detail, amounted, in 1796, to seven millions one hundred and eighty-eight thousand and one dollars. The following is a statement of their respective produce:

	Dollars.
Tonnage and imports	6,567,987
Distilleries	238,000
Refining of sugars	38,000
Public sales	33,045
Carried over	6,877,032

	Dollars.
Brought forward	6,877,032
Retailers of wine and spirituous liquors	58,000
Carriages	53,800
Post office	72,000
Dividends on the shares of the bank	125,000
Patents	1,260
	<hr/>
	7,188,001*

Although it is probable that, at the conclusion of the present war, the importation of the produce of the West India islands, destined for re-exportation, will be reduced, and consequently the duties on tonnage diminished, it is nevertheless to be expected that the total amount of the revenue will not be less, but that the encrease of population will add to the importation a quantity at least equal to what it will lose by other circumstances. But in the statement already made of the situation of the finances of the United States, it appears that the revenues fall short of the expenditure, and that according to the lowest estimation, it will require an annual augmentation of the revenues to balance the expenditure of nearly two millions of dollars—that is to say, if even the present duties do not fall off in their produce, and a war with an European power might reduce them almost to nothing. New sources of revenue must therefore be explored, as well as rigid economy practised; and no doubt the aid of the latter would be considerable, if it was the result of an enlightened and comprehensive system.

The congress, in the session which ended in the month of March last, laid new duties, as I have before observed, on the importation of raw sugars, bohea teas, molasses, cottons, sugar-candy, and cocoa, with an addition of ten per cent on all these articles when imported in foreign

* The sum of 7,188,001 dollars is the actual receipt of the year 1796; but the secretary of the treasury and the committee of finances in the house of representatives, compute the annual revenue at no more than 6,200,600 dollars.

vessels. It does not appear that these new duties are calculated to produce more than one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, and they may be expected to fall short of that sum; for it is well known that the increase of this sort of taxes at once diminishes consumption, and gives encouragement to smuggling. A duty on stamps, which was calculated to produce two hundred thousand dollars, was imposed in the last session, and a loan of eight hundred thousand dollars authorized.

In the session before the last, warm debates arose on a proposition for laying a direct tax upon lands. Independent of the necessity there is at present of augmenting the revenues of the United States, nothing is more evident than the propriety of adopting a mode of taxation which rests upon solid foundations, whose produce is capable of being extended according to the demands of the state, and is independent of the fluctuations to which merchandize is subject; and no tax possesses these qualities in the same degree as a tax on land. The session, however, passed away without any thing being done in this important subject.

To judge of the obstacles to which such a scheme would be subject, it is necessary to take a view of the direct taxes which at present exist in America. The secretary of the treasury, in a report made to the house of representatives, at the close of the year 1796, on the practicability of raising a direct tax throughout the extent of the United States, gives the following statement of the different modes of levying taxes in use in the several states:

"1st. A uniform capitation tax, or a direct tax on persons, without discrimination of their property, profession, or employment, is imposed in the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, North Carolina, and Georgia.

"The amount of these taxes in Vermont and Georgia is not known. In the five other states it is from two-ninths to four-ninths of the total produce of the taxes of those states.

"In none of the other states is this species of tax in use; for the taxes on professions, on certain classes of people, and on slaves, cannot be deemed of that kind.

" 2d. In the states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, horses and cattle are taxed, but with variations and exceptions. In Virginia horses only are taxed. In the states of Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, and Maryland, capitals and farms are comprised in the general computation of taxable property; in other states these are not subject to any tax.

" 3d. In the states of New York, Rhode Island, Delaware, and Maryland, taxes are imposed on the general mass of property, real or personal, with particular exceptions in each of these states; in the other states, taxes are imposed only upon specific articles of property.

" 4th. In all the states, excepting Vermont and Delaware, land is taxed, comprising the lands unclosed and uncultivated; and there is reason to believe that the same measure will be adopted in the two latter states.

" In North Carolina lands are taxed by the quantity, without regard to their nature or species of culture. In Kentucky they are divided into three classes, according to their quality, but each class is taxed uniformly. In South Carolina and Georgia the land is taxed uniformly by districts, cultivated or otherwise. In Virginia it is taxed according to a permanent computation. In Maryland and New Jersey the relative value of the lands in the different counties and districts is determined by the law; and in these districts the land is taxed according to its value, never exceeding a certain rate. In Pennsylvania the land is taxed according to a valuation made every three years. In Connecticut all the lands, with the exception of some in two of the counties, are taxed according to the nature of their culture, or the kind of state they are in, and that uniformly, without regard to their respective value. In Massachusetts and New Hampshire land is taxed according to its produce, or the annual rent or profit it is supposed to bring. In the state of Vermont lands inclosed and cultivated, with some exceptions, are taxed uniformly, without regard to their value or produce.

" 5th. Capitals employed in commerce or manufacture are taxed in different states according to the principles of each state, but in some states they are not taxed.

" 6th.

6th. Taxes at the discretion of the assessors on the computed property or revenues of individuals, are permitted in different degrees and modifications in some of the states; in others, all the taxes are imposed upon precise objects, and at a certain rate."

This sketch may give an idea of the difficulties which the Union would have to encounter, as well as the greater part of the individual states, in laying a tax on land with equity and with steadiness in its collection. The imposition of it would give offence, like all new taxes, especially of a direct nature; but more especially among a people accustomed to pay very little in taxes. Different states having different modes of taxing the land, and some having no territorial imposition, the legislature of the Union is placed between these two difficulties—either to adopt for its collection in each state accustomed to the tax the mode established in that state, and to establish a new mode for those states which at present have no such tax, which would make the tax bear unequally; or to establish a uniform mode for all the states, which being contrary to the habits and prejudices of many of them, would add to its unpopularity, and render its produce still more uncertain. To which difficulties it is to be added, that the tax being destined to the services of the general government, must be collected by the officers of the Union, which mode of collection would be attended with great expence. The committee of finances in the house of representatives, who laid before the house the proposition for this tax, estimates the expences of collection at twenty-seven and a half per cent.

It is to be observed, that the popular party, that is to say, the *anti-federalists*, in the house, gave their support to the measure, perceiving that the establishment of a direct tax whose weight should be immediately felt by every citizen of the United States, would probably furnish some check on the disposition they ascribe to the government of squandering money in useless expences. The *federalists* opposed the plan, and perhaps were not uninfluenced by the same reasons. All the adherents, however, of the respective parties did not vote with their leaders on this occasion. Many members of the house were guided by their own opinions of the tax; and those opinions, which, no doubt, flowed principally

pally from a regard to the public welfare, were in some instances ascribed to private considerations, according to the circumstances of the persons voting.

Before I conclude this article on the finances of the United States, I cannot forbear to touch on a point, connected with the opinion I have already expressed—that the states in their general legislation are rather occupied with the means of forcing themselves into the rank of great and powerful nations than those of consolidating their strength and increasing their real power. Perhaps this error in their policy is the natural result of the combination of circumstances which surround them; but whatever be the cause, it retards their progress as a nation, which can be secured only by their effectual independence. I have in view chiefly the duties on articles of importation, which I think were not calculated for the situation in which America was at the time of their being established, nor are politic in her present situation; and their ill effects are, I believe, already evident. If we look, without prejudice and with sufficient reflection, at the nature of those duties, we see they are rather contrived to increase the revenues of the general government—no doubt a legitimate object of the taxes---than to add to the real welfare, or to cultivate the morals of the people, and consequently to add to the security of the independence of the Union—objects surely not less necessary than a tax. The system of these taxes is evidently designed to give encouragement to the commerce and navigation of the United States; and for that object merely it is combined with foresight. But commerce is only a secondary object in an extensive continental nation, abounding with uncultivated lands. The more important objects of its attention are—the cultivation of its lands, the increase of its own raw produce, and the establishment of manufactures, to make it independent of other nations for all the articles of the first necessity. Commerce is no more than the means of exchanging a surplus of produce for articles that a nation cannot produce or manufacture. If it proceeds beyond that point, especially in a nation in its infancy, it collects in the places where it is carried on the population which would otherwise spread

spread generally, and which ought to be employed in making the country generally productive; while it tends to fill the country with foreign goods, and for a long time retards the establishment of manufactures at home. Fortunes may be made by individuals in this course; but it is a course that impedes the progress of a nation to independence and prosperity. The duties on importation in the United States appear to me to place them in this situation. They are no doubt very high; but as there are few manufactures in the United States, the duties do not at all prevent the introduction of foreign merchandise, which turns all the disposable labour, or the greater part of it, to navigation, for the introduction of foreign merchandise is the support of navigation, and enables it to afford wages for labour greatly exceeding what can be given by agriculture. The dearth of labour also opposes itself to the establishment of manufactures, which are attended with difficulties and hazard, even in countries where labour is cheap. The money of the United States, and the produce of their lands, enriches foreign nations, especially England, with whom their commerce is the most considerable, and indeed to whom it is almost wholly confined. It is a real tax paid by America to England. Part of this money, indeed, remains in the hands of the American merchants, and consequently returns to the cultivator of the lands, but the greater part enriches a foreign country.

The reader will be enabled to judge of the truth of these observations by the following comparative view of the amount of the importation of the produce of the United States into England, and the importation of English merchandise into the United States, presented in 1796, to the house of commons in England.

Imports

Imports of the several United States into England.

States.	Years.			
	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. sterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	101,616	88,701	40,401	154,013
New York	156,769	149,975	92,947	165,864
Pennsylvania	42,620	168,798	35,809	485,310
Maryland	118,490	102,198	35,388	78,741
Virginia	309,482	262,681	294,219	189,467
North Carolina	44,656	28,000	8,012	19,340
South Carolina	219,830	167,625	104,055	230,849
Georgia	45,232	36,059	14,898	28,548
	1,038,707	904,040	625,733	1,352,136

Imports of England into the several United States.

States.	Years.			
	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.
	£. sterling.	£.	£.	£.
New England	614,363	435,825	517,445	672,337
New York	834,041	763,980	1,021,997	1,346,634
Pennsylvania	781,074	855,206	768,832	1,307,736
Maryland	505,119	547,583	640,129	656,148
Virginia	846,517	549,032	662,160	771,487
North Carolina	38,157	25,512	9,293	15,768
South Carolina	575,266	311,274	227,588	570,429
Georgia	76,877	26,260	12,423	13,573
	4,271,418	3,514,681	3,859,871	5,254,114

COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, EXPORTATION,
TONNAGE, &c.

The preceding article gives a good idea of the commerce of the United States, as far as a judgment can be formed from the entries made in the custom-house books.

Another way of judging of the advantage of a commercial intercourse between two states, is the value of bills of exchange. Those of the United States drawn upon London, at sixty days sight, have always been at two per cent at least above par, except in the month of November 1792 only, when they were at par; and since they have been at six, and even as much as nine per cent above par.

The balance of trade may be somewhat in favour of the United States in their dealings with other nations; but that is a very insufficient compensation for the disadvantage they labour under in their commercial intercourse with England, and that solely on account of the manufactured articles which they take from that country.

This system, so ruinous to the fortunes of the American people, is still more prejudicial to its morals. The merchant in the ports of America, who receives manufactured goods from abroad, naturally endeavours to increase the consumption of them, since it increases his profit. He therefore diffuses them in the interior, and as far as he can hope to find a sale; and a taste for foreign commodities accompanies their introduction into the most distant provinces.

There is no point of the United States, however remote, even in the woods, in which one store, and frequently more, may not be found. There are established warehouses for foreign goods, which are emptied and filled again twice in the year, and of which the proprietors make a rapid fortune.

The home manufactures do not suffice alone to satisfy the taste for luxury, which is inspired by the sight of articles more elegant, more showy, and more in fashion in the great towns.

A woman,

A woman, or a young lad, would be ashamed to appear on a Sunday at church, without a gown, a waistcoat, or a hat, manufactured in Europe, for which they pay as much as sixty per cent dearer than in the shops of Philadelphia or New York.

A taste for luxury leads to expensive habits, and consequently to imprudence. It is therefore an obstacle to the complete happiness which this nation seems destined by nature to enjoy. The introduction of these foreign commodities into the back-settlements may be compared to the introduction of rum and whisky among the Indians. The motive is the same, and produces the same effects.

The abundant importation of merchandise manufactured in England into the United States, naturally proceeds from those states having been habituated, while English colonies, to receive them from the mother country, of which it was the interest to keep its manufactories constantly at work, and which, from its being the seat of power, possessed all the means of forcing that importation.

It may be easily conceived that, after the revolution, the opulent inhabitants of the American cities, must naturally have retained their taste for English stuffs and furniture, and the habit of using them; and that it was the interest of the English merchants to encourage that habit; and this it was the more easy for them to do, as the old American houses having been almost all dispersed by the revolution, the American merchants were in general little else at that time than the agents of English houses. This state of things is then what it could not fail to be, since the legislature has opposed no obstacle to the prevalence of habit and individual interest.

With more wisdom and foresight, it seems that the government of the United States would have prohibited all articles of luxury manufactured abroad, or at least would have taxed them as high as circumstances would have permitted, without giving too great encouragement to smuggling.

Public spirit effectually prohibited them, during the revolution; and yet every one was then clothed, although many hands were taken away from
from

from the loom by military service, and by the uneasiness and misfortunes always attendant upon war; and the population is now nearly double what it then was. Necessity would immediately have extended domestic manufactories, and would have led to the speedy establishment of national ones.

At the outset their productions would have been of a coarse quality. People too nice to be contented with them, might then have procured foreign merchandize, by paying double or treble their real value; but ninety-nine out of a hundred of the inhabitants would soon have accustomed themselves to the manufactures of the country, since it would not have been easy for them to procure the produce of other peoples' labour. The home manufactories would consequently have made a rapid advance towards perfection.

Navigation employing fewer hands, agriculture would have had more at its disposal. The increase of cattle, now very scarce in America, would have been one of the consequences of keeping up the national, domestic, and other manufactures.

The English, French, and other artisans, now working in Europe upon the merchandize exported to America, would have brought their industry into the United States, where they would have obtained a more comfortable livelihood.

The United States would have reason to fear, that the prohibition of foreign merchandize in their ports would have prevented their own produce from finding an outlet. The productions of the United States are articles of the first necessity; and several of them are to be found only within their territory.

As to their navigation, their fisheries alone would have been a nursery for more seamen than they will soon have occasion for, it is to be hoped, in order to man their vessels of war; and their commerce would not have been therefore annihilated. No doubt, it would have been less brilliant than we have seen it for some years, but it would have been more solid.

America would have had less credit abroad; but that credit is her

ruin. She would have had less fictitious riches; but would have possessed more real wealth. Fewer emigrants from other countries would have come to her with a view of making fortunes; but she would have received a much greater proportion of the laborious classes of the community. Those fortunes which give such fallacious indications of prosperity, are all made at the expence of America; they carry away the money, and leave there nothing but European habits, I had almost said vices.

The real balance of trade would have been in her favour; and it has been seen how much it is against her. She would have had fewer speculations and speculators, but better morals; a less splendid display of luxury, but more republican institutions. The intercourse with foreign nations would have been less expensive; but finding within herself the means of supplying all her wants, she would have been more independent. In a word, she would have acquired every year an increase of substantial *enbonpoint*; whereas, that on which she boasts, and on which she is congratulated, is nothing but a bloated appearance of corpulence.

No doubt the customhouse would have produced less to the national treasury; but direct taxes would easily have supplied the deficiency; and if the United States had followed this system from the time of the revolution, their own industry would have been almost adequate to their wants; whereas at present they cannot do without the assistance of foreigners, except in the manufacturing of hats and leather, of which the raw materials are the produce of their own country.

They are dependent; and that dependence which arises from their wants, and which will always increase in proportion as luxury, already at a great height in America, shall be carried higher still, may have an influence upon the political determinations of the United States; and may lead them into great errors, and to the adoption of measures sooner or later prejudicial to their interest.

Several manufactories of sail-cloth have been established in the United States with tolerable success, but have been carried to no great extent. Every year also some spinning establishments, and even cotton manu-
factories,

factories, are attempted to be set on foot; but the following year they are sure to fall; for no other reason than the high price of labour, which is itself a consequence of the general system of taxation.

I have spoken of the exports of the different states of the federal union, in proportion as my travels have carried me into those different states, and more or less in detail, according to the nature of the information that I was able to procure. The exports of the general commerce of America are the result of those of the particular states. Here follow the totals, as presented annually to the congress by the secretary of the treasury.

It was only from the 1st of September 1789, that an exact amount was taken of them, that of the preceding years being imperfect. In accounts of this sort, the year begins on the 1st of October, and ends on the 30th of September following.

Amount of the Exports of the United States.

1791, — 19,012,040 dollars.

1792, — 20,753,097

1793, — 26,109,572

1794, — 33,026,233

1795, — 47,989,472

1796, — 67,064,097

This statement exhibits a progressive augmentation, such perhaps as never existed in any country in so short a space of time. But this is the place to repeat what I have said as often as I have had an opportunity of speaking of the exports of different states, that any one would be grossly deceived who should judge of the increase of the produce and resources of the United States by this enormous augmentation of their exports.

The exports consist,

1. Of the productions of the country, which, although increased in quantity to a certain degree, have risen much more in value; some forty per cent, others a hundred, two hundred, and even more. This is

owing to the wants of Europe, exhausted by the war in which it has been engaged. The value then of these exports is far from being an exact representation of the real wealth of the country, which can only be the result of an increase in the quantity of its produce.

2. The war, in which all the commercial powers have been engaged for five years more or less, keeps their trade in a state of almost total stagnation. The United States are a kind of temporary *depot* of the produce of all countries, and of many of their colonies, where, before the war, American vessels had not, by a great deal, so extensive a permission to trade. Foreign produce is therefore brought into the ports of the United States in much greater quantities than their consumption requires, and in much greater quantities also than it would be if Europe were at peace.

The commodities over and above the consumption of the United States are re-exported, and supply the different states of Europe and their colonies.

This increased exportation is then, in this point of view, a very uncertain indication of the real increase of the wealth of the United States, since it does not depend upon the produce of their soil, and neither is nor can be lasting. A comparison of the quantity of the produce of the soil of the United States exported annually, during six years, will furnish an incontestible proof of the truth of the foregoing observations.

It is, again, from the accounts presented to congress by the secretary of the treasury, that I have made out this statement.

Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of the Produce of the United States, for the Years 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, and 1796.

MERCHANDIZE.	YEARS.					
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Potash and pearlsh	6,354	7,884	6,117	7,191	4,990	5,084
Fish, dried and smoked,	383,237	368,999	372,825	418,907	400,818	377,713
Ditto, salt	57,424	48,277	45,440	36,809	55,999	87,558
Whale and other fish oil	447,323	406,433	512,780	970,628	810,524	1,166,550
Spermaceti oil	134,595	63,856	140,656	83,493	80,856	164,045
Whalebone	124,829	154,407	202,620	313,467	410,664	308,314
Spermaceti candles	4,560	3,938	5,875	5,162	5,997	4,438
Leaf tobacco	...	112,428	509,947	82,158	61,050	69,018
Manufactured tobacco	96,811	122,916	173,343	56,785	149,699	296,227
Linseed	58,492	52,381	51,708	38,629	58,552	51,100
Wheat	1,018,339	853,790	1,450,575	696,797	141,273	11,226
Corn of other kinds	2,046,419	2,291,405	1,354,570	1,727,648	2,187,831	1,399,216
Flour	619,687	824,464	1,074,639	828,405	687,369	755,194
Ditto of rye, maize, and buck-wheat	101,313	73,552	97,815	33,782	108,191	90,807
Sea biscuit	100,279	80,986	76,653	68,479	71,331	181,065
Ditto	15,346	37,945	43,306	40,916	37,402	27,102
Rice	...	141,762	134,611	102,026	138,526	131,039
Beef, pork, bacon	94,621	120,017	120,056	156,072	201,133	167,526
Butter	16,666	11,761	9,190	36,932	28,389	34,065
Cheese	1,299	1,259	1,462	5,769	23,431	17,352
Onions and potatoes	64,683	131,841	289,747	786,192	695,559	657,000
Horned cattle	4,627	4,551	3,728	3,495	2,510	4,625
Horses and mules	7,419	6,557	5,718	3,445	4,025	7,001
Pigs and sheep	27,180	33,444	21,998	14,996	11,416	12,991
Ox hides, calf and sheep skins	704	1,602	978	531,46	26,365	16,064
Leather	5,424	19,536	...	746,853	1,819,224	127,044
Shoes and boots	7,528	9,254	15,259	99,009	160,337	226,724
Tallow	317,195	152,622	309,366	130,012	49,115	182,403
Candles	2,745	3,997	9,857	26,381	28,695	66,579
Naval stores, pitch, turpentine, rosin, tar, &c. &c.	...	146,909	114,971	72,552	134,876	138,346
Iron	4,533	5,633	2,879	2,926	3,372	3,301
Indigo	...	858,996	693,299	391,997	77,176	915,655
Cotton	189,316	138,281	1,706,600	505,400	10,111	921,616,729

* These two last articles are also imported in considerable quantities since the war. The accounts of the Customhouse do not distinguish the quantity of the produce of the United States from that which is the result of foreign produce. It is only known that the culture of indigo is now almost reduced to nothing in Carolina and in Georgia, and that that of cotton is very much increased there.

Upon examining this statement with attention, it will be seen,

1. That the quantity of wheat exported from the United States is diminished, and that the increase in the exportation of flour, proceeding from the great number of mills that have been successively erected, and in that of sea-biscuit, does not by a great deal compensate the decrease in the exportation of wheat. This decrease, for which I have met with no one who could give me a reason completely satisfactory, is owing, in part, to the ravages committed in several states by the Hessian fly, which has made it necessary to abandon the cultivation of wheat, and in part to the great quantity of land laid down in pasture. But I must again repeat, that the difference in the exportation of wheat is too great to be explained in this manner, especially as in many new settlements, corn is cultivated at least during the first years; and as in many parts of Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland, the cultivation of wheat has very generally superseded that of tobacco and indigo.

The consumption may be increased in the great towns by the increase of their population; and also in some of the back settlements, where, owing to a want of corn-mills, the use of wheat-flour was formerly almost unknown. But this increase of consumption cannot be very great; for in almost every part of the United States where wheat is cultivated, the inhabitants live upon rye-bread, and still more commonly upon maize or Indian-corn.

2. That the exportation of other corn, that is to say, rye, barley, &c. is also diminished. This is owing to the increased consumption of the distilleries, which, though checked of late by the high price of grain, has nevertheless been very considerable during the last six years.

3. It will be seen that the exportation of leaf tobacco is very much diminished, and that this diminution is not compensated by the great increase of manufactured tobacco; because it is true, as I have observed in my account of the southern states, that the cultivation of tobacco is exceedingly decreased.

4. That the increase of culture has been directed to that of vegetables, onions, and potatoes, and that it is considerable; and that it has taken a still greater turn towards artificial meadows, or what are called
grazing

grazing farms. The enormous difference between the progressive exports from 1791 to 1796, of cheese, butter, tallow, candles, and manufactured shoes, is a proof of it; although it is true that the tanneries of the United States import a great quantity of raw hides from that part of St. Domingo which formerly belonged to the Spaniards.

5. It will also be remarked, that the produce of the fisheries is much increased in the last six years; but the greater part of this produce, so considerably augmented in quantity, is in itself of little value, excepting the whale fishery; and although the amount of its whole value exceeds that of the value of produce diminished in quantity, the increase is hardly of any account in the immense progression of the general value of the exports, which was estimated at nineteen millions twelve thousand and forty dollars in 1791, and at sixty-seven millions sixty four thousand and ninety seven dollars in 1796.

The following account of the exportation of foreign produce will prove how much of the increase in the exports of the United States is owing to that branch of commerce.

Account of the Exports of the principal Articles of Foreign Produce.

Merchandise.	YEARS.					
	1791.	1792.	1793.	1794.	1795.	1796.
Coffee lbs.	962,977	2,336,742	- - -	- - -	- - -	62,385,117
Cocoa lbs.	8,322	6,600	200,691	1,141,802	525,442	928,107
Unrefined sugar lbs.	74,504	1,176,156	4,539,809	17,563,811	21,999,889	34,848,644
Pimento and pepper, lbs.	142,193	351,675	128,616	60,959	543,664	939,359
Merchandise known by the name of dry-goods, shifts of all sorts, stockings, paper, &c. valued in dollars.	29,367	- - -	- - -	- - -	2,879,198	6,554,346
Nankeens pieces	7,072	12,340	10,972	40,752	186,526	349,000

I shall

I shall add to this an amount of the drawback upon the re-exportation of foreign produce imported into the United States in the course of the years 1793, 1794, 1795; I was not able to procure one of the two preceding years, nor of the year 1796.

I do not pretend to give, by this statement, a precise idea of the consumption of foreign produce in the United States; because goods being intitled to the right of a drawback for a whole year after they have been entered in the customhouse books, it sometimes happens that articles which have paid the duties in one year, and which are included in the receipts of that year, are not re-exported till the year after.

The following account, however, will afford an idea generally true, of the consumption of that produce; and it will shew, that the consumption of colonial commodities is little augmented in the United States, while that of articles manufactured in England is considerably increased.

Account of the Duties paid upon certain Articles of foreign Produce, and of the Drawbacks paid upon their re-exportation, for the years 1793, 1794, and 1795.

Merchandise.	YEARS.					
	1793.		1794.		1795.	
	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.	Duties paid.	Drawbacks.
Dry goods, &c.*	1,823,442	9,065	2,339,323	19,506	3,563,441	85,780
Coffee	1,396,652	169,928	1,680,163	1,141,523	2,694,902	1,946,226
Cocoas	29,182	6,201	54,542	19,246	73,576	46,884
Unrefined sugar	660,350	13,634	727,332	155,760	970,888	365,423
Pimento and pepper	32,740	3,814	68,768	5,362	70,240	39,134

* Nankeens, which pay a duty of thirteen per cent upon importation, are included in this article.

No

No doubt this increase in the exports gives a great increase of activity to trade: no doubt, also the rise of the price of commodities is another augmentation of wealth; but it can only be considered as temporary. This, perhaps, is the place to say a few words concerning the nature and position of the commerce of the United States.

As long as the United States were English colonies, their trade was regulated by the interest and ambition of the mother country, and could only be considered as a branch of the English commerce. This is nearly the case with Ireland at present.

The accounts presented to the English Parliament, which will be found hereto annexed, of the imports and exports of the states of America, during the last twelve years that they were English colonies, will prove how great has been the increase of the commerce of the United States since that period.

Yet if they be compared with an account of the commerce carried on between the United States and England, from 1792 to 1795, inserted in the preceding part of this volume, it will also prove how much the imports of the English manufactures into the United States have augmented, since the latter became independent.

Hence it appears, that the augmentation in the commerce of the United States, and consequently their independence, which may be considered as the principal cause of it, have been exceedingly advantageous to England, who nevertheless considers their emancipation as an injury, and would not be sorry to have an opportunity of taking her revenge.

I am far from thinking, however, that France, on being made sensible of this truth, ought to regret for a moment the efforts she made to assist North America in obtaining the acknowledgment of her independence. Those efforts, even though the United States may be in general forgetful of them at this moment, are nevertheless one of the most honourable traits of French generosity. Besides, France has had a share in the trade of the United States, which she would never have had, if they had re-

maintained subject to England; a share which, with better conduct, she might have rendered much greater still, and which, with rational principles, she may no doubt hereafter increase. In a word, these great services rendered by France will, as long as there is any gratitude in the United States, leave in the minds of their inhabitants an inclination for the friendship and alliance of France, which all the intrigues of England can only suspend for a time.

Account of the Value of the Imports, from America into England, for eleven Years, as presented to the British Parliament.

COLONIES.	YEARS.										
	1763.	1764.	1765.	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
New England	£. 71,233	£. 92,593	£. 150,690	£. 146,318	£. 132,694	£. 150,898	£. 133,788	£. 154,398	£. 158,018	£. 132,082	£. 128,003
New York	53,988	53,697	54,959	67,020	61,422	87,115	70,466	60,882	95,875	82,707	76,246
Pennsylvania	38,228	36,258	25,148	26,851	37,041	59,406	26,111	28,109	31,615	29,133	36,652
Virginia and Maryland.	642,204	559,408	505,671	460,754	437,926	406,048	361,892	435,094	577,848	528,404	589,803
Carolina	382,366	341,727	385,918	291,519	395,027	508,108	387,114	278,907	420,311	425,923	456,513
Totals	1,188,129	1,083,683	1,122,386	992,462	1,064,710	1,211,575	979,371	966,390	1,283,867	1,198,249	1,287,217

Account of the Value of the Exports from England to America for the same eleven Years.

COLONIES.	YEARS.										
	1763.	1764.	1765.	1766.	1767.	1768.	1769.	1770.	1771.	1772.	1773.
New England	£. 258,854	£. 462,573	£. 455,556	£. 424,727	£. 421,067	£. 426,549	£. 214,675	£. 400,511	£. 1,420,119	£. 826,392	£. 529,184
New York	238,560	515,416	382,349	330,829	417,957	482,930	74,918	475,991	653,621	343,970	289,214
Pennsylvania	284,152	435,191	363,368	327,314	371,830	432,107	199,909	134,881	728,744	507,909	426,448
Virginia and Maryland.	555,391	515,192	383,224	372,548	437,628	475,954	488,362	717,782	920,326	793,910	348,904
Carolina	250,132	305,808	334,709	296,732	244,093	289,868	306,600	146,272	409,169	449,610	344,159
Totals	1,587,080	2,234,180	1,919,176	1,752,150	1,892,575	2,107,408	1,284,464	1,875,438	4,131,979	2,921,793	1,917,912

Total of the Imports for 11 Years, £. 12,291,039
 Freight, Insurance and Profit at 12 per cent 1,474,924
 13,765,963

Average for a Year . . 1,251,451 = 5,563,004¹ dollars.

Total of the Exports £. 23,734,164
 Freight, Insurance and Profit, at 12 per cent 2,848,099
 26,582,263

Average for a Year . . 2,416,569 = 10,745,306¹ dol.

It was at the peace by which England acknowledged their independence, that the United States began to trade under their own colours. But the great distress in which they were left by the war, and the weakness of the confederacy, rendered their commerce still very precarious.

Each state had its particular laws, prohibitions, and regulations.

Some of them shut their ports against certain foreign merchandize, to which others opened theirs.

The laws and the customhouse rates changed every year, according to momentary considerations; and the most natural result of this order of things was, an active rivalry and jealousy between the different states. It is then, properly speaking, since the adoption of the new constitution, that the name of the commerce of the United States may be given to the commerce of the different states of North America.

The first cause, however, of the increased commerce of the United States, may be carried as far back as the end of the year 1784. At that period, an order of the king of France in council, opened to their ships three ports in St. Domingo, whither they were allowed to carry salt fish, upon paying a small duty. This order also authorised the administrators of the island to permit the importation of their flour, whenever occasion might require it. The American ships, till then, had only had permission to carry timber and live stock to St. Domingo, and that only into a single port. They were restricted by the new order, as they were before, from taking any thing in exchange except syrups and molasses. According, then, to the letter of the edict, their returns could be of no great value; but the admission of American ships into three ports of St. Domingo, gave a greater facility to smuggling, of which they did not fail to avail themselves.

The English, it is true, carried Jamaica sugar and coffee into the ports of the United States; but they were without competitors, and sold them at a high price.

The wants of the United States required a much greater quantity than they received from England, and their interest stimulated them to procure it in a direct way.

Flour

Flour and dry goods were fraudulently introduced into the island. Raw sugar and coffee were fraudulently exported; and the returns began to be of some importance though still much restricted in quantity, by the illegality of the means made use of to obtain them.

But this traffic soon ceased to be illicit. The violent shock which the revolution gave to the manufactures and commerce of France, forced her to open the ports of her colonies to the vessels of neutral powers.

From that moment the Americans engrossed all the commerce of the French colonies, which they were so well situated to carry on, and which promised them such considerable profits.

The others powers of Europe which had also colonies in the West Indies, being almost all successively engaged in the war, opened the ports of their colonies in like manner to the Americans, or at least considerably diminished their prohibitive regulations.

Thus the commerce of the United States had the victualling of the West India islands, as well as an exclusive trade with the French and Dutch colonies, not only in provisions, but also in commodities of every kind. Their ships were freighted to carry West India produce to Europe, and to bring back in return the articles necessary for the consumption both of the United States, and of those same colonies.

The new constitution of the United States was established at the moment when the French revolution began, and shortly after the new system of American finances was adopted. The consequent creation of stock of different kinds, the putting up of land to sale, and the establishment of banks, opened a vast field to speculation, and to commercial enterprise. The state of Europe favoured those enterprises; they were extended, and the commerce of the United States soon reached the East Indies, China, and every part of the known world. Its profits have been considerable.

Such is the brief history of the rapid and enormous increase of the trade of the United States; but it is precisely from the rapidity of that immense increase, that we may prognosticate the shortness of its duration.

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The prosperity of a nation's commerce cannot be durable, unless it be founded upon a solid basis; and the solid basis of a nation's commerce is the produce of its soil, of its manufactures, and of its colonies, when it has any. These are its only permanent riches, those of which it alone can dispose; its produce, and the commodities it receives in exchange, are the natural limits of its trade.

If a nation by extraordinary circumstances, unconnected with its internal prosperity, such, for instance, as those occasioned by the troubles and transient misfortunes of other nations, take a flight far beyond its natural means, and much above the situation in which it is placed by its own resources, its prosperity cannot be of long duration. A change in external circumstances must speedily bring it back to the state assigned to it by the extent or the mediocrity of its wealth. Such is the situation of the trade of the United States of America, which the troubles of Europe have rendered flourishing, but which the return of tranquillity will reduce to its pristine state.

If the European powers, engaged in a terrible war, forced to devote all their means to it, incapable of going themselves to fetch the articles they stand in need of from foreign ports, nay, even incapable of victualling their colonies, and of receiving the produce of them in a direct way; if the European powers have been under the necessity of leaving to neutral flags the trade which they could not undertake themselves, does it follow that they have abandoned it to them entirely? Is it not certain that they will hasten to resume, as soon as they are able, the trade which naturally belongs to them, since they have within themselves the means of carrying it on?

In matters of commerce a nation gives up to others only what it cannot undertake itself, and even supposing that it grants them momentary advantages, it is solely with a view to its own interest; it will withhold them, as soon as it perceives that its interest is injured by this concession. Political considerations, or a friendly alliance can alone induce them to act otherwise.

We are not yet arrived at the period when nations, discovering their
own

own interest in a greater generosity of principles, will by general consent give absolute and entire liberty to trade. That period, if ever it should arrive, is not yet at hand. - It therefore cannot be doubted but that the European powers, according to their accustomed system, will lay prohibitory restrictions upon all trade that is not their own, and will thus reduce the United States of America to the limited commerce which they carried on before the troubles of Europe.

I do not mean, however, that the United States are not susceptible of an increase in their commerce. I am far from thinking so. The extent of their territory, the fertility of their soil, the industry of their inhabitants, their bold and enterprising disposition, their rapidly increasing population, the great bays that penetrate into the country, the number of fine rivers that water it, the facility of cutting canals, in order to open a communication between them, and this to connect the great lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico; all these circumstances promise them a degree of prosperity, which must in future ages render this part of the world the rival, and perhaps the fortunate rival, of Europe.

But then the United States will have a rich produce from their soil, extensive manufactures, a great abundance of resources within themselves, and all this can only take place in consequence of a successive progression of those resources, and after a long series of years of peace and internal tranquillity; in a word, by the gradual operation of time. But it is of the present moment and of the existing circumstances of the United States that I am speaking, when I apply to the sudden increase of their commerce this incontestable political truth, that all prosperity which is not the result of natural resources, and which depends solely on extraordinary and foreign causes, can only be considered as transient, and rather opposes than favours an increase of wealth in the country that experiences it.

This truth, which holds good in regard to all nations, has a still stronger application to nations absolutely new, whose commercial houses are hardly established,

established, when these uncommonly favourable circumstances enable them to give a considerable extension to their speculations. The misfortunes of individual traders, from which they can only escape by a degree of prudence, almost supernatural, adds much in such times to the danger which the nation itself runs from the temporary inflation of its trade.

Before the French revolution the capitals which kept alive the trade of the United States were inconsiderable, their commerce being very much confined; and even part of those capitals were English property, either directly, or in the shape of credit, given by the English houses to the American ones. If the American merchants had been prudent enough to take, out of the enormous quantity of business which a sudden combination of circumstances presented to them, only such a part as was proportioned to their capitals, their enterprises would have been much less extensive, and the appearance of their prosperity less brilliant; but their success would have been more solid and more certain.

They set, on the contrary, no bounds to their ambition, and only considered commercial affairs with a view to the enormous profits they seemed to afford. Speculations in land held out a new lure to their avidity; and independently of the gain they promised themselves from a resale highly advantageous, they found in them also a source of credit, because they had, for a long time, nothing to pay for their acquisitions, and because they hoped speedily to receive some ready money from new purchasers loaded with capitals, whom they expected to see driven in crowds across the Atlantic by the state of affairs in Europe.

Lastly, the establishment of banks, and the quantity of paper in circulation, afforded them also new means of obtaining credit. Trusting in all these hopes, they ventured, without reserve, upon every speculation which held out the smallest prospect of gain. A spirit of enterprise, and a boldness in the execution of their plans, which sets all danger at defiance, are two remarkable characteristics of the American people, in almost all the situations of life. These are, no doubt, the germ of great qualities, and may be the means of great success; but if this spirit of enterprise,

terprise, and this boldness were directed by prudence, they would lead to a much safer result; whereas without it they tend to consequences so much the more ruinous and inevitable, as they have not been foreseen.

What happened to the American merchants?

1. Delays natural to be expected in the dispatching of their orders, and often tardy returns, which though not hurtful to commerce in general, are highly prejudicial to merchants, when far from reckoning upon them, they think that they cannot take place, and enter into engagements in consequence of that flattering opinion.

2. The taking of a great number of their ships, first by England, who, independently of her hostile views towards France, gratified, by seizing them, the jealousy which she felt at the commercial prosperity of a nation, that she has never ceased to consider as an assemblage of rebellious subjects, and afterwards by France, who was desirous, above all, of injuring the English commerce; and, at the same time, expressed her discontent at the advantage given to England by her old ally America.

3. The speculations in land proved erroneous. The number of those who presented themselves as purchasers bore no proportion to the number of those who wished to sell, and who were hard pressed by want.

4. The banks, numerous as they became, could not answer the demands of discount, which came to them from all quarters, consequently they did not discount all the bills which were presented to them, and the longest date of those they received did not exceed sixty days.

5, and lastly, the prices of commodities fell speedily in Europe very much below what the American speculators had paid for the same articles in the territory of the United States; and, in the mean time, the day of fulfilling the engagements they had contracted, in order to send their ships to sea, was constantly coming round; the period of those entered into upon the purchase of land, though it might sometimes experience a little delay, was sure also to come at last; the commodities, which were prevented from being sent to Europe by the low prices they bore there, were also to be paid for; and if any merchant had received

sums of money in trust, which had enabled him to extend his concerns with a little more solidity, he was obliged to refund those sums upon the first demand, which was necessarily accelerated by the precarious and dangerous state of commerce.

Such is the disagreeable situation in which the American merchants were involved, and in which they are still more deeply involved every day; such of them, at least, as in their enterprises were rather led away by their avidity than guided by prudence and reflection, and these are the greater numbers.

It may be easily conceived that the means by which they endeavour to extricate themselves from these embarrassments are very difficult, and require great sacrifices.

Those in general employed are as follows:

First, a request made to some friend for his credit for thirty or sixty days.

But it seldom happens that an American merchant does not find his friend in the same necessity. They therefore accommodate each other with notes at sixty days sight, and endeavour to get them discounted at some bank, which is often obliged to refuse, on account of the great disproportion between its means and the great number of similar applications.

These notes are then given to an exchange broker, who, according to the state of the money market, and the name of the indorser, sells them at two, and three, and sometimes four and five per cent. per month discount.

These notes are afterwards deposited at the bank by the purchaser, and it then becomes highly necessary to pay them when due; for there is no more credit, no more possibility of discount, for a merchant, whose bill has been protested after once being deposited at the bank.

They also endeavour to obtain others, of which they avail themselves in the same manner.

But it will not do to put too many notes into circulation. Their renewal, too often repeated, might have a bad effect upon their credit,

which

which it is important for them not entirely to lose. They then buy bills of exchange upon London at a long date, and sell them for ready money below par. This is a frequent means of procuring cash.

Sometimes goods are taken upon the longest credit that can be obtained, and shipped for a foreign market; and, in this case, the American merchant draws according to his necessities, the London merchants engaging to accept the consigner's notes for two-thirds of the amount of the consignment, upon transmitting to them the bill of lading, and empowering them to make the insurance.

If these means fail, the merchant whose wants are urgent, sends his merchandise, if he have any, to a public auction, or else he procures dry goods at a high price, and at five or six months credit, and has them publicly sold, very often with the loss of twenty-five or thirty per cent.

Sometimes he endeavours by building houses, or by some other ostentatious expense, to create a false opinion of the state of his affairs, which are thereby rendered much worse.

Such are, in part, the burdensome means which the merchant, deceived in his speculations, takes in order to prolong his commercial existence. But those means only serve to render his ruin more inevitable. At length he can no longer uphold his credit; and it often happens that a house which in the evening was thought worth three or four hundred thousand dollars, offers in the morning four or five shillings in the pound to its creditors.

It is true that examples are not wanting of merchants, who, before they declared their bankruptcy, robbed their creditors of a great part of their money, by donations made to their wives and children, and by concealing paper in their pocket-books. There are also instances of others, who, upon losing their credit, secretly buy upon 'change, with money kept in reserve, their own bills, when at a discount of perhaps fifty and sixty per cent.

The latter, though real bankrupts, and even fraudulent ones, avoid the name, and do business the next day with more certain credit, in propor-

tion, as their manœuvre is better known, for they are then supposed to be possessed of property.

As to him who has declared his bankruptcy, as soon as he has delivered the remains of his fortune to his creditors, he is free by law; and though in some states the law gives his creditors a claim upon his future fortune, equal to the amount of the loss upon their debts, he easily evades the regulation, by not discovering the profits he may derive from the sums he has withheld, or by carrying on his new commercial operations under another name.

All these fatal and shameful transactions are the natural consequences of speculations undertaken and carried on without a proportionate capital. And these are not the only ones. An American merchant's want of punctuality in his payments, no doubt, inspires those who may have occasion to deal with him with distrust; but it does not produce in himself any sentiment of shame, and affects his reputation very little, even if it affect it at all.

The merchant who has suspended his payments, and whose bills are protested, is equally well received upon 'change, in society, and even obtains the most distinguished public employments. He is generally considered as a man who has played his game ill, or who has met with a bad run of luck.

The frequency of these examples, common interest, and the opinion generally entertained in America, that no one can have any thing more essential to do than to endeavour to get money, produce, I will not say this toleration, but this total indifference in the public mind.

Thus, while the merchant in Europe is guided in his commercial conduct by his personal integrity and the preservation of his honour, of his credit, and of the reputation of his name, the American merchant has no other restraint than his own honesty, his self-esteem, and his conscience, and though that restraint is doubtless the most powerful when it exists, it must unfortunately be acknowledged that it is not the most common.

It may therefore be said that the merchants of America, who, in consequence of their prudence and caution in their operations, and a moderate

rate use of their credit, have constantly been exact in their payments, and honourable in their transactions, are, on that account, deserving of particular esteem, since they are an exception to the general depravity.

It must not, however, be thought that this exception is very uncommon. There are in America a great number of houses, either American, English, or French, which for solidity, prudence, punctuality, and delicacy in carrying on business, do not yield to any of the so justly famed houses of Europe. If in this number I name that of Mr. PHILIP NIKLYN, I do not pretend to give it a superiority over the others, by which that merchant's modesty, and that of Mr. GRIFFITH his partner, would be hurt; but I shall be excused for seeking, by the mention of their names, to gratify a feeling of affection and gratitude for the constant marks of friendship and kindness which I received from them during my stay in America, and none of those who are acquainted with Philadelphia will reproach me with having indulged my feelings at the expense of truth.

I must once more repeat, that there are a great number of houses of this kind in the United States, but it is not the greater number; and it is the greater number that I am bound to consider, when I am speaking of the state of commerce in America. These good and scrupulous houses are afflicted at the situation of the American trade, by which their own interest is often greatly a sufferer, notwithstanding their prudent conduct. Their delicacy, as well as their interest, is hurt by it; but all they can do is to be upon their guard against the suspicious houses, and to keep a watchful eye over all the others; the most honourable merchants being obliged to meet upon 'change, and in almost every house, and often to see in confidential employs, men whom private interest, and public honour, ought to devote to reprobation.

This deplorable state of things cannot be natural; but I must repeat it again, it is the necessary result of enterprises, and of speculations rashly hazarded, which are themselves the result of a multiplicity of business of all kinds, that the situation of Europe and the West Indies has produced, and of the dangerous facility afforded by the great number of banks.

In almost all the great towns of the United States, and particularly of
those

those to the northward of Baltimore, every body is a merchant; that is to say, every body speculates, trades, and jobs in the stocks. The judge, the advocate, the physician, and the minister of divine worship, are all, or almost all, more or less interested in the sale of land, in the purchase of goods, in that of bills of exchange, and in lending money at two or three per cent per month: few of them are contented with what they have.

The merit of a man is rather too much estimated in America by the fortune which he is supposed to possess; and no body lands in this new world without the project of making an ample and rapid fortune; examples of success being so frequent, that they hold out a great encouragement to these projects. The means of executing them were also for a long while great; but they are less so at present, at least in this way; and avidity does not diminish in the same proportion.

Here then are a great many snares laid for delicacy; a great many reasons explanatory of the state of commerce in the United States, and the faithful account that I have just given of it, will leave no doubt of the truth of my assertion, that the brilliant appearance of the trade of the United States, and the increase of its activity and of its exports, are no more than a transient gleam of prosperity, rather pernicious than useful to real wealth, and to true national prosperity.

No doubt, in the midst of all these evils, considerable fortunes have started up. Some of them have been made by prudence and industry; others are the offspring of good fortune. The cities are grown infinitely larger, which, in my opinion, is of itself a great evil: they are embellished; but luxury has made its way from every quarter into the United States; and when the commerce of Europe resumes its level, and when peace shall have restored to every power the enjoyment of its rights, it is much to be feared that nothing will remain to the United States of the astonishing and momentaneous increase of their commercial activity, but a love of luxury, and the impossibility of satisfying it.

That epoch will probably be also the moment of new misfortunes to more than one American house; but, as a friend to America, I beg leave
to

to say, that if she profit by experience, it may also be the epoch of her certain improvement, of her real prosperity, and of a solid increase of her commerce. She is destined by nature for a state of strength and greatness, which nothing can prevent her from attaining, but too hasty a pace, which might attempt to conduct her thither without passing through the necessary gradations.

Before I terminate this article concerning the trade of America, it remains to be said, that all commercial causes are submitted, in the United States, to the judgment of the ordinary tribunals, consequently to a course of law which the least skilful advocate can protract to the length of eighteen months; and with a little more ability he may spin it out to two or three years. This inconvenience is very great in commercial affairs, in which a dishonest man may avail himself of the delay, to keep for a long time in his hands a capital, really the property of another, which, by remaining unproductive the whole of that time, occasions a loss not likely to be compensated by the damages that may be awarded to him.

This inconvenience, however great it may be in regard to the merchants settled in America, is much greater still with respect to the foreign traders, who send or carry cargoes, or make consignments thither. The alternative of a merchant's remaining several years in America, in order to enforce his claims, at a great expence, and of being thus kept at a distance from the centre of his affairs; or of being obliged to entrust the management of his cause to another, adds much to the misfortune of seeing himself deprived, during a tedious law-suit, of the use of his money, notwithstanding the clearness of his case. It is then, that he severely feels the want of those commercial tribunals, of those consular jurisdictions so wisely established in France, where the most honourable and best informed merchants are annually elected as judges; where the proceedings are free from all possibility of chicane, and do not cost more than six dollars in expences; where the causes apparently the most complicated are decided in the space of three weeks; and where there are, I will not say none, but very few examples at least, of judges accused of partiality in their judgments, or of carelessness in the investigation of facts;

facts; and where, in case of an appeal to the superior courts, the party in whose favour sentence has been pronounced, can obtain possession of the sum awarded him, or of the effects which he claims, upon giving security to return them, in case of a contrary judgment being pronounced by the court of appeal.

DEALINGS IN LAND.

In speaking generally of the trade of the United States, I mentioned the traffic that is carried on in land as one of its elements. This kind of commerce is so peculiar to North America, that it is deserving to be made known, at least in a succinct manner.

The traffic in land, is founded upon the considerable mass of land in the territory of the United States, in comparison with their present population, and upon the probability of the augmentation of that population, either by its own means of reproduction, or by foreign emigrations. This traffic is, like all the other branches of trade, and more than any other, a traffic of speculation.

The waste lands, and they amounted to more than four-fifths of America, were found, at the end of the revolution, to belong to different states, which, as sovereigns, have inherited this property from the sovereignty of the crown of England. Many of these lands were still occupied by Indian nations; but a part of those nations had, during the war, joined the English troops against the United States. It was necessary then to drive them back, or rather it was necessary to drive back all the Indians, whose vicinage the United States bore with impatience. Here it may be proper to remark, that the Indian nations, who were formerly the sole proprietors of the American continent, and to whose hospitality the establishment of the Europeans is solely due, are considered by the descendants of the first colonists, as usurpers of the land which they still possess, and as only holding it by virtue of their good will and pleasure.

The lands granted by the kings of England before 1776, have, with some exceptions, remained in the possession of those to whom the grant was made; but the quantity of these was infinitely small, in proportion

to

to the mass of the uncultivated land. The proportion of the quantities of these lands was not even in the *ratio* of the extent of territory of each state. The small states, particularly those that lie near the sea, having been longer inhabited, possessed but a small portion; and some had none at all; while the great states, those particularly whose territory extended far into the interior of America, such as Georgia, the two Carolinas, Virginia, Pennsylvania, the state of New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire, were in possession of immense quantities. It was necessary for these states to sell the waste lands, in order both to afford their growing population easier means of acquiring property, and to hold out a bait to foreign emigration.

Lastly, the states had debts resulting from the war, which it was necessary to liquidate, without burdening the nation with new taxes. For at first it was little able to bear them, and it was even the interest of the states to diminish the existing taxes as much as possible, in order to render settling in their territory more advantageous and attractive.

In the lands to be sold were comprised the confiscated estates of the Tories, who had served the English during the revolution. The states cannot be accused of having enforced this law of confiscation with too great severity.

In order to bring these lands to sale, the states opened land-offices, where persons who meant to purchase received warrants or commissions to have the lands they pointed out surveyed, by the surveyor of the state; but they were not put in possession of them, till it appeared that they had not yet been granted to any one, and were not to receive the title-deeds till they had paid the stipulated price, and fulfilled the conditions imposed by the law.

The lands occupied by the Indians were not immediately sold; but the states sold the right of pre-emption, that is to say, the exclusive privilege of purchasing those lands, as soon as the Indians should consent to sell them; and the state undertook the negotiation, as soon as it should deem it possible to set it on foot.

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It is not my intention to enter into a detail of the frequent alterations made by the states in their laws concerning the sale of land, and of the still more frequent departure from them by the land-offices themselves; of their constant negligence in the examination of the measurement, and of the greater or less validity of the titles; in a word, of the great abuses of every kind which have taken place in this branch of the administration. To do so, it would be necessary to write a particular history of the laws and land-offices of each state. Suffice it to say, that there are few which have acted with the necessary punctuality, few which have dealt fairly and honourably, and few which have shewn the attention which we have a right to expect from every public administration.

The lands were offered to sale to any one who wished to purchase them.

A certain quantity was given to the troops employed during the war.

Several other large portions were put up to sale by the commissioners.

Families, either foreigners or Americans, bought small parcels, with a view of settling.

But the states, more taken up with the desire of obtaining the money, of which they stood in need, than of that of speedily covering those lands with cultivators; and thinking, besides, that great proprietors would be excited by their interest to parcel them out with more promptitude than a state could do, readily consented to sell them in large masses, in opposition to the law which, in many of the states, limited the number of acres that would be sold to any one person to five or six hundred.

This regulation has been evaded in the states in which it existed, by selling great quantities of land to the same persons under different names, and by making out as many contracts of sale, under these fictitious names, as the quantity of land sold contained lots of the extent specified in the law.

Almost all these contracts of sale also contained a clause, by which the purchaser was required to cultivate, or cause to be cultivated, a certain quantity of acres per lot, within a given time; and the penalty of dis-
possession

possession was pronounced against any one who should neglect to fulfil this condition. It is easy to conceive that this condition, so difficult to comply with in great bargains has been frequently evaded.

It was then that the great speculations began, land being purchasable of all the states at a very low price. The states were inundated with paper-money, peculiar to each, and all in a state of depreciation. The periods of payment occurred at distant intervals. The increase of population, emigration, and the clearing of the land, promised a great and speedy rise in the value of these lands. The spirit of speculation then laid hold of every class of the inhabitants of America. This was at the time of the new system of finance, when so many considerable fortunes were made by jobbing in the certificates of the American debt. The legislatures of the state, some of them at least, gave still greater encouragement to the sale of their lands, by ordering that certain kinds of the depreciated paper should be taken in payment of the purchase; a regulation which gave rise to considerable malversations. The members who compose these legislatures, were often seen to consult their private interests in these operations of finance.

At that time, as I have just said, the states were inundated with paper money of different kinds, the fruit of the misfortunes of the war, and of the distress which had been its consequence. They were all of them at a discount. One day, for instance, the legislature declared, that after a certain delay, generally very short, such paper would not be received in payment; and some time after, a little before the expiration of that delay, it announced the sale of a certain quantity of land, in payment of which the proscribed paper would have a right to be presented. The members who were in the secret of this manoeuvre, or their friends, bought up this paper-money at the time of its proscription, that is to say, at its lowest price. They then presented themselves at the sale as soon as it began, and very often in twenty-four hours the purchase was completed.

By these means many speculators acquired land, with a real value of two or three cents or hundredth parts of a dollar per acre, payable in six or

eight years, with a discount from the treasury of the state, according to the value at which the land was rated by the law, in case the payments were made before they became due.

These malversations did not take place in all the states; but in all, the purchase of land, and of rights of pre-emptions, was made at a very low price, from the very first moments of the opening of the land-offices.

These lands then became an article of trade. Agents were sent to Europe to propose the sale of them; and Europe was filled with the most pompous descriptions and the most complete maps of lands which were often unknown to their proprietor, and even to every one else.

Several great sales, effected in England, upon advantageous terms, raised the price of these lands, increased the confidence of the speculators, added to their numbers, and extended their speculations. The opinion of an immense migration, to which the French revolution, and the situation of Europe, gave rise, conspired to give confidence to these speculators; and every one engaged the more eagerly in this kind of speculation, as the periods of the payments to be made to the states were always long; as still longer delays were obtained without much difficulty; and as the lands in question were as yet exempt from all taxes.

The second sellers frequently granted very advantageous conditions of payment, and yet sold at a tolerably low price. In the state of Pennsylvania, and in that of Maryland, every foreigner could buy and possess land as well as a citizen.

In some others, in which the law did not allow this privilege to foreigners, it gave the legislature the right of permitting it; and that permission was easily obtained.

In all, a foreigner might hold land in the name of an inhabitant; and the great interest that the states had in selling, and in bringing foreign capitals into their territory, gave great security to this borrowed right of possession.

The United States were in the enjoyment of great commercial prosperity. Nothing seemed likely to disturb their tranquillity: and a great number of Europeans, seduced by the sudden increase of the value of
American

American lands, saw, in the sacrifice which they made of a few thousand dollars in the purchase of those lands, a four-fold or ten-fold augmentation of their capitals in a very small number of years.

The speculators in land who hold a great quantity, have different means of turning them to account.

1. By selling them in large parcels to men of fortune in Europe, or America.

2. By selling them in small parcels to families, who mean to settle upon them.

3. By preserving them, till time, and a diminution of the quantity of this sort of merchandize, have raised the value of it to a price answerable to their expectations.

The first of these means is that which is most generally desired: it is that, on account of which so many agents were sent to Europe; such great advantages held out to those who should procure purchasers; and so many fictions invented. A great quantity of land was sold in this manner. In making bargains of this kind, as well as in all others, the buyer and seller endeavoured to make the most advantageous conditions. The periods of payment are generally short; at least a large part of the purchase-money is paid down at the conclusion of the bargain. The conditions imposed by the states in the contracts of sale are binding upon the new purchaser; but very often the old purchaser remains responsible, in case of their not being fulfilled by the new one. The new purchasers become speculators themselves; and in order to turn their new property to account, have recourse to the same means that were employed by those of whom they bought it.

Land is sold in small parcels in several ways.

Either out and out for ready money; although this mode of sale is not unfrequent, it is not the most common.

Or out and out, but to be paid for by instalments; in which case the latter does not deliver the title-deeds till after the purchase-money is entirely paid; and retains a right of ejecting the new settler from his land, if the conditions of payment, and all others appertaining to the bargain,

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(which generally consists of an obligation to clear a certain number of acres) be not fulfilled. Sometimes the seller only requires a small part of the price of the land in ready money; and the land remains subject to a perpetual rent, payable in money or in produce, which the purchaser is not always at liberty to redeem.

Sometimes he sells, or rather he alienates, only for a certain number of years—for instance, twelve or fifteen; and in most of these bargains the purchaser binds himself to perform a certain number of days' work in person, at the request of the seller; to clear annually a certain number of acres, or to build houses; and all these improvements revert to the seller, when the term of years for which the bargain was made is expired. I shall here remark, by the way, that this kind of sale for a limited time, or for an annual rent, may give great proprietors an influence in the elections of the legislature, in a country as yet not very rich, and where every body is an elector. It is accordingly acknowledged that it does give such influence, and it is known that such or such a person can dispose of so many seats in the legislature of his state.

As yet, however, these examples are not frequent. Almost all the great landed proprietors endeavour to get some purchasers of small lots to settle upon their estates; because, by clearing some portions of it they enhance the value of the rest.

The third mean, that of waiting till time has raised the price of land, is the resource of great proprietors, who have not been able to employ the two others. With some, however, it is a mere calculation; a calculation so much the more dangerous, as the ambition of the proprietor increases with the rise in the price, in case such a rise take place; and as that rise is far from being certain, and as there is already a number of examples of proprietors who, in the following year, would have been glad to sell at the price that they had refused the year, before. They are, however, not the more inclined to take the price that is then offered them, because it is lower; they rather wish to wait for the price which they have refused. This is the way in which every kind of speculation is in general conducted. A great profit does not suffice, when we flatter ourselves that

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we shall obtain a greater still. We are but too apt to flatter ourselves; and it sometimes happens that at last we obtain nothing at all.

Speculations in land have been the means of making great fortunes in America; but they have also occasioned more distress, total ruin, and great and disastrous bankruptcies, than any other kind. Of this there are some remarkable examples, among an infinite number of others of less note, but not less certain. For prudence has no more been the guide of these speculators than of others; nor are there any which have been more generally adopted, nor which have been a greater source of deception. The lands in America are also the branch of trade which has given occasion to the greatest number of law-suits; as well on account of the titles as of the limits, and of the fulfilment of the conditions of sale.

The most certain, as well as the most advantageous means of deriving profit from a great extent of new land in America, is, for the purchaser to begin clearing it of himself; to attract inhabitants as speedily as possible, by giving them, at a low rate, and even for nothing, if necessary, a number of acres sufficient for the maintenance of their family; to erect mills, make bridges and roads; to build houses even; and to encourage, in every way, the efforts of the new settlers; in short, to make considerable sacrifices in the first instance.

There is no example of these first sacrifices, when made with intelligence, and to a suitable extent, not having rapidly increased the value of the land reserved by the proprietor, and speedily enriched him, by attracting great numbers of emigrants from other countries. Many of these brilliant successes may be quoted; and among them that of the Dutch company, which is skilfully directed by a Mr. CASENORE; but no one's success has been more complete than that of Captain Williamson in the Genessee.

This honourable and safe manner of deriving advantage from the possession of a great quantity of new land, requires indeed a command of money; and there are very few speculators in land who have any. Those who have, are not inclined to withdraw it from the business of stock-jobbing, from which they get a return three or four times a year, with
great

great profits; but more commonly they have none. Very often, indeed, these speculations are carried on without the smallest capital; or else by merchants, shopkeepers, and workmen, who have occasion for their money in trade; for, as I said before, every body deals in land.

These means are, however, becoming more necessary than they have been hitherto. The buying of land is no longer so much the fashion; and the commodity abounds the more in the market, in proportion as commercial operations are less successful, and as private fortunes are decayed. The numerous deceptions which the Europeans have experienced in the purchase of American lands, have brought them into great discredit in Europe. France advances much more rapidly than was supposed to be possible, towards a state of complete tranquillity, which must make it once more a comfortable abode. The derangement of many French fortunes by means of the revolution, will bring a great number of estates to sale. Commerce and the manufactures will also afford great and advantageous room for foreign capitals. It will be the same successively, with the other European States, if they are doomed to experience the mischiefs of a revolution; and if some European capitalists should think that a part of their fortune would be laid out with more safety beyond the Atlantic than elsewhere, they would probably prefer the vesting of it in the American funds to the purchase of distant lands. For every one in Europe must now be aware, that no man should now buy land in America till it has been inspected by himself, or by some of his particular friends.

The quantity of land upon sale in the United States is immense. Tranquillity is not so completely established there as it appeared to be two years ago. It is threatened on more sides than one. The spirit of democracy has made as great and as rapid progress in the country, as the spirit of aristocracy has in the towns. Although the proportion of proprietors is incomparably greater there than in any part of Europe, there exists a certain number of non-proprietors; and every body thinks he has a right to have an estate. The murmurs against the possessors of a great number of acres of land, which they keep in their own hands, till

till they think they can get a sufficient price, and thus put the purchase of it beyond the reach of these non-proprietors, begin to be somewhat violent; for every body knows the low price which these possessors of great masses of land originally paid for them. Many families settle without title or permission upon these large properties, and their number sometimes renders it very difficult to eject them. The judgments of the tribunals which orders them off the land, cannot often be put in execution, because public opinion begins to be very strong against the holding of such large tracts of land, which is already called a monopoly. I could quote several examples of this; but it is not my purpose here to enter into particulars. Although many members of the legislature are themselves great landholders, the legislatures can no longer prolong the periods of payment, and alter the conditions of sale. In many states, the uncultivated land begins to be already subject to taxes; as yet indeed they are taxed very low; but the time approaches when those taxes will increase, and when the legislatures, perceiving that it is the interest of their state to attract thither a greater population, will find, perhaps, that it is good policy to raise the taxes even higher than that of the cultivated land, till a certain proportion of their extent at least is cleared, in order to render the possession of these lands burthensome to those who keep too great a quantity in their hands, and thus to make it their own interest speedily to parcel them out. All these circumstances render it more necessary than ever for the great holders of land to take the speediest means of turning it to account, and must consequently tend to discourage this kind of speculation.

This state of things is, no doubt, an unfortunate one for the speculators in land, and for those who possess great masses of it. Hence probably many of them will find themselves deceived in their calculations, and many of their fortunes will be deranged. But this is nothing in comparison with the national prosperity that will result from the clearing and occupying of the uncultivated and desert lands, whether the settlers have bought them of the proprietors, or whether they have usurped the possession of them.

The land in America is in general good, and only requires to be tilled to afford an ample produce. The population increases, as has already been seen, in an almost incredible proportion; and the people in America are not deterred from the clearing of waste land, either by attachment to their natal soil, by the greatness of the distance, or, in short, by any difficulty whatever. The federal government of the United States, or, more properly speaking, the Union, possesses also in the Western Territory, north of the Ohio, a quantity of land which is supposed to amount to ten or twelve millions of acres. The congress, in May 1796, ordered these lands to be surveyed, and divided into townships of six miles square each. One half of these townships are to be alternately divided into sections, containing each about six hundred and forty acres; and then the whole is to be sold by townships or by sections. This sale is to be superintended by the governor and secretary of the western territory.

Seven rows of townships at a little distance from Pittsburgh, in the same territory, had been surveyed by order of the old congress, which had also ordered the sale of them; but it had only been effected in part. The congress by the same law of 1796, ordered this land also to be sold, under the direction of the secretary of the treasury, who fixed the lowest price at two dollars per acre. It was to be sold by auction; a deposit of fifty per cent was to be made within thirty days after the purchase, and the other fifty a year after, under the penalty of dispossession, in regard to such purchasers as did not fulfil these conditions. In requiring so speedy a payment for these lands, and in keeping them at so high a price, the intentions of the congress were to render great speculations more difficult. But, by a report the secretary of the treasury made at the end of last January, it appears that this condition, and the price fixed by the congress, kept away a great many purchasers, since no more than forty-nine thousand acres, out of about six hundred and eighty thousand, had been sold, and the seven rows of townships, with the sale of which he was charged. The congress, however, made no change in the law of the preceding year, except by allowing stock to be taken in payment of these

these lands at its current value at the time of the purchase. But it did not diminish the fixed price, nor enlarge the time of payment; and it acted wisely. The fineness of the country, the goodness of the land, the mildness of the climate, and the facility of communication, leave no doubt but that they will be settled in no great space of time. The natural emigration from the northern states, which are the most populous of all, constantly take a western direction. It is impossible to ascertain what is the annual number of emigrants who pass the Alleghany Mountains; in some years it had amounted to thirty thousand souls; and I have heard it estimated at an average at fifteen thousand a year, but without any certain *data* being assigned. However this may be, it is considerable, and will become much more so, in proportion to the increasing population of the United States.

The greater number of these emigrants have hitherto directed their steps to Kentucky, and to the Tennessee country; but some always remain in Pennsylvania, and a great many already proceed to the Western Territory, where the land will increase, in proportion as the Indians are obliged, by the approach of the whites, to abandon the territory which they still occupy, and which the United States will not fail to purchase.

It is possible, and even probable, that the congress will be obliged to give the purchasers of these lands more time for payment. It will be a resource of great importance for the diminution of the national debt, to which it is irrevocably destined; and perhaps at a period not very distant, the Western Territory will be the most populous, the best cultivated, and one of the most important states of the Union.

MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The institution which gives the president of the United States the chief command of the forces by land and sea, as well as of the militia of the different states, when employed in the service of the confederacy, reserves to the congress the power of making laws for the administration

and discipline of the forces by land and sea; that of employing the necessary means for the embodying of the militia; for the purpose of putting in execution the laws of the Union; repressing insurrections, and repelling incursions; has also the power of regulating the organization, arming, and discipline of the militia, and the conduct of such part of the militia as is employed in the service of the United States, leaving to each of the states the appointment of officers, and the training of this militia, in conformity to the rules of discipline prescribed by the congress.

A law of the 13th of May 1796 has fixed the military establishment of the United States, and revoked all those previously made upon that subject.

It is composed of a body of artillery and engineers, of two companies of light dragoons, who are to serve on foot or on horseback, according to the will of the president, and of four regiments of infantry.

The corps of artillery and of engineers, consisting of seven hundred and sixty-four men, is divided into four battalions, and each battalion into four companies. Each company is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and two cadets; each battalion by a major; and the whole corps by a lieutenant-colonel, who has an adjutant-general under him.

Each company of dragoons is composed of fifty-two privates, eleven serjeants, corporals, saddlers, farriers, and trumpeters; and is commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and a cornet.

The staff of each regiment of infantry is composed of a lieutenant-colonel, two majors, an adjutant, a pay-master, a quarter-master, a surgeon, and two assistant-surgeons.

Each company is commanded by a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, and is composed of sixty-two serjeants, corporals, soldiers, and musicians.

The army consequently consists of two thousand seven hundred and seventy-four serjeants, musicians, soldiers, dragoons, and artillery-men.

According to the above law, the staff of the army was composed of a major-general, with two *aides-de-camp*, a brigadier-general, and a major of brigade; but this part of the law was repealed on the 3d of May

1797,

1797, and the staff is reduced to a brigadier-general, a major of brigade, and an inspector, both chosen by the brigadier-general from among the captains, and other officers of the army; a judge-advocate; a quartermaster, and a paymaster-general; which last, as well as the aids-de-camp, is chosen by the brigadier-general from among the officers of the army.

The pay of the army consists of money and provisions.

The brigadier-general receives a hundred and four dollars per month, and twelve rations a day.

The brigade-major, the inspector, the judge-advocate, the quartermaster, the treasurer, and the aids-de-camp, twenty-four dollars and four rations, besides their pay as officers in the line.

The lieutenant-colonels commandant, sixty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of artillery, fifty-five dollars and five rations.

The majors of infantry, fifty dollars and five rations.

The captains, forty dollars and three rations.

The lieutenants, thirty dollars; the ensigns and cornets, twenty-five dollars; and each three rations.

The surgeons, forty-five dollars and three rations.

The assistant surgeons, thirty dollars and two rations.

The paymasters, quartermasters, and adjutants of regiments, who may also be taken from among the officers of the line, receive, independently of their pay as officers of the line, ten dollars a month.

The brigadier-general, when he is commander in chief, and all the officers detached on particular commands, receive double the rations which are allowed for their rank when they are not in command.

The serjeant-major, and the quartermaster-serjeant, receive eight dollars per month.

The master of the band, and the other serjeants, seven dollars.

The corporals, six.

The musicians, five.

The privates, four.

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The workmen attached to the regiment, nine.

The nurses to the hospital, eight.

All receive only one ration.

The ration consists of a pound of beef, or three-quarters of a pound of pork, a pound of bread or flour, half a gill of rum, brandy, or whisky; and of a quarter of a pound of salt, a quart of vinegar, two pounds of soap, and a pound of candles, to be divided between every hundred rations.

The rations are either furnished in kind, or paid in money, according to the common price of the articles in the country where the troops are quartered.

Forage is also paid in money to those officers who are entitled to it by law; but at a fixed price, which is sixteen dollars per month for the brigadier-general; twelve for the quartermaster, inspector, treasurer, and lieutenant-colonels; ten for the majors and aides-de-camp; eight for the captains of dragoons; six for the lieutenants and cornets; ten for the surgeon; six for the assistant-surgeons, adjutants, and quartermaster of the regiment.

The serjeants, corporals, musicians, and privates, are, independently of their pay and of the ration, each to be furnished annually with a hat, a waistcoat, four pair of pantaloons (two of woollen, two of linen), four pair of shoes, four shirts, four pair of half stockings, a blanket, a stock with a clasp, and a pair of shoe-buckles.

They are enlisted for five years, and they receive a bounty of sixteen dollars, four of which only are paid them till they join the regiment.

Officers employed on the recruiting service receive two dollars for every man they enlist.

Deserters are punished by a fine of twenty dollars, and condemned to serve a new and complete term of enlistment from the day of their sentence. Persons who either conceal or assist them in deserting, are punishable by a fine of thirty dollars, and brought to trial before the common courts of justice.

The military are tried by courts-martial, the sentence of which must be

be approved by the president of the United States. Every officer or soldier, on entering into the service, takes and signs the oath of allegiance to the United States, and of obedience to the president, and to his officers, according to the rules and discipline of war.

The law, having for its object to establish an uniform militia throughout the whole extent of the United States, was enacted in the month of May 1792. It declared every male and free inhabitant of the United States, from the age of eighteen to that of forty-five, liable to serve; excepting all public officers; all persons employed in the service of the post-office, and in that of the ferries across the rivers; seamen in active service, and all those who may be exempted by the laws of particular states.

The same law directs the militia to be formed into divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies. It regulates the number of officers in each of these divisions; prescribes the formation of a company of grenadiers *per* battalion, and of one of artillery and another of cavalry *per* division. These two companies are to be composed of volunteers, clothed and mounted at their own expence. Each militia-man must also be armed at his own cost.

An adjutant-general for every county must keep a roll of this militia, and of the state of its equipment.

An inspector for every brigade is charged with the discipline of the militia at the time it is embodied; but the whole is subordinate to the governor of the state.

A law, of January 1795, fixes the pay of the militia called out for the service of the state. It includes the expence of cloathing, with which the militia-men are supposed to have provided themselves. A serjeant-major has nine dollars a month; a corporal, musician, or drummer, eight dollars thirty-three *cents*; a workman, eight dollars; and a private, six dollars sixty-six *cents*. The officers, serjeants, and privates of the cavalry, receive forty cents per day for the remount of their horse, and twenty-five cents for its keep. The rations of the militia are the same

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as those of the troops of the line. The officers of the militia receive the same quantity, and have also the same pay as officers in the line.

Another law, of the 28th of February of the same year, authorises the president of the United States, in case of a threatened invasion on the part of any foreign power, or of the Indians; or in case of an insurrection in the territory of the United States, or of a concerted disobedience to the laws of the Union, to call out the militia of one or more states, in such proportion and number as he shall think proper. In the first of these cases, the president sends his orders directly to the superior officers or individuals commanding the militia corps that he wishes to march. In the others, he must address himself to the legislature of the states, if they are assembled; or, if not, to their executive power.

The militia called out into actual service on account of the United States, are subject to the same regulations as the army; but no individual can be compelled to serve longer than three months from the day on which he presented himself at the place of assembly.

Courts-martial to try officers or soldiers of the militia must be composed of their own officers. Among the offences of which a militia-man may be guilty, is disobedience to the orders of the president, which is punished by a fine, not exceeding a year of the delinquent's pay, nor less than a month's. Confinement is the punishment of non-payment of fines, which are the only penalties of breaches of discipline.

Although all the militia are bound by the law to provide themselves with arms at their own expence, and though they are subject to a fine if they do not, the greater number is generally unprovided when the militia is to be assembled, and particularly when called out suddenly upon actual service. The different states, therefore, are now taking measures to have arms in store for such men as want them at the moment when the state has occasion for their services. But in some states they have hardly begun to procure a supply; in all they are tardy in doing so; and in none is the number complete. The Union has also arsenals to supply the deficiency of those of the states, when the militia is called out upon its service.

service. These arsenals ought to contain one hundred thousand stands of arms, but do not contain fifteen thousand fit for service. Every year new ones are purchased; but every time also that these arms are given to the militia-men, who ought to return them as soon as the time of their service is expired, as well as the rest of their accoutrements, under penalty of a fine equal to the value of their arms, or of such part of them as may have been left, not a third of them is brought back to the arsenal.

The fortifications are another branch of the war department; that is to say, those erected by the Union; but it never erects any, except in places where the land is entirely given up to it by the state to which it belongs. Many of the states, as has already been seen, are averse to this cession; and in that case, if they wish for fortifications, they can only have them at their own expence. Those which the Union erects and keeps up are few, and almost all incomplete. Good engineers being scarce, the Americans are obliged to employ such as they can get, who are generally foreigners who do not half understand their business, and who are generally more attentive to their own interest than that of the United States. Great plans are drawn; the works are begun at great expence; there is a want of money the following year; and the fortifications are either entirely relinquished, or reduced to so small a scale, that they are either good for nothing or at least defective, so that the money spent the preceding year may be said to be thrown away.

Portland, in the province of Main; Portsmouth, in New Hampshire; Gloucester, Salem, Marblehead, in the Massachusetts; Newport, in Rhode Island; New York, in the state of New York; Mud-Island, near Philadelphia; Baltimore, in Maryland; Norfolk, in Virginia; Oystecock and Wilmington, in North Carolina; George-town, in South Carolina; Savannah and St. Mary, in Georgia, are the only places to be found in the list of the fortifications of the United States; and he who has seen them all with his own eyes, knows that very few of them are to remain there.

Governor's Island, near New York; Sullivan's Island, near Charleston; and Castle Island, near Boston, were to have been fortified by the Union; but the states to which they belong refuse to give up the sove-

reignty of the land; whence it happens that places which it is of so much consequence to fortify, are not fortified, or at least very incompletely. This is attended with danger, not only to the state which refuses the cession of its land, but also to the Union in general, since the entrance of a principal point not being completely defended, its territory is laid open; and since it is evident that there are no sure means of defending a country, except those which are the result of a whole system, calculated to embrace its totality as well as its separate parts; now no such a system exists in the United States.

The navy is also with them a branch of the war department. This navy has as yet no existence. In 1794, the commerce of the United States being attacked by the Algerines, the congress passed a law, authorizing the president to purchase or cause to be built, four frigates of forty-four guns, and two of thirty-six. It regulated the number of officers, sailors and soldiers, with which these frigates were to be manned, and the pay of their crews. That of the sailors, says the law, is not to exceed twenty-seven dollars a month, independently of their allowance, and this high pay was necessary on account of the still higher wages given at that time to sailors employed in the merchant service. The congress granted the president six hundred and eighty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars for the expences of the construction or purchase of these ships. The same law enacted, that if the United States made peace with the Algerines, the armament was to instantly cease.

In 1796, peace being made with this piratical power, another law of the congress authorized the president to complete the construction only of two frigates of forty-four guns, and of one of thirty-six, directing that the materials in store, which had been destined for the construction of the three others, should be preserved, if it could be done without fear of their decaying, or otherwise, that they should be sold.

It applied to the completion of these three frigates, part of the six hundred and eighty-eight thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight dollars voted for the construction of the six, and which had not yet been expended, and eighty thousand dollars more, also voted in 1796, at the time

time when America was apprehensive of war with England, in order to purchase and equip ten small vessels, for the defence of the coasts of the United States.

In the last session but one; and at the beginning of 1797, the congress again granted for this same service one hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars, and ten thousand dollars more for the pay of the captains.

In the last session, in May 1797, one hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred and thirty-six dollars were demanded, and granted, in order to complete this armament.

According to the estimate of the secretary at war, the value of the materials preserved of the frigates that had been begun, and countermanded, as well as of those in store, amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and seventy-four dollars; which makes the total expence of the construction and equipment of these three frigates one million twelve thousand six hundred and fifty dollars, or eight thousand one hundred and sixty-six dollars *per gun*.

This enormous price is owing:

To the necessity of going as far as Georgia to fell the timber, for which purpose the government thought it advisable to send carpenters from the northern states.

To the tardiness with which supplies of it were provided, insomuch that the frigates being laid down, materials were wanting to go on with them. They were expected from day to day, and it was often necessary to pay the shipwrights for whole months, without their having any work; for it would have been difficult to procure others, had these been dismissed.

And above all, to the want of economy in the use of the materials, to the want of superintendence and foresight, which every where prevails in the expences of the war department of the United States; for it is evident, that with more care and regularity, and better management, the frigates might have been built at more than a third less expence. The pay, the victualling and annual repairs of these three frigates are estimated at three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It must be confessed that it

is a very expensive piece of parade. For what kind of a navy of the Union of sixteen states is that which is composed of only three frigates?

In this enormous expence, of upwards of a million of dollars, for the construction of these three frigates, the expence occasioned by that which the United States give to the Dey of Algiers, by a secret article of the treaty, is not included. She will cost about a hundred thousand dollars, being only of thirty-two guns, not being built of cedar and live oak like the other three, and being better attended to during her construction.

The department of the Indians is also one of the branches of the war department. It is with the secretary at war, that the agents employed among the Indians correspond, and it is by him that are transmitted the aid granted them, by virtue of a treaty with the United States, or the presents made them by the Union. These expences, annually, amount to a hundred thousand dollars.

The expences of the war department are defrayed by sums which the congress votes every year for that purpose, according to the estimate that is presented to them by the secretary of the treasury, who himself receives it from the secretary at war.

Sometimes the grant of money for the expences of the war department, is made by a particular aid; sometimes it is included in the same act which grants all the sums deemed necessary for the total expence of the government. But the sums appropriated to the war department are always distinctly specified for each article of which they are composed; the pay of the troops, provisions, forage, clothing, equipment of the cavalry, purchase of horses, hospitals, artillery, expence of offices, Indians, expence of the frontiers, salaries, military pensions, supply of magazines, purchase of ammunition, naval armaments, &c. &c.

The sums destined to this department were, in 1789, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars; in 1790, one hundred and ninety-four thousand one hundred and forty-four; in 1791, six hundred and fifteen thousand four hundred and twenty-one; in 1792, one million one hundred and seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six; in 1793, one million one hundred

hundred and sixty-eight thousand three hundred and seventy-five; in 1794, two million three hundred and sixty-two thousand one hundred and three; in 1795, two million six hundred and thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty; in 1796, one million four hundred and thirty-seven thousand one hundred; and in 1797, one million five hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-two dollars.

The great increase of the war expences for the years 1794 and 1795, resulted from the Pittsburg expedition, of which I shall say a few words, and which cost near twelve hundred thousand dollars.

In this application of fifteen hundred and thirty-seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-one dollars to the expences of the war department, in 1797, upwards of a million were destined for the real and effective expences of the army, that is to say, pay, provisions, forage, purchase of horses, and hospitals. The fortifications are estimated at only twenty-four thousand dollars, and yet the army is composed of only two thousand seven hundred and seventy-four men. There are no corps of militia to be supported; for the sums voted in the last May session, in consequence of the fears that were entertained of a war, are not comprehended in this estimate; nor even the salaries of the secretary at war, and of his clerks, which are always included among the expences of the civil list.

The known probity of those who have been placed at the head of this department, renders all suspicion of their infidelity impossible; and besides, the manner in which the disbursements are made, the formalities observed in the issue of the public money, which can only be drawn for by bills expressive of the case to which it is to be applied, preclude all means of malversation, at least to any considerable amount. But upon comparing the excessive expences of the war department with the weakness of the army, the bad state of the fortifications, and the small result of these great disbursements, we cannot be astonished at often hearing a great want of intelligence and order imputed to the war department.

In congress the secretaries of war have often been reproached with considering the sums allotted to their department as a total of which they might dispose for the different articles of expenditure, without limiting the
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the expences of each of them to the sums specially voted for that purpose; with expending, for instance, more or less for the fortifications than the sum particularly destined for their erection or repair; with applying to the hospitals, clothing, victualling, or any other article of this department, the surplus arising from the savings made in the fortifications, or with retrenching from those different articles the sums applied to the fortifications beyond those prescribed by the law.

This reproach was particularly made with respect to the expences of the Pittsburg expedition, for which the secretary at war furnished the sums granted by congress for the particular expences of his department, without being able to do so, otherwise than by suspending the different payments to which the sums voted were meant to be applied.

It seems that this reproach, though, strictly speaking, not unfounded, is nevertheless unjust. If the expedition to Pittsburg were necessary, if it were indispensable to conduct it with celerity, and to carry it to so great an extent, and if there were a real danger in suspending it, the sums devoted to it were consequently the most urgent part of the expenditure of the United States, since the re-establishment of public order depended upon that expedition. Every delay would then have been a great evil; and there was at that time no other means of finding money for it, either legal or even possible. Besides, the secretary at war and the president remained responsible, in case the measures they deemed indispensable were disapproved by the congress.

Here I am naturally led to speak of this expedition, concerning which opinions were, and continue to be, much divided. It was at an end before I arrived in America, and my travels never carried me into that part of Pennsylvania where the insurrection took place. I can then have no other information than that which is to be obtained by conversing with the two parties, and reading every thing that has been printed upon the subject.

Nobody can doubt that there was then in the counties of Westmoreland, La Fayette, Washington, and of the Alleghanies, a formal opposition to the collection of the tax upon distilleries; an opposition which was of ancient

ancient date, and supported by force of arms; a combination and conspiracy to prevent the payment of that excise duty; a known resolution to employ force against all those who should either demand that tax, or even submit to pay it; every thing, in short, which characterizes an insurrection. It has been said that Mr. Hamilton, then secretary of the treasury, might have prevented this insurrection without prejudice to the revenue, by not keeping in place, contrary to the will of the country, excise officers, whose characters, harshness, and conduct were reprehensible; and by instituting in the early stage of the business a legal prosecution against the opposers of the collection of the tax. His enemies attribute this fault to his desire of provoking a resistance so strong, that its repression might give more force to this impost, of which he was the promoter, which congress had consented to with great reluctance, and which was generally disliked: they even ascribed to him the intention of gratifying his particular hatred against some of his personal enemies.

Knowing the disposition of Mr. Hamilton, as I think I know it, I cannot admit the possibility of such a reproach; but even were it founded, it would not have been a sufficient reason against the expedition at the moment it was ordered, when the insurrection was unequivocal, extensive, and might become formidable. It is only its necessity, or its inutility, at that time, that is in question here.

A few years before, an insurrection, which was also caused by the non-payment of taxes, had taken place in the state of Massachusetts.

It was important to put a stop to this spirit of resistance, fatal to the public treasury, still more fatal to the constitution, and for all the blessings which, in a well regulated government, result from the exact observation of the laws. It was therefore necessary to act against this insurrection, and to act with means sufficient to insure its repression, and to act speedily; for the course of justice began to be suspended in these cantons; the heat of men's minds was daily increasing; the number of the insurgents was augmenting, and the commissioners sent to them by the president had returned without producing the desired effect; and yet they were men highly esteemed.

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If the disorder had not then been stifled at its birth, it was not improbable that it would have found imitators in other parts of the United States; and that the Pittsburg insurrection itself would have grown more formidable, and have been in the end the germ of serious intestine dissensions, which might, perhaps, have occasioned a great effusion of blood before they could have been terminated.

To what degree did Mr. Hamilton, for every body concurs in opinion that he directed this operation, to what degree, I say, did he proportion the means to the necessity? This is a point upon which I will not undertake to decide, for the necessity was in this case a compound of different elements.

In the first place it was necessary to quiet the insurrection, it was also necessary to interest the public opinion in the annihilation of this disorder, and by that means to prevent its future reproduction. That important object could not be better attained than by the calling out of the militia of the different states. To employ the different militia of the counties of Pennsylvania adjacent to the scene of insurrection, even had they all been unanimously disposed to serve in this cause, a thing of which doubts might reasonably have been entertained; to employ them alone would have been to risk the sowing the seeds of discord and of hatred in this state; this danger was averted by calling out upon this service the militia of the other states.

It was besides a favourable opportunity of trying that part of the constitution, which authorizes the president of the United States to embody the militia, and of proving the attachment of the American people to that constitution. Such a trial could not have been made under better auspices than the presidency of George Washington, who at that time was highly popular.

That the private animosity of Mr. Hamilton had any share in this business, as has been said, is what I shall never prevail upon myself to believe; his character opposes such an opinion, and the powerful reasons which were the motive of this expedition are alone a sufficient evidence of its necessity.

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It is possible, and I am inclined to believe, that this expedition, in which fifteen thousand men were employed, would have been in every respect equally successful with one-third of the force; and that, consequently, the immense expence which resulted from the march of this army across a country very little inhabited, and from the supplies of provisions which it was necessary to procure from Philadelphia, might have been considerably diminished. The excess of expences beyond exact necessity is, no doubt, a great evil in every government. But still it may be said, that the display of this great force, that the order given to the militia that did not march, to hold themselves in readiness to do so, to the number of eighty thousand men, rendered the submission of the insurgents more prompt and more complete.

But whatever may have been the excess in the expences, or the hidden views of men of influence, the expedition had a desirable effect in regard to all good citizens; an adherence to the measures of government, and an attachment to the constitution, were generally expressed; they were manifested strongly and sincerely by the federalists and anti-federalists; and although the opposite party accused some of the latter with being the promoters of the insurrection, not one among them could be found that was in the smallest degree implicated in it. Men of different political opinions marched as volunteers in the militia of their state, leaving their business and their families, in order to promote the public welfare. All proved that the maintenance of order and a respect for the laws were unanimously considered as the duty, as the interest of every good citizen. Not a single drop of blood was spilt, and the general good wishes of the different parties in the United States, attended this expedition throughout its whole duration of four months.

I had been a few days at Philadelphia, when the militia of that city marched in from this expedition; and I find in a journal that I then kept of the impressions I received from all the new objects which struck me, that which was caused by the arrival of this militia. I insert it here.

“ The battalions did not come back from this expedition till the beginning

ginning of December; their return was a real *fête* for the city; not one of those *fêtes* which we have often seen ordered in Europe by the governments, and which are sure to be attended with great expence, tumult, and disorder; but of those which the public mind can alone give and receive, and perhaps only on a similar occasion.

“The day of their arrival was announced; their brother soldiers, who had remained at Philadelphia; or had already returned from the expedition, went in a body to meet them, three miles without the city; almost all the inhabitants came out of their houses, either to go and meet the troops, or to place themselves where they were to pass; most of them had to see a son, a brother, a cousin, a friend, or some interesting person: all saw in them the defenders of the law, the object of public gratitude. The militia that had left the city, in meeting the others, formed their advanced and rear guards; those who were coming back continued their march. The crowd that pressed upon them did not disturb their order; their battalions marched by columns in ranks at five or six paces asunder. The men who composed them were mostly young, had a good appearance and marched well: they were clothed alike, and carried a large knapsack, with which none of them seemed fatigued. Their looks fought and received with satisfaction those which affection and joy sent them from all quarters; but they did not quit their ranks, and the regularity of their march was not interrupted. In this manner they crossed the city amidst the acclamations of the public.

“The president, whose house lay in their way, came out, received their salutes, and joined his applause to that of the other citizens; and this applause alone was more gratifying to the battalions than that of all the others. Being arrived before the state-house, they returned their colours, and were disbanded.

“Then their relations and friends, both male and female, got hold of these soldiers who were restored to them. The recollection of the fear that was entertained at their departure of the dangers they were about to run, augmented the pleasure of seeing them again, although they had
not

not incurred any; they were hugged, kissed, and led to their homes; every one had about him a little groupe composed of persons to whom he was the most dear; and those citizens, who feelingly exulted in the peace and happiness which these children of the country were about to find again in the bosom of their families. Europeans or Americans, nobody was insensible to this spectacle, which was equally affecting and sublime. Tears fell from several eyes.

"Such is the exact account of this *fête*, where those who were present felt more happiness than gaiety, and where public welfare must have received the assurance of finding again, whenever there was a necessity for it, the same attachment as that which had been thus recently rewarded."

CONNEXIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

The law whose object is to regulate the intercourse between the citizens and the United States with the Indian tribes by whom they are surrounded, was enacted in May 1796. It is to continue in force during the space of only two years, as was the case with the former laws on the same subject; but it contains regulations more strongly marked with liberality and justice, and more explicitly laid down, than any of those which preceded it.

By this law it is provided that the president shall cause the boundaries between the territory of the United States and that occupied by the different tribes bordering on them, to be ascertained and marked as clearly as possible.

All inhabitants of the United States are forbidden to hunt in or carry off cattle from any part of the territories acknowledged by the treaty as the property or possession of the Indians, on pain of a hundred dollars fine and six months' imprisonment.

They are prohibited on pain of fifty dollars fine and six months' imprisonment, to enter the territory of the Indians south of the Ohio without a passport from the governor of some one of the states, or from the military commandant of some of the posts adjoining to that territory.

Every robbery, fraud, or other crime of what nature soever, committed against an Indian by an inhabitant of the United States and within the territory of the United States, is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars and twelve months' imprisonment, besides a restitution of the property taken or destroyed, or its value.

If the delinquent be unable to pay the value, the United States become responsible for it; provided however that the aggrieved Indian have not himself taken vengeance for the injury; in which case, the restitution is not to be made.

Any inhabitant of the United States who forms or endeavours to form a settlement for himself in the Indian territory, is to be recalled from it by the president of the United States, to pay a fine of a thousand dollars, and suffer twelve months' imprisonment.

Any inhabitant who kills in the Indian territory an Indian belonging to any tribe in amity with the United States, is to suffer capital punishment.

All trade with the Indians is prohibited without permission from the principal agent of the United States on the frontier of the Indian territory where such trade is to be carried on: and those who have obtained permission for that purpose, are forbidden to purchase from the Indians any of the implements of household economy, hunting or agriculture:

They must not, either from the Indians or from any white man residing among them, purchase any horse, without express permission from the principal agent.

This law subjects the Indians to the same prohibitions with respect to the white people.

An Indian guilty of any crime may be apprehended within the territory of the United States.

If he escape, the inhabitant who has been injured by him is to lay his complaint, accompanied by a circumstantial detail of particulars, before the agent of the United States, who is to demand reparation of the nation or tribe to which the offending Indian belongs, and to acquaint the president with the result of his demand.

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If reparation is not made, the injured party is indemnified from the treasury of the United States; and the sum thus applied is deducted from the subsidies granted by the United States to that tribe.

The courts of the United States, and also, when the cause is not capital, the courts of the individual States, take cognizance of all those offences, even when they have been committed within the territories belonging to the Indians.

The troops of the United States stationed on the Indian frontier are bound to arrest delinquent white men even in the Indian territory; and such delinquents are to be apprehended in any part of the United States where they may be found.

This law, which is wise and just in its provisions, is far from being punctually executed. The extremity of the United States bordering on the territory of the Indians is inhabited by a set of men who are in hostility with them. Avidity, and the desire and intention of plundering them, are the motives which induced them to choose the frontier as the place of their settlement, and the sources of that constant enmity which they bear to the Indians.

This class of inhabitants are, by the report of every individual who is not one of themselves, the very worst set of men in all America, and perhaps in the whole universe. The sentiments and even the very idea of honesty and humanity are unknown to them. They are all plundering ferocious banditti; and none but very slight shades of discrimination are observable between them in this respect: it therefore most commonly happens that neither accusers nor witnesses nor juries can be found for the prosecution of a white man guilty of a trespass or crime against an Indian.

The Americans, especially those on the frontier, no more consider an Indian as a man than certain West-Indian planters believe a negro to belong to the human species.

The oppressions, the usurpations, the crimes committed by the whites against the Indians are therefore never punished: at least the instances of punishment are so rare that it would be difficult to quote even a single one.

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The Indian on the other hand, harassed and plundered, contracts the habit of robbery and pillage of which he sees the example and is himself the victim: and as, according to the practice among savages, he extends his vengeance to every individual of the same colour with the person who has injured him,—the whites, even if there were any less inclined than others to plunder and hatred of the Indians, would assume that disposition through hatred, or as a measure of safety. The Indians likewise say that it is the worst class of their tribes who habitually continue near the frontiers.

The government of the United States does not possess sufficient strength to repress those irregularities; the governments of the individual states do not attend to them: every person speaks of this dreadful state of things as principally and originally arising from the lawless aggressions of the whites: but as the evil is habitual, and so inveterate, that it is not easy to discover a remedy for it, people speak of it without horror.

Thus it is impossible even to foresee any end to the cruel oppressions exercised over the Indians by the avidity of the American frontier settlers. I must add, that there are few Americans who do not entertain a wish, and even the design if they were able to accomplish it, of driving the Indians across the Mississippi, and even to the South Sea, which to the unreflecting ambition of many among them, appears the only boundary that ought to limit the extent of the United States.

Another law, enacted in April of the same year 1796, and whose duration is in like manner confined to two years, establishes a trade with the Indians in the neighbourhood of the United States, under the authority of the president.

A hundred and fifty thousand dollars are appropriated to the trade, of which the objects are to furnish the Indians with such supplies and implements as their wants require, and to purchase from them skins and furs.

The law directs that the prices of the articles sold to the Indians be so regulated as barely to prevent the United States from losing any part of their capital. It restrains the agents employed in this trade from trafficking directly or indirectly on their own account; it forbids them to
cheat

cheat the Indians; and subjects them to fines of different magnitude in proportion to the nature of the offences by which they transgress these regulations. The district courts of the states where the store-houses are established for their commerce, take cognizance of these offences.

Whoever is acquainted with the temper of those who treat with the Indians, may be assured that the liberal provisions of this law are not punctually reduced to practice.

Here a word may be said concerning the civilization of the Indians.

Whether civilization be a good or an evil to those who live in the immensity of woods necessary to their subsistence, is a question entirely metaphysical, which I have no intention to discuss.

But that Indians despoiled of nineteen parts out of twenty of their territory, and confined amidst white people in a soil incapable of supplying the wants of their savage life, should be civilized, is an incontestible truth, for in such a situation it is necessary either to attempt their civilization or their destruction, and the latter alternative cannot yet be openly avowed.

It is an established opinion in America, even among those who appear the most exempt from prejudices, that the Indians can never be civilized; that the strictest education, the most assiduous and persevering cares cannot destroy their savage habits, to which they recur with the most ardent passion, from the tranquillity and from the manners of the white people; and an infinite number of examples are cited of Indians who, brought up at Philadelphia, at New York, and even in Europe, never ceased to sigh after their tribe, and quitted every thing to go and rejoin it whenever a favourable opportunity offered itself. So that assertion, supported by so many examples, becomes a received truth.

Yet there is no reasoning which can enforce the belief of this pretended truth, and the proofs of the facts which are brought to support it are not of a nature to silence inquiry. The Indians whose education has been attempted, or said to be, had already passed some years of their life in the tribe to which they belonged; transported alone from their species into the midst of white people different in language, habits and in colour,
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and often even in clothing, they became as it were isolated, they were regarded by the whites as a different species of men; they did not attempt even to make them forget that they were from a nation still existing, whose manners and habits had rivetted their first attention and made the deepest impression upon them; if when arrived at the age of manhood, they should have imbibed for a white woman that affection which naturally created the desire of an union with her, the difference of colour became almost an insurmountable obstacle. Is it to be wondered then that these Indians should wish to return to their tribe, of which they had still the most lively memory, and where alone they were able to find companions of similar manners to their own, and those pleasures which cause in man an attachment to life.

The result then of these examples so often quoted is, that an Indian educated in an American college, three hundred miles from his native place, cannot but with difficulty throw off his original habits and cease to have a preference for them; this is the whole deduction. There are in Connecticut, in the State of New York, a considerable number of Indians, both men and women, who serve as domestics in European families, and in those who are become Americans, who perform their duty as well and as faithfully as those of another species.

But this is nothing to the civilization of whole nations, which is the only object from which any real advantage can be derived either to themselves or to society in general. The great difficulty which attends the reformation of the most trifling habits of a polished people, of a family, and even of an individual, sufficiently demonstrates the obstacles which attend the civilization of a savage race; and yet in the midst of our great societies, the lights surrounding a polished people, families and individuals, afford an ample and powerful aid to the business of reform.

It is only then by continual assiduities, applied according to circumstances, and prolonged for many successive generations, that this entire civilization can be effected, and even then only gradually.

The conviction of the utility of such a work is necessary to the surmounting

mounting the obstacles which oppose it, and to triumph with certainty. It neither belongs to my subject nor to the intention of this work, to show the particular means by which this event may be accomplished; the understanding and courage of the friends of humanity will easily point them out; but individuals and even societies will ever be unable to work this useful change, unless the governments of the territories which Indian tribes inhabit will contribute all in their power to effect it. But this can only be the result of their firm conviction of the advantages of such efforts, and hitherto none of the American governments have appeared to be penetrated with this conviction; on the contrary, every one regards the lands left to these poor Indians as an appendage of their own sovereignty, as a kind of loan which their kindness has made with this miserable race; they are in their eyes only travelling guests, which ought not to remain a long time in their territory.

Such ideas, more or less avowed, nursed by a thirst for gain, cast at a distance the project of civilization, and give consistence to the prejudices upon which the belief is founded, that it is impossible to civilize the Indians.

Nevertheless some tribes, the *Oneidas*, for example, in the state of New York, and some others in Canada, are considerably advanced towards a state of civilization; they labour, cultivate the earth, traffic, and are sensible of the necessity of civilization. The Quakers and Moravians carry the principles of reform among the farthest tribes; but their respectable efforts cannot be very useful, or at most not completely so, without the influence and direction of government. The civilization of these people ought to be the work of the legislature and general administrations; it is above the efforts of particular charity and assistance. The beneficent societies just mentioned might be usefully employed in it, having been for ages susceptible of long patience and unalterable courage, so necessary to success; but, as was said before, they can only be employed as instruments for this purpose by enlightened governments, who, convinced that the civilization of the Indians living near the frontiers is a benefit to humanity, a means of augmenting the sale of the produc-

tions of their territory, of increasing the riches of their citizens and the power of the states, will unceasingly pursue the means of accomplishing this laudable end.

It is this revolution in the spirit of the American governments which is so desirable, without which even a hope cannot be conceived that this work will be effected; it clashes too much with particular interests, which, contrary as they are to the general interest, speak as loud, and are attended to as much.

NATURALIZATION.

The right of a citizen, or naturalization, which populous states, with narrow limits, may find it political to grant with difficulty, ought to be obtained upon more easy terms in a country of great extent and thinly inhabited, where the capitals and labour of strangers are necessary.

In 1790 the congress fixed two years residence in the territories of the United States, one of which to be in the same state, as a sufficient condition to become a naturalized citizen. The oath made before some court of justice to be faithful to the constitution, and to defend it, was the only formula required; and this naturalization of the father imparted the same right to such of his children as were under the age of twenty-one when the oath was taken, even if they were born in a foreign country.

In 1793 the conditions were made more difficult. The insurrection of Pittsburg had taken place a little before, which the government attributed to the strangers recently arrived from Ireland, who, it was said, formed the greatest number of the insurgents, and who, so readily to be misled by the factious, shewed the certain danger of appointing men to places, who had abused in such a dangerous manner, the trust reposed in them. To avoid this evil in future, it was thought necessary to make the right of voting at elections more difficult to be obtained, which could only be done by raising the conditions of naturalization: so the government party reasoned; the opposition party favoured the same measure, but from different motives. The fate of the French revolution was not then fixed; it appeared probable that more than one European state was destined to undergo

undergo revolutions. The richest classes, which in Europe are called the most distinguished, were, according to appearances, likely to become the victims of these revolutions; many individuals would in that case seek an asylum in America, and carry with them whatever they could save of their fortunes; they would also bring with them their habits and their prejudices, absolutely contrary to that republican spirit which this party were so desirous to nurture and reanimate, but bearing a strong analogy to that aristocratic spirit which it accused the other party of endeavouring to introduce. A higher price being put upon the right of naturalization, would render this danger more distant, and probably diminish the number of emigrants of this class.

The new law of naturalization, therefore, had its origin in the combination of the views of two parties. It was good in intention, as was proved by the long and warm debates which took place upon discussing it in detail, and was desired by both sides.

By this law, the time required for becoming a citizen of the United States is extended to five years residence in their territory, of which one must have been in the state where the candidate for citizenship had taken the oath. Three years, at least, before he be admitted to this definitive oath, he must have presented himself before one of the federal courts of justice, and have there declared upon oath that he had a sincere intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, and to renounce all dependence and fidelity upon any prince, state, or sovereignty whatever, particularly upon the prince, state, or sovereignty of which he was actually a subject. His definitive oath, made also before a federal court, ought to express the same positions and renunciation. He is also required to renounce his titles of nobility, if he had belonged to that class in the country where he was born, or from whence he arrived.

It is also required that he should take an oath of fidelity to the constitution of the United States. These two oaths are registered in the courts where they were taken.

In order to confer the title of naturalization upon the children who

were under the age of twenty-one years at the naturalization of their father, the law of 1793 requires the same conditions as that of 1790.

This residence of five years, required by the latter law, to become a citizen of the United States, is not imposed upon those who arrived in America before its promulgation, such may become so two years afterwards; but the oath required by the new law is indispensably necessary.

OF NUMBERING THE PEOPLE AND POPULATION.

The American constitution, when it ordained the general enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States within the three years succeeding its acceptance, enacted also that the same enumeration should be renewed every ten years; and left it to the congress to make a law for regulating the manner of performing it. A law was passed for this purpose, on the first of March, 1790.

The marshal of every district* was ordered to superintend the enumeration of the state where he exercised his functions. In this work he was authorized to call in what aid and assistance he might judge proper. He was ordered to make a return to the president of the United States, distinguishing, in the table of population, the number of free males under and over the age of sixteen years, the free women and girls of every age, and the slaves. The Indians who might live in the districts were not to be included in the list of population.

Every assistant in enumerating the people ought, before he sends his account to the marshal, to affix it in two or three of the most frequented places of assembly within his bounds, that it may receive the corrections which the inhabitants may suggest, giving an account of the reasons why they ought to be made. Every head of a family who refuses to give to

* This office is the same in the courts of justice of the United States as that of sheriff in those of particular states; the district being considered as nothing but a state subject to judicial orders, it is the extent and bounds of a judge of a district, and we have shewn under the article of the judicial order, that there is one of these in every state.

the assistant, when he is taking his account, the number of his or her family, or gives in an incorrect one, incurs a fine of twenty dollars. The assistant, himself, incurs a fine of two hundred dollars if his account be incorrect, or if it was not returned to the marshal of the district at the time required. The marshal is punished by a fine of eight hundred dollars if he alters the accounts of his assistants, or omits sending his own to the president of the United States at the time appointed.

Every marshal receives as a reward for his labour, from two to five hundred dollars, according to the extent of his district. The assistant, for his particular trouble, receives a dollar for every hundred and fifty persons in the country, and the same for every three hundred persons in towns, the inhabitants of which are contiguous. Sometimes he receives the same for every fifty persons, when the account is taken in places where the inhabitants are much scattered. The judges of the district regulate the sum of these proportions by the advice, and at the request of the marshal.

For every copy of his account which the assistant affixes for public inspection, he is paid two dollars.

The whole of this enumeration ought to be performed in nine months; the total expence of it is estimated at forty thousand dollars every time it is made.

The enumeration of the people taken in 1791, by virtue of this law, announced a population of three millions nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and twenty-six inhabitants, of which three millions two hundred and thirty-one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine were free; among whom were fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and seven negroes, or persons of colour, and six hundred and ninety-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-one slaves.

The inhabitants of the territory of the west are not included in this number; but the population there is so inconsiderable, that if it were added, it would make no important difference in the total number.

It is believed upon a series of partial observations, that the population of the United States is doubled every fifteen years; not including in this estimation the emigration from Europe, which varies annually, and is at present

present much less than it was some years since; but the exact number cannot be known, because there is no register kept of them at the different places where they arrive at; this emigration consists principally of Irish. But not to exaggerate the increase of population in the United States, I do not suppose it is doubled in less than twenty years, that is five in the hundred every year.

The population was in 1791, four millions; in twenty years it will be augmented to eight millions; in forty years to sixteen; in sixty years to thirty-two; in eighty years to sixty-four; and in eighty-five years to eighty millions; then the territory of the United States will be peopled in the same proportion that France was before the revolution. The extent of the territory possessed by the United States, after the war, was six hundred and forty millions of acres, from which fifty-one millions ought to be deducted for lakes and rivers, and then there will remain five hundred and eighty-nine millions of acres.

Besides, they have granted to the Indians, whose rights they have acknowledged, two hundred and twenty millions, which reduced their possessions to three hundred and sixty-nine millions.

But by the treaty with Great Britain in 1795, their territory has been increased twenty-three millions of acres; so that their actual territory is three hundred and eighty-two millions of acres.

In these calculations I have neglected odd numbers; the American geographers and land-surveyors estimate the extent of the territory at three hundred eighty-two millions four hundred twenty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty acres.

France, when the enumeration of the people was taken by order of the constituent assembly, contained twenty-seven millions one hundred and sixty-nine thousand inhabitants, and its extent was, at the same time, (anterior to its conquests) twenty-six thousand nine hundred and sixty square leagues, at the rate of two thousand two hundred and eighty toises to a league, of which the total is a hundred and thirty-one millions two hundred twenty-two thousand and ninety-five acres. Her extent of territory was to that of the United States as nine to twenty-six,

30.1.19

or

or very nearly. The United States, therefore, must have a population of nearly eighty millions of inhabitants to be peopled in the same proportion as France; and it has been shewn, that according to the least favourable calculations, they may arrive at that state in 1876.

What an enormous fund, a great and inexhaustible source of prosperity must such a population afford, particularly when destined to be spread over lands easy to be made fertile, over a country watered by the finest rivers, with the means of extending the interior navigation to almost every spot.

It is true that this increasing progression of population may be diminished by several circumstances; and even that this progression may become less in proportion as population arrives to a great number; for then marriages will become less frequent, less early, and probably less fruitful. But it is not necessary for the United States to arrive at this high degree of population before they profit by the abundance and richness of their soil, maintain an active industry, and nourish with their produce a solid and rich commerce; and should they never reach so high as to the two-thirds, or at least to one-half of the population to which it appears by calculation they may attain in twenty-five years, they may be more numerous than is necessary for them to become a rich and respectable nation. Bad laws, illiberal or weak principles in the legislature or government, can alone oppose the prosperity and the greatness destined for them.

OF THE COIN OF THE UNITED STATES.

The United States have a mint; the law which ordered its establishment was made in the month of April 1792. It regulates the division, the value, and the standard of the money of the United States.

The division and value of these monies are as follow:

GOLD

GOLD COIN.

The eagle, value ten dollars.

The half-eagle, value five dollars.

The quarter-eagle, value two dollars and a half.

SILVER COIN.

The dollar, value a hundred cents.

The half-dollar, value fifty cents.

The quarter-dollar, value twenty-five cents.

The tenth of a dollar, value twelve cents and a half.

The half-tenth, value six cents and a quarter.

COPPER COIN.

The cent, value the hundredth part of a dollar.

The half cent, value the two hundredth of a dollar.

The weight of these is as follows :

The eagle ought to contain two hundred and forty-seven grains and a half of pure gold, or two hundred and seventy grains of standard gold, which is thus regulated; eleven parts of pure gold in twelve, and a twelfth of alloy, of which nearly one-half ought to be of silver.

The half eagle ought to contain one hundred and twenty-three grains and three-fourths of pure gold, or one hundred and thirty-five grains of alloy gold.

The quarter eagle ought to contain sixty-one grains of pure gold, or sixty-seven grains and half of alloy gold.

The dollar ought to contain three hundred and seventy-one grains one-fourth of pure silver, or four hundred and sixteen grains of alloy silver.

The standard of silver is one thousand four hundred and eighty-five parts of pure silver, and one hundred and seventy-nine parts of alloy, which is of pure copper.

The half dollar ought to contain a hundred and eighty-five grains and five-eighths of pure silver, or two hundred and eighty grains of standard silver.

A quarter

A quarter dollar ought to contain ninety-two grains thirteen-sixteenths of pure silver, or one hundred and four grains of standard silver.

The tenth of a dollar ought to contain thirty-seven grains one-eighth of pure silver, or fifty-two grains of standard silver.

The half-tenth ought to contain eighteen grains one-sixteenth of pure silver, or twenty-six grains of standard silver.

The cent ought to contain eleven pennyweights of copper.

The half-cent ought to contain five and a half.

The gold and silver coin ought, according to law, to bear on one side an emblematical figure of Liberty, and upon the other the eagle of the United States, with the words "United States."

The copper coins, instead of the American eagle, bear an inscription denominating their value.

The proportional value between gold and silver when coined, to the coin of the United States, is determined by comparing one pound of the one to fifteen of the other; that is to say, one pound of coined gold is equal to fifteen pounds of coined silver.

This law contains also all other regulations necessary for the establishment of the mint; and charges the president to order and oversee the expences of buildings, machines, &c.

All the counties of the United States are required to make use of these coins.

The Spanish dollar is the only piece of foreign coin which is current in the United States as money, all others, which had received a valuation by the law, are only received by weight since 1795.

A report of a committee of the house of representatives stated, at the beginning of 1795, that the mint, since its establishment, had not struck off in copper coin more than one million eighty-seven thousand five hundred cents, equal in value to ten thousand eight hundred and seventy-five dollars; and in silver coin no more than thirty-four thousand one hundred and sixty-five dollars. This paucity of the produce of the mint is attributed to different embarrassments and delays which it has experienced in the completion of its establishment, of which the ex-

pences then amounted to fifty-eight thousand three hundred and ninety-four dollars.

The director of the mint, when he entered into office at the end of the year 1795, in his report of its state, at the beginning of his administration, after searching the register, reports, that the pieces of money which had been fabricated since the foundation of the establishment, and sent to the treasury of the United States, on the 1st of December, 1796, were as follow :

Eagles	—	—	—	8,875
Half-eagles	—	—	—	12,106
Quarter-eagles	—	—	—	66
Dollars	—	—	—	272,941
Half-dollars	—	—	—	323,144
Quarter-dollars	—	—	—	5,894
Tenths	—	—	—	22,135
Half-tenths	—	—	—	96,649
Cents	—	—	—	2,140,732
Half-cents	—	—	—	258,014

Total value 444,175 dollars 70 cents.

The greatest part of this money was struck in the year 1796. This establishment has hitherto been more expensive than useful to the finances of the United States.

After deducting the value of the money coined and sent to the treasury, it had cost, at the end of 1796, more than twenty-one thousand dollars; and the secretary of the treasury, in his estimation of the expences of the year 1797, reckons those of the mint to amount to fourteen thousand dollars.

The money in circulation in the United States is estimated at eight millions of dollars in value.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CLIMATE AND MANNERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The whole length of the territory of the United States is bisected by one chain of mountains, under different names: some other mountains entwine themselves with this chain at several points in its extent, but their bounds are not extensive. The long chain which divides the United States, runs from north-east to south-west. The plains between these mountains and the sea are very narrow in the provinces of the north; and the land there is generally stony, though very fruitful in many places.

From Pennsylvania to North Carolina the plains become larger, and the soil is fat, sandy, clayey, and fertile; but they are yet much more extensive from South Carolina to Florida; the land then becomes low, flat, covered with water, and appears to have been quitted by the sea at a period not very distant.

To the west of this long chain of mountains, the vast country which extends to the Mississippi is of the greatest fertility, and watered by the finest rivers, which flow either into this great river, or into the Ohio, which, after a course of fifteen hundred miles, falls into itself.

It is this long chain of mountains which divides the waters which run into the Atlantic, from those which, throwing themselves into the Mississippi, and into the rivers which discharge themselves there, gain the gulf of Mexico; in the same manner as the yellow mountains, at eight or nine hundred miles beyond the Mississippi, divide the waters which flow into this river from those which fall into the South Sea.

The great difference of latitude produces a proportional change in the climates of different states. The snow covers Vermont and the province of Maine during five or six months of the year, and the winter there lasts seven; while there is hardly any winter in South Carolina, and still less in Georgia; and should any snow fall there, it does not remain two days upon the ground.

The sudden variations of the temperature is a common characteristic of the climate of the different states. It is usual to see the thermometer fall or rise twenty-five degrees, in twenty-four hours, according to the scale of Farenheit, equal to eleven degrees one-ninth of Reaumur. I have seen it fall very often, and particularly in April 1796, in twelve hours, from the twentieth degree of Reaumur, equal to the seventy-seventh of Farenheit, to five of Reaumur, equal to forty-four and a half of Farenheit; and this observation has been made at Wilmington in Delaware, and at Baltimore.

The cold is incomparably stronger and more durable in America than in Europe in the same latitude, and the heat more intense, more oppressive, and more insupportable. It may be remarked, that in the different latitudes of the continent of North America, the heat differs more in its duration than in its power; in 1795 I have seen, in Upper Canada, the thermometer of Farenheit rise in July to the ninety-second degree; in the month of August in the same year I have seen it at ninety-six at Albany. At Savannah, in Georgia, it seldom rises beyond that; and from Newark, in Upper Canada, or Albany, in the state of New York, to Savannah, there is a difference of fourteen degrees of latitude; but the thermometer remains, during a month or two at Savannah, at this height, and very seldom two days together in the northern states.

This great variation of climate affects very sensibly the health of the inhabitants of the United States. People become old in America sooner than in Europe; and it is more rare to see men of a great age there, especially in the states south of New England.

The influence of the climate upon females is still more sensible. When young they are generally beautiful, and more particularly so at Philadelphia; but after twenty years of age they soon begin to lose their fresh colour; at twenty-five many of them might be taken for Europeans of forty; their bloom is no more, and their form has already suffered a change. If they have previously been mothers, their alteration is still more premature; yet neither nightly revels, the abuse of spirituous liquors,

No. I.

EPOCH OF ACCEPTATION.	NUMBER OF BRANCHES.	MODE OF ELECTION.	DURATION.
THE UNITED STATES. In Convention the 17th of September, 1787. Began to act the 4th of March 1789.	Two houses: the senate and the house of representatives, called the Congress. The former, thirty-two members; the latter, five hundred members.	The senate by the legislatures of the states; the representatives by the people.	Senate five years; one fourth out every year. Representatives two years.
NEW HAMPSHIRE. 1792.	Two branches: the senate and house of representatives, called the General Court. The first, twelve members; the latter, from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty.	The people.	A year.
MASSACHUSETTS. 2d of March, 1780.	Two branches: the senate and house of representatives, called the General Court. The first, thirty-one members; the latter, three hundred and fifty-six.	The people; But the vacancies of the senate may be filled by the senate; and in the house of representatives, among those who were appointed by the voice of the people at the preceding election.	A year.
CONNECTICUT. The ancient charter of Charles II. preferred entire; except necessary changes made by the adoption of independence.	Two branches: the general court; governor, lieutenant-governor, and twelve assistants, forming the upper house or the council. The representatives, or lower house, consist of one hundred and seventy-nine members.	The people.	Governor, one year. Representatives five years.
RHODE ISLAND. The ancient colonial charter of Charles II.	Two branches: general assembly; governor, deputy-governor, and ten assistants; representing seventy members.	The people.	The council. Their representatives one year.
VERMONT. 4th of July, 1786. Revised since.	One branch: representatives of freemen, called the General Assembly; one hundred and forty-five members; but the governor and council of twelve can suspend a law till the next session.	The people.	A year.
NEW YORK. 20th of April, 1777.	Two branches: the senate, twenty-four members; lieutenant-governor president. Assembly seventy members.	The people.	Senate five years; one fourth out every year. Assembly once a year.
NEW JERSEY. 2d of July, 1776.	Two branches: legislative council, thirteen members. Assembly, thirty-nine members.	The people.	A year.
PENNSYLVANIA. 2d of September, 1790.	Two branches: the senate, twenty-three members; and the house of representatives, seventy-nine members.	The people.	The senate years; one fourth out every year. Representatives one year.
DELAWARE. 1790.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, nine members; house of representatives, twenty-one members.	The people.	The senate years; one fourth out every year. Representatives one year.
MARYLAND. 14th of August, 1776.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, fifteen members; house of delegates, eighty members.	By the electors chosen by the people. The delegates by the people. The senate fill their vacancies by a scrutiny in the house.	Senators five years, one fourth out every year. Delegates one year.
KENTUCKY. 1792.	Two branches: the senate, eleven members; house of representatives, forty members.	Senate by the electors, chosen by the people. The representatives by the people.	The senate years. The representatives for one year.
VIRGINIA. 5th of July, 1776.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: senate, twenty-four members; house of representatives, from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty members.	The people.	The senate years of age; to go out every year. Delegates one year.
NORTH CAROLINA. 12th of December, 1776.	Two branches, the senate and house of commons, called the General Assembly. The first, sixty members; the second, one hundred and twenty members.	The people.	A year.
SOUTH CAROLINA. 3d of June, 1790.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, thirty-seven members; the house of representatives, one hundred and twenty-four.	The people.	Senate for half of them every two years. Representatives one year.
GEORGIA. May 1795.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, twenty-three members; house of representatives, fifty-one.	The people.	A year.
TENNESSEE. 6th of February, 1796.	Two branches, called the General Assembly: the senate, eleven members; the house of representatives, twenty-two.	The people.	Senate and representatives two years.
NORTH-WEST TERRITORY OF THE OHIO. 23th of July, 1787.	The governor and the judges make the laws.	The president and the senate of the United States appoint the governor and the judges.	The governor three years; be displaced by the president of the States. The judges during good behavior.

THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

CONDITIONS FOR BECOMING MEMBERS.	CONDITIONS OF BECOMING ELECTORS.	PARTICULAR POWERS.	GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.
to be citizens of nine years standing, and years of age. Representatives: to have been for seven years, and twenty-five years of age. Primary qualification.	For the representatives the same as for the most numerous branch of the legislatures of States.	The house of representatives propose the revenue-bills, and vote accusations. Two thirds are required for declaring the person accused guilty. The senate appoint the officers named by the president.	
freemen, possessing real or personal property.	To be twenty-one years of age, and paying taxes.	The house of representatives propose the revenue-bills, and vote accusations. The senate judge them.	
to have a real property of 300l. or a personal of 600l. Residence of five years. The natives a real property of 100l. or personal of 40l.	Free tenants of seven pounds rent, or some property of sixty pounds.	The house of representatives emit money-bills, and vote accusations. The senate judge them.	
Freemen.	Freemen having a real property of 40 shillings, or 40l. personal.	The legislature hears and judges certain causes, and grant respits and pardons.	The governor, the president of the council, and speaker of the house, have each a vote, besides that for dividing it.
erty of forty pounds, or an income of forty	Freemen having a property of 40l. or an income of 40 shillings.	New causes are decided in the courts of justice.	
		Accusations. To raise a tax, two thirds of the members must be present.	
	Electors of the senate to have a property of 100l. Electors of representatives, a property of 20l. or an income of 40 shillings.	Two thirds of the assembly vote accusations. Two thirds of the senate can pronounce convictions.	The senate is never to exceed one hundred; nor the representatives three hundred. The governor and revisional council can suspend a law. The clergy are excluded.
of 1000l. property, moveable or immoveable, 500l. of the same.	Electors, 50l. of property, moveable or immoveable.	The council cannot prepare nor alter any money-bill.	
of one year in the district or county. Senators of four years standing, and twenty-one years of age. Representatives to be citizens of and twenty-one years of age.	Twenty-one years of age; having resided two years in the State before election, and during that time paid a tax laid six months before the election. The sons of persons thus qualified, between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, may vote though they have not paid taxes.	Revenue-bills commence in the house of representatives. Accusations, by half of the representatives; to be judged by the senate. Conviction, by two thirds of the members present. The judgment is only to be dismissal from place, and incapacity to hold any other.	The senate can never be less than a fourth, and more than a third, of the representatives. The representatives are never less than sixty, nor more than a hundred.
to be twenty-seven years of age; property of 100l. or 1000l. Representatives to be twenty years of age, with property. Both to have been residents three years.	Residence of two years, and payment of taxes assessed at least six months before the election.	Money-bills commence in the assembly. Accusations by two thirds of the representatives. Convictions by two thirds of the senate.	
to have been resident three years, with a moveable or immoveable of 1000l. Delegates residence, with a property of 500l.	Electors for the delegates, and for the electors, to have a property of fifty acres; or freemen with 30l. and having residence in the county the whole year before the election.	Money-bills originate in the house of delegates, which ought not to include any other matter. The two houses arrest for crimes and want of respect. The house of delegates name the treasurers for any term they think proper.	The delegates and electors are chosen by word of mouth; but the electors vote by ballot, and make oath. There are particular rules for the freemen of Baltimore and Annapolis. The clergy are excluded.
to be twenty-seven years of age. The representatives twenty-four years. Each to have been residents two years.	Inhabitants of the State of two years standing, or of the county one year.	Money-bills can be proposed by the representatives only. The senate may propose amendments. The right of accusations is in the representatives. The senate judge. Two thirds are necessary in these cases.	The senate is to be composed in such a manner, that the number exceed one fourth of that of the representatives.
Primary conditions; but the senators and delegates to be resident, and free tenants, in the district	Electors to be free tenants.	All the laws originate in the house of delegates. The senate cannot alter the money-bills. The delegates vote accusations which are judged by the general court, or by the court of appeal.	
to have a property of three hundred acres. or a property of one hundred acres.	Electors of the senate to have a property of fifty acres. Electors of the commons, paying taxes, and a residence in the county.	The two houses adjourn by ballot to any place or day. Accusations by the commons, judgments by the supreme court; and, if the judges are accused, they are judged by a special tribunal.	Bills are required to be read three times in each house. The clergy are excluded.
thirty years of age. Citizens, and residents of the State five years. If they reside in the district of 300l. otherwise free property in the district of 1000l. Representatives to be citizens, and residents three years. If they reside, a property of three hundred acres and ten negroes, or a fortune of 150l. a property in the district of 500l.	Electors, citizens, and resident two years; a property of fifty acres, or a lot in the town, or paying a tax of three shillings. Residence of six months in the district before the election.	Imprisonment for want of respect. Accusations by two thirds of the house of representatives. Two thirds of the senate judge. The representatives propose the bills for raising the revenue.	The bills are read three times on three different days in each house. A bill rejected cannot be presented again till after six days previous notice, and with permission. The clergy are excluded.
thirty-eight years of age, having inhabited the United States nine years. Citizens three years. Residence in the county six months. Two hundred and fifty acres, or property of 1000l. Representatives, twenty-one years of age. Citizens of the United States, seven years. Two years residence in Georgia. Resident in the county, three years. Free of two hundred acres, or 150l.	Electors, paying taxes and having resided six months in the county.	Accusations: a third forms a sufficient number in each branch for deliberation.	Clergy excluded. A convention, to revise the constitution, was to be chosen in November 1797; it was to consist of three members of each county, and to assemble in May, 1798.
once three years in the State, or one in the district. Being free, and having two hundred acres in the county.	Electors, free of the county.	Imprisonment for want of respect. Accusations. Bills may begin in both houses.	Clergy excluded. The senate is never less than a third, and never more than a half, of the representatives. They are never more than forty.
		To adopt the laws existing in the different States to which the territory is attached. Subject to the revision of the Congress.	

THE TABLE OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY ABRIDGED.

PERIODS OF DURATION OF THE FUNCTIONS.		CONDITIONS OF BECOMING MEMBERS.	CONDITIONS OF BECOMING ELECTORS.	ORDER IN WHICH THE SENATORS GO OUT OF OFFICE.
OF THE SENATE.	OF THE REPRESENTATIVES.			
United States . . . six years.	United States . . . }	Rhode Island . . . }	United States . . . { The same as in the State where the elector re- sides.	United States . . . { By a third every two years.
Maryland . . . five years.	South Carolina . . . }	New Jersey . . . }		New York . . . { By a fourth every year.
New York . . . }	Tennessee . . . }	Delaware . . . }	Rhode Island . . . }	Pennsylvania . . . }
Pennsylvania . . . }	New Hampshire . . . }	Virginia . . . }		Virginia . . . }
Virginia . . . }	Massachusetts . . . }	North Carolina . . . }	New York . . . }	South Carolina . . . { By half every two years.
Kentucky . . . }	Vermont . . . }	South Carolina . . . }		Delaware . . . { By a third every year.
South Carolina . . . }	New York . . . }	Tennessee . . . }	North Carolina . . . }	Massachusetts . . . }
Delaware . . . three years.	New Jersey . . . }	New Hampshire . . . }	Massachusetts . . . }	Connecticut . . . }
Tennessee . . . two years.	Pennsylvania . . . }	Massachusetts . . . }	Connecticut . . . }	New Jersey . . . }
New Hampshire . . . }	Delaware . . . }	Maryland . . . }	New Jersey . . . }	Maryland . . . }
Massachusetts . . . }	Maryland . . . }	Georgia . . . }	Maryland . . . }	South Carolina . . . }
Connecticut . . . }	Kentucky . . . }	United States . . . }	South Carolina . . . }	New Hampshire . . . }
Rhode Island . . . }	Virginia . . . }	Connecticut . . . }	New Hampshire . . . }	Vermont . . . }
Vermont . . . }	North Carolina . . . }	Vermont . . . }	Vermont . . . }	Pennsylvania . . . }
New Jersey . . . }	Georgia . . . }	New York . . . }	Pennsylvania . . . }	Delaware . . . }
North Carolina . . . }	Connecticut . . . }	Pennsylvania . . . }	Delaware . . . }	Kentucky . . . }
Georgia . . . }	Rhode Island . . . }	Kentucky . . . }	Kentucky . . . }	Georgia . . . }
			Tennessee . . . }	Tennessee . . . }

THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

STATES.	BY WHOM NAMED.	DURATION.	WHETHER IT BE RE-ELECTIVE.	WHETHER THERE BE A COUNCIL.	POWER OF NOMINATING TO CERTAIN PLACES.	OTHER POWERS.	CONDITIONS REQUIRED.	WHETHER THERE BE A LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OR NOT.
THE UNITED STATES.	By the electors.	Four years.	Re-elective.	No council.	It names. The senate approves. Fills the vacancies during the absence of the senate.	It pardons. Has a conditional negative, and receives foreign ministers.	Citizen; fourteen years resident, and thirty-five years of age.	The vice-president of the United States president of the senate.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Council of five members, chosen by the people.	It names almost all the officers, with the advice of the senate.	It pardons, and has a conditional negative.		No lieutenant-governor.
MASSACHUSETTS.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Council.	It names, with some exceptions.	It pardons, and has a conditional negative.	To have been an inhabitant seven years.	Lieutenant-governor, who is a member and president of the council.
CONNECTICUT.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	No executive council.	It names with the assistants, and only the sheriffs.	Is president of the council, and has a casting vote.		Lieutenant-governor, member of the council.
RHODE ISLAND.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	No executive council.	No important nomination.	Prefides at the council.	Free tenant and freeman of a corporate town.	Lieutenant-governor.
VERMONT.	By the people.	A year.	Re-elective.	Deputy governor and council.	It names some officers.	The governor and the council can suspend the laws till the following session. It pardons and judges accusations.		Lieutenant-governor, called in the charter deputy-governor.
NEW YORK.	By the free tenants of 100l. sterling.	Three years.	Re-elective.	No executive council but that of nomination and revision.	It names. The council of nomination confirms to all places, with a few exceptions.	Pardons. Has a conditional negative with the council of revision.		Lieutenant-governor, who is president of the senate.
NEW JERSEY.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective.	The legislative council acts as executive council.		Prefides at the council, and is chancellor. The governor and council are a court of appeal.		Vice-president.
PENNSYLVANIA.	By the people.	Three years.	Re-elective nine years in twelve.	No council.	It makes all nominations, except the sheriffs and coroners, who are named by the people; and the treasurer of the state by the legislature; the officers of militia, regiments and companies, by the regiments and the companies.	It pardons, except in cases of accusation for state crimes or prevarication. Has a conditional negative.	Citizen, and inhabitant for seven years; thirty years of age.	The vacancy of the office of governor is filled in the interim by the speaker of the senate.
DELAWARE.	By the people.	Three years.	Re-elective three years in six.	No council.	It names, except the sheriffs, the coroners, and the treasurers.	Pardons, except in cases of state crimes or prevarication.	Thirty years of age. Citizens of the United States for twelve years, and of the State six years.	
MARYLAND.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in seven.	Council.	It names with the advice of the senate.	Pardons. Lays embargoes. Displaces and suspends officers, except those who remain in place during good behaviour.	Five years residence, and a property of 5,000l.	
KENTUCKY.	By the electors.	Four years.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names with the advice of the senate.	Pardons, except in cases of treason or prevarication.	Thirty years of age. Residence of two years in the state before the election.	No lieutenant-governor.
VIRGINIA.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in seven.	Council of state.	Names with the council only the justices of peace.	It pardons.	Thirty years of age.	The president of the council acts as lieutenant-governor in case of the vacancy of a governor.
NORTH CAROLINA.	By the legislature.	A year.	Re-elective three years in six.	Council of state.	No nomination in the interim, till the session of the legislature.	Pardons and lays embargoes.	Five years residence, and property of 1000l.	No lieutenant-governor.
SOUTH CAROLINA.	By the legislature.	Two years.	Cannot be re-elected till four years after.	No council.	Names some inferior officers.	Pardons and lays embargoes.	Citizen, and residence of ten years; property of 1500l.	Lieutenant-governor.
GEORGIA.	By the legislature.	Two years.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names some civil officers, and all the military.	Pardons. Has a conditional negative.	Twelve years a citizen; six years residence; five hundred acres; or a property of 1000l.	No lieutenant-governor.
TENNESSEE.	By the people.	Two years.	Re-elective six years in eight.	No council.	No nomination if the legislature be present, except the adjutant-general of militia.	Pardons, and assembles the legislature upon extraordinary occasions.	Citizen or inhabitant four years; property of five hundred acres; twenty-five years of age.	Speaker of the senate lieutenant-governor, as in Pennsylvania.
NORTH-WEST TERRITORY OF THE OHIO.	By the president and senate of the United States.	Three years; but removeable at the will of the United States.	Re-elective.	No council.	Names all the magistrates and civil officers, except the adjutant-general of the militia.	The governor and the judges make the laws for the territory.	Resident in the territory, and property of one thousand acres.	The secretary of the territory, named as governor, fills his place in his absence.

THE TABLE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER ABRIDGED.

MANNER OF CHOOSING THEM.	DURATION.	WHEN RE-ELECTIVE.	CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCILS.	POWERS OF NOMINAT- ING TO PLACES.	RIGHT OF GIVING A NEGATIVE.
United States - } By the Kentucky - - - } electors.	United States - } Three Kentucky - - - } years.	United States - } New Hampshire } Massachusetts - } Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } Vermont - - - } Unlimited.	United States - } Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } New York - - - } No consti- Pennsylvania - - } tutional Delaware - - - } Council.	United States - } New Hampshire } Nomination Massachusetts - } and right of Vermont - - - } fixing the New York - - - } salaries Pennsylvania - - } under cer- Delaware - - - } tain regula- Maryland - - - } tions. Kentucky - - - }	United States - } New Hampshire } Negative Massachusetts - } power under Vermont - - - } certain New York - - - } modifica- Pennsylvania - - } tions. Kentucky - - - }
New Hampshire } Massachusetts - } Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } Vermont - - - } By the New York - - - } people. Pennsylvania - - } Delaware - - - } Tennessee - - - }	New York - - - } Pennsylvania - - } Ditto. Delaware - - - } South Carolina } Georgia - - - - } Two Tennessee - - - } years.	New York - - - } New Jersey - - } Kentucky - - - } Georgia - - - - }	Kentucky - - - } South Carolina } Georgia - - - - } Tennessee - - - }	Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } New Jersey - - } Delaware - - - } Virginia - - - - } No right to North Carolina } any South Carolina } important Georgia - - - - } appoint- Tennessee - - - } ment.	Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } New Jersey - - } Delaware - - - } Maryland - - - } No Virginia - - - - } negative. North Carolina } South Carolina } Tennessee - - - }
New Jersey - - } Maryland - - - } Virginia - - - - } By the North Carolina } legislature. South Carolina } Georgia - - - - }	New Hampshire } Massachusetts - } Connecticut - - } Rhode Island - - } A Vermont - - - - } year. New Jersey - - } Maryland - - - } Virginia - - - - } South Carolina }	Pennsylvania - { Nine years Delaware - - - } in twelve. North Carolina } Three Maryland - - - } years in six. Virginia - - - - } South Carolina { Three years Tennessee - - - } in seven. South Carolina { Two years Tennessee - - - } in six. Tennessee - - - } Six years in eight.	New Hampshire } Massachusetts - } Vermont - - - - } Council. New Jersey - - } Maryland - - - } Virginia - - - - } North Carolina }		

STATES.	MANNER OF NOMINATION.	DURATION OF OFFICE.
THE UNITED STATES.	By the president with the approbation of the senate.	During good behaviour.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	By the governor and the council.	The superior judges during good behaviour justices of peace for five years.
MASSACHUSETTS.	By the governor and council.	The superior judges during good behaviour justices of peace for seven years.
CONNECTICUT.	By the legislature.	A year.
RHODE ISLAND.	By the legislature.	A year.
VERMONT.	By the council and the assembly.	A year, and less if necessary.
NEW YORK.	By the governor and the council of nomination.	During good behaviour.
NEW JERSEY.	By the council and the assembly.	The superior court re-elective every five years the inferior every five years.
PENNSYLVANIA.	By the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
DELAWARE.	By the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
MARYLAND.	By the governor and the council.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
KENTUCKY.	By the governor and the senate.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
VIRGINIA.	By the legislature.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
NORTH CAROLINA.	By the legislature, but receive their commission from the governor.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
SOUTH CAROLINA.	By the legislature.	During the good behaviour of the judges.
GEORGIA.	By the legislature.	Re-elective every three years.
TENNESSEE.	By the legislature.	During the the good behaviour of the judges.
NORTH-WEST TERRITORY OF THE OHIO.	By the president and the senate of the United States.	During the good behaviour of the judges.

ICIAL ORDER.

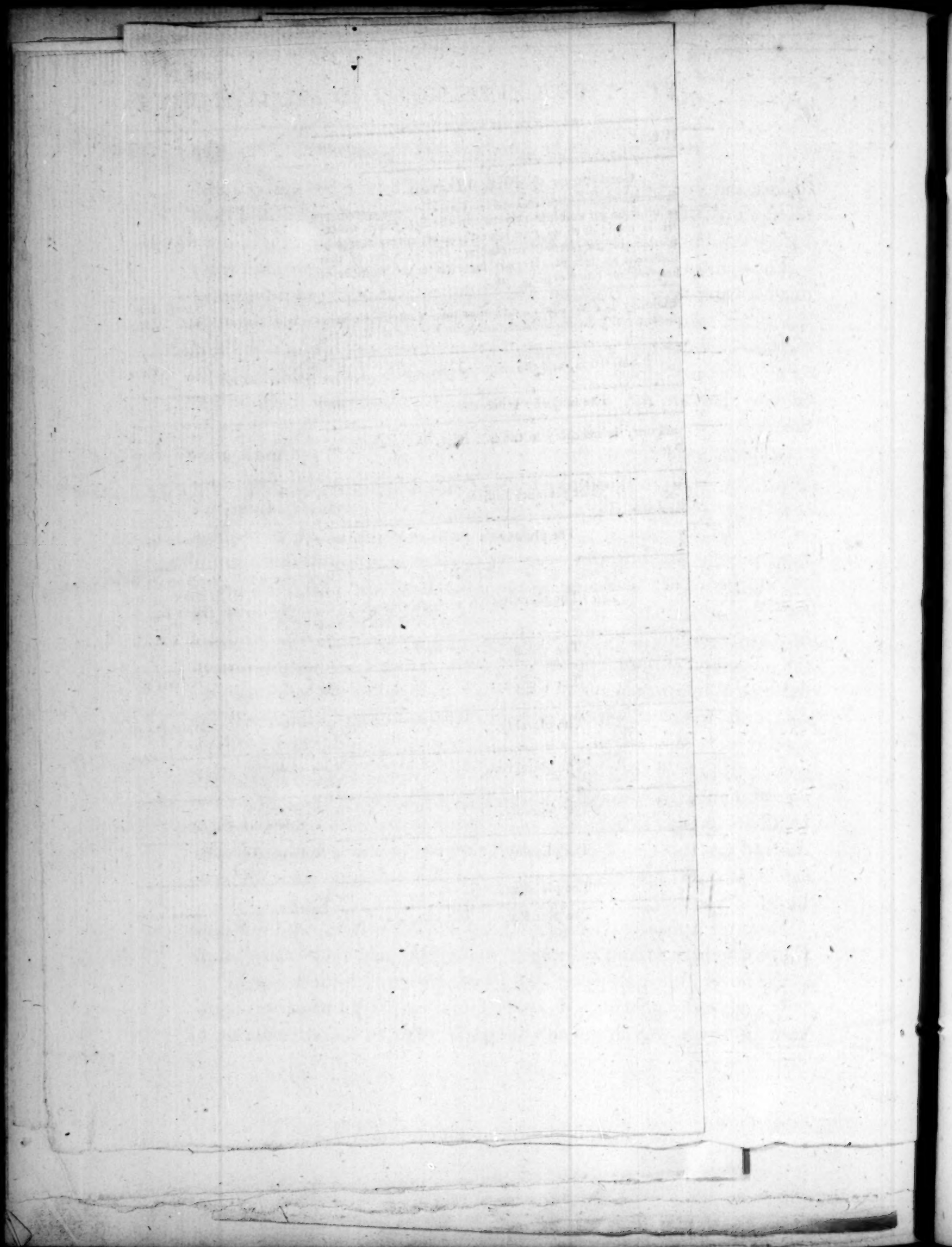
OFFICE.	HOW DISMISSED.	REMARKS.
our.	By accusation of the house of representatives before the senate.	The salaries cannot be diminished during office.
nd behaviour. The	By accusation of the house of representatives, and upon the address of the legislature to the governor.	Salaries fixed by the law.
nd behaviour. The	By accusation of the house of representatives, and by the governor and council at the request of the two houses.	Gives his opinion to the governor and the council upon solemn occasions, and to the legislature in questions of law. He pronounces divorces.
	Re-chosen in general while they are able, except in cases of misbehaviour.	The courts pronounce divorces.
	Re-chosen in general while they are able, except in cases of misbehaviour.	The courts judge cases of divorce.
ecessary.	By accusation of the assembly, judged by the governor and the council.	
our.	Cannot be chosen above the age of sixty.	
every seven years ;	By the accusation of the assembly and judgment of the council.	
of the judges.	The governor has power of dismissing from, at the request of two thirds of each house, even if there be no ground of accusation.	The salaries of the judges not to be diminished while in office. They are neither to receive fees nor hold any other place of profit. The supreme court takes cognizance of divorces and pensions of widows ; can supply defects in titles occasioned by acts lost or absent. No chancery.
of the judges.	By accusation of the house of representatives, found by a majority of two thirds. The governor can revoke at the request of two thirds of each house, even in cases where there is no good ground of accusation.	Salaries not to be diminished while in office.
of the judges.	For bad conduct upon proof before a tribunal, and by the governor at the request of the assembly, by the majority of two thirds of each house.	
of the judges.	By accusation, or at the request of two thirds of each house of legislature.	Salaries not to be diminished during office.
of the judges.	By accusation of the house of delegates. The court of appeal judges officers of the general court, and <i>vice versa</i> .	
of the judges.	By accusation of the assembly or grand jury, judged by a special tribunal.	
of the judges.	By accusation of the assembly, judged by the senate.	Salaries unchangeable during office.
e years.	By the accusation of the assembly, judged by the senate.	Salaries unchangeable during office.
r of the judges.	By the accusation of the assembly.	Cannot advise juries in matters of fact, but can give their opinion upon evidence, and declare the law.
of the judges.	By the accusation of the house of representatives of the United States, judged by the senate of the States.	Salaries regulated by the congress. Some legislative powers joined to the governor.

STATES.	SENATORS.	THEIR
NEW HAMPSHIRE.	By the separate resolution of the two houses; the votes taken by ballot.	Four members
MASSACHUSETTS.	By the separate resolution of the two houses, each house having a negative upon the proposition of the other. The votes taken by ballot.	By the district; is divided into as many fourteen of them.
CONNECTICUT.	By the distinct vote of each house taken by ballot.	Seven members take the number made
RHODE ISLAND.	By the ballot of the two houses assembled.	Two
VERMONT.	At first by the separate suffrages of the two houses; if they cannot agree, by the number of votes; and by ballot in both cases.	Two members, chosen have resided.
NEW YORK.	At first by the separate suffrages of the two houses; if they do not agree, then by the ballot of them united.	Ten members take place of residence.
NEW JERSEY.	By the suffrages; sometimes taken by ballot, and sometimes <i>viva voce</i> .	Five members
PENNSYLVANIA.	The manner is not yet determined by the law. Hitherto the elections have been made by separate resolutions, and by their votes given <i>viva voce</i> . By the constitution of Pennsylvania these elections are required to be made <i>viva voce</i> .	Thirteen members place of residence. the first by the fourth by district
DELAWARE.	By a general ballot.	
MARYLAND.	By a general ballot. One of the senators must be of the East part, and the other of the West.	Eight members
KENTUCKY.	By a general ballot; but the votes are taken and examined in each house. The majority decides.	Two members chosen been residents.
VIRGINIA.	By general ballot.	Seventeen members must have been residents
NORTH CAROLINA.	By general ballot.	Ten members chosen have resided.
SOUTH CAROLINA.	By general ballot.	Six members for as dence.
GEORGIA.	By general ballot.	Two members
TENNESSEE.	By general ballot.	

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN EACH STATE.

REPRESENTATIVES.

THEIR DISTRIBUTION AND NUMBER.	CONDITIONS OF THEIR ELECTION.
members. Chosen in the state in general.	There must be an absolute majority in the first place, otherwise a list is made of those who have the most votes, amounting to double the members to be chosen; the plurality of this list is sufficient to decide. If two have an equal number of votes the governor has a casting vote.
district; in which they ought to reside. The state is as many districts as members, and ought to furnish them.	The majority is necessary, and after one trial the electors choose from among the candidates him who has the most votes.
members taken from a preliminary nomination of double number made by the people.	Nomination, and the majority of votes.
Two members in the whole state.	The majority is necessary.
members, chosen each in a district where they should reside.	The majority is necessary in the first essay, the plurality in the others.
members taken from as many districts, without regard to residence.	The plurality suffices.
Five members chosen in the whole state.	The plurality.
members for as many districts, without regard to residence. The first election is made by the whole state; the second by the district; the third by the whole state; the fourth by the district; the fifth the same.	The plurality.
One member.	The plurality.
Eight members for as many districts.	The plurality.
members chosen in two districts, where they must have a residence.	The plurality.
members chosen in as many districts, where they must have a residence.	The plurality.
members chosen in as many districts, where they must have a residence.	The plurality.
members for as many districts, without regard to residence.	The plurality.
Two members in the whole state.	The plurality.
One member.	The plurality.



liquors, the want of exercise, nor an excess of it, can be brought as a pretext for this early change. If in the eastern states the period of their beauty should be lengthened, it is but for a short time.

The number of children which die in their infancy is proportionably much greater than in Europe. Colds, hooping-coughs, and disorders of the throat, take off a great quantity. The most common diseases in all the states are flowings of the chest, consumptions, and bilious and putrid fevers; I do not mention intermitting fevers, the most frequent of all, because they are not mortal, though they sometimes degenerate into bilious fevers.

An epidemical disease, during several of the last years, has made great ravages in the United States. From Boston there is hardly a maritime town but what has felt its fatal effects during five or six years. Philadelphia, in 1793, lost by this malady one-tenth of its population. At the moment I am quitting America, this city is still desolated by this scourge; and if the number of her victims be less considerable than it has been during four years, it is because nine-tenths of the inhabitants took flight at the first appearance of this dreadful disorder; for among those who remained the proportion of death appears yet greater. This disease does not manifest itself till near the close of the summer, and does not cease till the cold season sets in. I will not undertake to speak of its symptoms, which appear to be very curious; nor of its treatment, upon which the opinions of almost all the physicians of the United States vary. Since 1793, a great number of writings upon this disease have appeared, which some physicians believe to have been imported from the Antilles, while some contend that it is indigenous; some state it to be of the most communicative infection, and others maintain that it is not even epidemic; and there are who say, that it is only a malignant fever of a serious species.

However it may be, the dread of this disorder is such, that it is often believed to have taken place when it has not, and that many simple putrid fevers receive the name and the treatment of the yellow fever.

It is generally remarked, that this disease has not yet made its appearance in any towns in the interior parts; that in the maritime towns where

where it has raged so cruelly, it has hardly ever extended beyond the same quarters; and lastly, that of all the inhabitants of these unfortunate places, the French are among those who have been the least attacked with it: only one of them died at Philadelphia in 1793, and only four this year, though no Frenchman quitted the city. The more circumspect use which they make of spirituous liquors, is the reason which is given for the good fortune of having escaped from this danger, while it was almost general to others.

We read almost every where, that the indigenous species, men and animals, are smaller in America than in the ancient continent. It is necessary to have seen more animals than I have had an opportunity of seeing, and to have made more personal observations, to have formed a firm opinion upon this great question. What I have seen of indigenous animals, bears, wolves, panthers, foxes, &c. have certainly appeared less to me than those of the same species of the old world: it is also acknowledged, that they have less ferocity in each of their species. Yet there are found, as I have already had an occasion to observe, bones which appeared to belong to animals of much greater dimensions than any known to exist at present.

The domestic animals imported from Europe lose nothing of their size by becoming inhabitants of America, when they find the same nourishment, and the same accommodations, which they received in their native soil. I have seen in New England, and in many other parts of the United States, as fine cows as in any other part of the world; but they are scarce, because the great pains taken in the different branches of agriculture are not so well known and practised; and it is also true, that the milk given by these cows is nearly equal in quantity to that given by others in Europe, and yet produces a fourth part less butter; and that though the beef be as fine in America as in Europe, it is not so substantial. This incontestible truth extends to the vegetable productions; and it is acknowledged, for example, that the best American flour, ground in the best mills, and made of the best corn, does not equal either in quantity or in quality the European flour; particularly
that

that known in commerce by the name of flour of *moirfac*, which for that reason is always dearer than American flour, and preferred to it by the inhabitants of the Antilles.

As to the Indians, those whom I have seen, without being remarkably tall, are of an ordinary stature, and appear to be strong, and of a good constitution. The use of rum weakens and enervates them—brings on a premature old age, and death; but this is not to be attributed to either nature or the climate. Travellers who have seen many more Indians than I, and particularly Indians at a greater distance from the habitations of whites, have assured me that they have found tribes of men very tall, and always, like the rest of mankind, stronger in proportion to their sobriety.

The vegetable kingdom, in America, is admirably rich and abundant; and particularly so in the southern states, where the plants, in great abundance, have a quick and strong growth; and in the more northern parts, where their growth is not so speedy or their odour so great, have generally an agreeable exhalation. M. de Castiglioni, an Italian traveller, who appears to have seen America with a penetrating eye, and to have carried his profound researches into the vegetable kingdom in particular, says, that the vegetables which grow in the United States have a great resemblance to those which grow under the same latitudes in the ancient continent. After the most minute inquiry into the different natures of the soil, of the climates, of the various vegetable productions in the United States, it evidently appears, that there is not any productions, except sugar, of which the soil of the United States is not capable of producing, by the aid of an appropriate culture. Perhaps as to some of them the country may not yet be quite congenial; but the number of those is, I believe, very inconsiderable.

There is a great variety of birds in America, and for the most part their plumage is exceedingly rich and brilliant. There are but few of them which entirely resemble those of the same species in Europe, if there be a species in existence absolutely alike. Except the mocking-bird, which counterfeits the cries of all the other birds, there are few of them

them which have a varied song, or even a charming note; and on this account a walk in the woods is much less delightful than in Europe.

The striking difference there is between the animal and vegetable productions of the two hemispheres is far from being applicable to the mineral kingdom. The form of mountains, rocks, and beds of different minerals in North America, are the same as those of the old world. There are found there different species of granite, combined and varied as in the mountains of Europe; innumerable kinds of schistes; of limestones, more or less perfect, and more or less fine; and minerals of almost every species. Upon the east coast of the Atlantic, from the bay of Penobscot, as far as Georgia, and, I am assured, from thence as far as the mouth of the Mississippi, there are not any stones found of a secondary species, or such of which any traces of the mode of their formation can be discovered; they are all of the granite kind, containing in them veins of quartz, calcareous spar, marble, and different sorts of minerals; but none of them shew any traces of vegetable or animal productions enveloped in their beds.

The mountains of Canada, those of Lakes George and Champlain, and of the Alleghanies excepted, the summits of all the others are flat, and appear evidently to have been formed upon the same horizontal level. In short, every thing in the mineral kingdom exhibits signs of a country more recently quitted by the waters than the three other parts of the world.

The characters of the inhabitants of the different states may be expected to be as dissimilar to each other as the climates of the countries they inhabit are various. The climate itself, the original formation of these colonies, their ancient governments, and the diversity of nations of which the population of the United States is composed, has in reality impressed this difference between them. The possession and usage of slaves alone must have introduced a great difference in their manners. While passing through the different states, I have tried to give a sketch of this diversity. Yet there are traits almost common to all the inhabitants of the United States; and the cause of this parity may be found in

in the recent origin of all these people, in the great difficulties which they experienced in their establishments, and even in the actual constitution of the United States.

The traits of character common to all, are ardour for enterprise, courage, greediness, and an advantageous opinion of themselves. The title of *the most enlightened nation of the whole world*, which the committee of the house of representatives appointed to propose the answer of the house to the address of the president, in December 1796, has given to the people of the United States, will be of itself a proof of that good opinion they have of themselves, which I give as a common characteristic, especially if it be known with what labour, and after what long discussions, the house determined to make the sacrifice of this superlative, with which the modesty of the majority of the United States had not been embarrassed. I quote this example as the most striking and the most national; but, to tell the truth, almost all the books printed in America, and the individual conversations of the Americans, furnish proofs of it daily. This character, which none of those, I believe, who have seen America will deny to be that of the United States, is an exaggeration proceeding from the newness of their establishments, and will wear out in time. Their courage will be more exceptionable still to those who have the slightest knowledge of the war for independency. Habituated to fatigue from their infancy, having for the most part made their fortune by their labour and their industry, fatigue and labour are not yet become repugnant even to those in the most easy circumstances; while they wish to enjoy the ease and sweets of life, they do not regard them as absolute wants; they know how to dispense with them, and to quit them and travel in the woods whenever their interest requires it; they can forget them, whenever a reverse of fortune takes them away; and they know how to run after fortune when she escapes them; for, as I have often said before, the desire of riches is their ruling passion, and indeed their only passion.

The ridiculous assertion advanced by some writers, that the new world could not produce genius and talents like the old, has been proved to be absurd by the mere citation of the name of some inhabitants of the

United States, whose genius and brilliant talents would do honour to any country whatever; and it may be supposed that she will produce others. Further, the American people are intelligent, eager to investigate, and disposed to instruction; and many examples of men may be mentioned, who, without education, have invented and constructed works, particularly in mechanics, worthy of the best workmen in Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that the number of men distinguished for science and literature there, is much less than in the nations of Europe, though, as Mr. Morse says in his Geography, there must be a reason for this difference: the means of instruction are less complete, and not so extensive—doubtless this is one reason; but I regard it as only a secondary cause; and that this state of imperfection of the public education is itself only the consequence of a cause of more general influence, I mean, that continual occupation of getting money, common to all orders and professions. The study of the sciences and of letters requires, to make much progress, that the mind should be disengaged from all other predominant employments; it demands the exertion of all our faculties; and it is known, that the passion for money is that, of all others, which keeps the most constant possession of the mind of him who is tainted with it, and that it renders the mind less susceptible of all distraction, at least from all other pursuits.

In Europe, where the cultivation of the sciences and of letters is the principal occupation of those who distinguish themselves in them, and is, for that reason, a particular order, it will be found that no profession has furnished fewer learned and literary men than those which employ the mind in calculations of loss and gain: and in America it will be found, that those who have been, and those who can now be reckoned among learned men, are or were, by character or by situation, the most exempt from this common disposition of their fellow citizens.

A better and more complete system of instruction than that which is now generally followed in the colleges of the United States, would augment but little the number of men who give themselves up to the sciences and to letters, so long as the manners of the people continue to direct

direct the desires and thoughts towards the acquirement of wealth. The term of education in America is too short; a young man hardly arrives at the age of sixteen years, before his parents are desirous of placing him in the counting-house of a merchant, or in the office of a lawyer. He has not yet been able to acquire at college that degree of instruction which would give him the means of resigning himself to the sciences and to letters, if he had a taste for them. He soon loses every other idea than those which can prepare the way and hurry him on to the acquisition of a fortune; he sees no other views in those around him, or in society; he sees his profits, and his whole consideration is attached to successes of this kind; how can he preserve any other views? It is therefore this general disposition which opposes the perfectability of the public instruction, which, of whatever kind it might have been, could not have prevailed over the impatience of parents to put their children into the road of acquiring riches, and over that exclusive passion to follow this career, which the latter imbibe with the milk from the breasts of their mothers.

They complain in the United States, and doubtless with great reason, that a considerable number of American citizens, forgetful of the country to which they belong, are now arming privateers in France, for the purpose of taking American ships, which the French government deem lawful prizes; and these complaints are certainly well-founded, since there are but few greater crimes of which a citizen can be guilty. But whence arose the principles of this horrid crime, if not from that passion so openly avowed in America, of getting money, and becoming rich—a passion which leads to an indifference about the means, when it has become so general. This is what makes society connive at unjust payments, at fraudulent bankruptcies, and encourages the lending of money at an enormous interest, which the law condemns.

This disposition is natural to a new people, placed in a foreign territory, and under circumstances which have afforded so many means of greediness. But it has, nevertheless, the most pernicious effects; it is no less pregnant with the imminent danger of benumbing the love of liberty.

liberty. Time will reduce it to its just bounds, and the United States will certainly take among the ancient nations their rank in knowledge and in the sciences, as well as in power. But it is indubitable, that the rapidity of the progress of these important improvements yet depends upon the speed with which a revolution shall be made in this branch of the national manners.

I have spoken of the insufficiency of the public instruction in the United States for making men of science; and though I have pointed out the cause of that insufficiency to be in the manners which enforce it, there is no impropriety in making the state of it known.

The physical or natural part of the education of the Americans is excellent: left to themselves from their tenderest age, they are exposed without precaution to the rigour of heat and cold, feet and legs bare, with few clothes. The children of the rich are not brought up much more tenderly than those in less easy circumstances; in the country, they often go twice a day to schools two or three miles distant from home, and alone. There are few American children who cannot swim boldly, and at ten years of age manage a gun and hunt, without meeting with an accident; and not one who does not ride with great courage, nor any who fear fatigue; and the children in towns are not brought up with more delicacy. This liberty given to children teaches them to take care of themselves; and, bold as they are, they have the prudence to avoid dangers, which children brought up with much greater care would not avoid. They become strong and enterprising men, whom no difficulties dishearten, and produce a growing generation, which will be as invincible in its territory as that which preceded it proved itself to be.

The instructive part of education has not attained the same perfection. I have said, that in New England the free-schools were open to all the children; and that the laws, as well as the manners of the country, imposed it upon the parents as a duty almost indispensable, to profit by the advantages of this public institution. New England is still the only part of the United States where these excellent establishments have taken place. But the obstacles which hitherto and do still oppose similar establishments

blishments in the other states, will vanish. All the legislatures are already more or less struck with the necessity of these institutions; they perceive that the liberty of the press, which has the public instruction for its object, loses its advantages in proportion as fewer men are in a situation to profit by it; and that the same spirit which first recognised the liberty of the press as a sacred right of the inhabitants of the United States, imposes upon her governments the duty of increasing, as much as possible, the number of those to whom it may be useful. In the free schools are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, together with the principles of religion and morality. Besides these, there are academies and colleges in various parts of the different states. The academies are what are generally meant in France by boarding-schools or small colleges; and the colleges are what are so called there, or rather what are called in England universities. They are the last stage of education; it is in these colleges that what are called in America the higher sciences are taught, and degrees conferred, &c.

The education of youth in America is modelled after that of England; and I have been told, by well-informed Englishmen, that it is a bad copy of a bad original.

In the American schools, the instruction in Latin is seldom extended further than the first classic authors—Cordery, Erasmus, Ovid, and some orations of Cicero, are almost all the books which are read in them. Virgil and Horace are read in the colleges, but a very little of them. The Roman historians, as Titus Livius, and Tacitus, are seldom used there. Suetonius, Eutropius, and Cornelius Nepos, are preferred, and the last is one of the best authors which are put into the hands of youth. Greek is but little taught; and the New Testament is generally the *ne plus ultra* of instruction in this language, if Homer be excepted, which is read in the high classes of some colleges. But the Greek tragedies, and the comedies of the celebrated Latin author Terence, and even the easiest poets, and almost as famous, such as Pindar, Anacreon, Hesiod, and Theocritus, are not read there. As to more modern authors, such as Plutarch,

Plutarch, Lucian, &c. the students know nothing more of them than what curiosity and a love of instruction, very rare among them, may enable them to know, by the translations of them which they procure. The Orations are the only work of Cicero taught in the academies or in the colleges, at least entirely, and in the original language. His Offices, his Tusculan, his Dialogues, his Tracts upon the Laws, upon Friendship, and upon Oratory, are not read, or seldom so at least, otherwise than by translations.

The Elements of Euclid, and the First Principles of Conic Sections, are the complement of mathematical instruction. The mechanics, hydrostatics, and hydraulics, are taught after the works of Nicholson, oftener after those of Ferguison, and the most often after those of Enfield. The name of Newton is revered in America, and where can it not be so? But his works are little taught, and too little time is allowed for them to be generally comprehended.

The few practical instructions which are given in some particular schools upon the manner of finding the height of the sun, for the purpose of knowing the longitude, excepted, there is hardly any other branch of this species of information cultivated in any of the colleges of the United States; and the very small number of mariners who wish to be instructed only in the practice of taking observations for computing the longitude, cannot find any means of doing it in America, and are induced to search for this information in England. Yet the tonnage of American vessels, navigating every sea in the world, may be estimated for some years past at seven hundred thousand tons annually; and improvements in navigation are the certain means of augmenting the profits arising from the commerce of the seas.

There are in most of the colleges some philosophical instruments, of various degrees of perfection; and the youth receive more instruction in experimental philosophy than in the more exact sciences. I do not believe that there is any particular professor in chemistry in any other colleges than in those of New York, Prince's-town in New Jersey, and at Cambridge.

Cambridge in Massachusetts. The little which is taught of this science in other places, is by professors who teach philosophy and mathematics together.

I will not take upon myself to decide upon medical instruction, but I have been informed that in many colleges it is excellent; and I believe it may not be doubted but that this excellence will extend over all America; and if we reflect, that in a country where the love of money is so predominant, the profession which procures the most of it by the extension of acquaintance, which captivates without absorbing the whole mind in study, must produce many well-informed men; and it will be easy from thence to deduce the reasons why the class of medicine produces in America more learned men of almost all kinds than all the others, and why the science of medicine is better, longer, and more completely taught.

The study of theology is very confined in the American colleges, but I do not pretend to represent the total want of this instruction as an injury.

But the study of common right, of the municipal laws, of those of particular states, or of the United States, make no part of the instruction received in the colleges. This circumstance excites astonishment, in a republic where each individual may aspire to become a legislator, and where every one, as an elector, ought to be capable of judging himself, the qualifications and conduct of the candidates, the acts and ordinances of government, and where, above all, he ought to know his duties, in order to fulfil them.

It is not less extraordinary, that the history of the United States, of their revolution, of the events which preceded and forced it; of the obstacles of every nature which they had to overcome; of the sacrifices of ease, of the money and blood of their fellow-citizens which they had to make; of the mutual succours which the different states afforded in these important and perilous circumstances, should not be taught in the colleges or academies of America, where the history of England is the only modern one which the youth read. Liberty is dearer to those who know

know how much it cost to obtain it; and in a free country, the love of liberty, obedience to the laws, and respect for the constitution, are the basis of public morals. The history of every people who have fought for their liberty, abounds in traits of devotedness, of courage, and of disinterestedness, in which that of the American war is very fertile. The transmission to posterity of the names of those who have honoured the American revolution, not only in the highest offices, but also in inferior stations, is a sacred duty of the governments, and that can never be completely fulfilled, but by inculcating it in the public schools. Can it be feared lest this kind of instruction should have the effect of eternalizing the antipathy or preference of the American nation to such or such European nation? No; it would only prolong the sweet remembrance of the acquisition of liberty, and this remembrance is the peculiar property of youth, and of future ages. This remembrance is the history of the United States; their citizens cannot neglect making themselves familiar with these great events without committing an injury, and, I will say, further, without incurring the shame of being ignorant of what it is the first duty of every man belonging to a free people to know. But this remembrance cannot engage them in any steps contrary to the duties of a moral and wise policy; it confirms them in the resolution of keeping themselves for ever independent of any foreign nation; and it leaves on the minds of the Americans impressions of satisfaction and of pride, which, when they become united with a sound and enlightened morality, are the embryos of private and public virtues.

In the course of my journal I have had occasion to speak of learned societies. They are sufficiently numerous in America; but, as I have observed, they are not directed in a manner which can make them of that degree of utility of which they are capable, and of which America stands so much in need. These societies are not assiduously attended by their members, and this inconvenience belongs to that general cause, that constant application to gain so dear to them, that it leaves no leisure for any other. There are some medical societies established in America, which are more

more diligently attended, where some observations are made, though perhaps less perfect, and with less assiduity, than might be desired. The medical society of New York appears to be that which applies itself with the greatest diligence to the cultivation of those branches of knowledge consonant to its institution. For some time this society has continued to publish monthly a kind of journal, filled with useful and interesting tracts.

Besides this there is not any useful journal or periodical work published in America of any importance; there was one published during four years at Philadelphia, under the title of the American Museum, really interesting, on account of some pieces which it contained upon politics, literature, some extracts from good English works, and for the details which it gave of the principal matters relative to commerce and navigation, and of the administration of the United States. This journal ceased to appear in 1792, because the subscriptions for it had ceased to be abundant enough to reimburse the editor for the expences attending it. This was certainly for America one of the most interesting works worthy of support; but reading has hitherto been the occupation of only a few Americans, and that of political pamphlets, or rather those of party, engages the attention of the greater part of those few; so that while there are in the cities, and even in the villages of the United States, more printing offices in proportion than in any city in Europe, the presses there are principally employed on some books of religion, sermons, some classical books, some geographical dictionaries, upon reprinting English works, and, above all, upon a great number of newspapers. Many works of merit, however, had their birth in America; such as the History of the Revolution of the United States, and that of South Carolina, by Dr. RAMSAY, of Charleston; the histories of certain states, among which that of New Hampshire, by Dr. BELKNAP, of Boston, holds a distinguished rank; the American Encyclopedia, which, though partly extracted from the English Encyclopedia, has a great number of original articles, and is a work of great utility; in short, there are many other tracts, general or particular, upon the United States, and doubtless

many which, while I did not name, I did not intend to exclude, any farther than I was not acquainted with them, or which had escaped my memory. If I have not included in this list the Defence of the American Constitution, by John Adams; the Observations upon Virginia, by Mr. Jefferson; the Letters of General Washington during the War; it is because I speak here only of the employment of the American presses, and that these celebrated works were printed originally in England.

Numerous as the newspapers in America may be, they do not supply the want of journals, or periodical publications. Few foreign political articles of moment find a place in them; indeed they are nothing more, at least, in the larger towns, than the *Camp Lift*, or the *Common Advertiser*, in which parties attack each other, and deal out scandal; and as it often happens, when the parties arrive at a certain point of exaltation, the most vehement are those who find the most subscribers, even among those who blame them most.

In the debates of congress, speeches full of reason, drawn from a knowledge of things, and remarkable for good logic, are often heard; indeed there are but few men there who speak upon subjects which they do not understand. It is also said, but I am not capable of deciding, that the members there express themselves in the best language. But prolixity is, in some measure, the common fault of American orators, who, like the writers of the new world, are not desirous of leaving any thing to be interpreted by the understandings of their auditors or readers.

The most common vice of the inferior class of the American people, is drunkenness. The use which they make of spirituous liquors, in preference to those of beer, cyder, and wine, greatly aids this disposition. This excepted, there are, without doubt, fewer crimes committed in America than among an equal number of people in Europe; and the cause of it may be found in the easy circumstances of the people, the first source of the morality of nations. Assassinations are not unknown there, but they are very rare; and thefts, especially in the country, are not frequent, though public confidence be the only safeguard of property. They are, as in Europe, more frequent in cities, and for the same reason.

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The crime of counterfeiting bank bills is pretty common, and becomes more so every year. This offence is also frequent in those countries where bank notes pass as the current money; it is also, without doubt, the most dangerous to the public confidence. On this account there are men in America, humane in other respects, who contend that the punishment of death ought to be inflicted upon those who have been pronounced guilty of counterfeiting the legal currency. But independently of every consideration of conveniency, or even of right, to inflict the pain of death there is, in this opinion, more of political resentment than of exact justice. If severe laws were made, and rigorously executed, to prevent fraudulent transactions from becoming so often the means of accumulating riches, and which, at the same time, should have a sufficient influence upon the manners of the people, as to destroy that respect and high consideration, which is too often paid to men merely because they are opulent, they would certainly reduce the number of crimes more than the fear of death, which experience proves to have but little effect in this respect.

If I have been severely exact in representing excessive avidity of becoming rich, as the common characteristic of the American people, and especially in the inhabitants of cities, I shall be as exactly just in adding that this disposition does not hurry them on to avarice. Without being profuse, or forgetting the interest of their families, they know how to be at proper times expensive, even with ostentation, and they do not refuse to assist the unfortunate, when proper opportunities for it occur. The unfortunate sufferers by the fires at Charleston and Savannah, and by the dreadful disease which raged at Philadelphia and New York, &c. &c. have been relieved by the abundant subscriptions of the citizens of almost all the American towns where those disasters did not take place; and it is certainly the duty of a Frenchman to do homage to that generosity so liberally extended to the unfortunate inhabitants of the French islands, whom burnings and the threats of death had thrown destitute upon the shores of America. Though I have taken great pains to procure a particular account of the amount of these succours given by

almost all the American towns to these unfortunate people, I have only been able to obtain it in part, and have consigned the account to the archives of the town where I have been able to collect them, and should have been glad to have been able to have presented the state with the grateful thanks of my countrymen. I do not doubt but the total of these benefactions is more than two hundred thousand dollars; and I do not include in this sum the relief afforded by individuals to individuals offered with sincerity, a feeling for misfortune, and, I may add, with fraternal affection. The wants of these French colonists, driven from their country, and despoiled by barbarity, were sooner felt, sooner succoured in the towns of the United States, where these unfortunate victims arrived, than expressed by themselves; and these succours have hardly had any other term applied to them than necessities; these sufferers still abide, and have continued to abide, in some of the towns during the last four years. I know examples of whole families being admitted for two years to the intimacy and comforts of American families. I have also known some to whom houses have been let, of which the expences have been defrayed, and who would still receive the same hospitality, if they themselves had not refused to profit by these kindnesses any longer. I know masters of boarding houses, who, learning that these French guests quitted their houses, because the smallness of the sum of money which they were able to save in their flight was not sufficient to defray their expences, have cordially solicited their further abode with them as friends, and have at length prevailed over their delicacy to accept the offered kindness. I know Frenchmen who having had a great distance to travel before they arrived at a convenient port, from whence they could depart for their own country, have been with their families lodged and nourished gratuitously, because they were Frenchmen and unfortunate. Similar examples abound, and certainly so many of these facts are greatly honourable both to the nation and to the individuals to whose beneficence they belong.

Every private individual in all the United States of America, has an entire liberty of conscience; and almost all the religions known in Europe are those of the sectaries there. But there are some states where the constitution

constitution requires of every citizen entering upon the legislative or executive function, to swear "that he believes in one God, in the future rewards and punishments of another life, in the holiness of the Old and New Testament, and that he professes the Protestant religion." In short, with individuals, and even with some societies, religion is one of the objects which occupies the least of the attention of the American people; and it is affirmed that in those states where Presbyterianism has preserved the most of appearance, of influence, and of rigidity, it is exercised in general only for the sake of form.

There are in almost all the towns of America, at least in the principal cities of the states, societies for agriculture, societies for the encouragement of arts, and for the formation and maintenance of public libraries; these last excepted, few among them attain the end proposed, and but few of them can ever be able to attain it in the present state of America. The expenses which these last societies incur in small pamphlets, are paid by voluntary subscription, in which the inhabitants of the United States, in easy circumstances, are more liberal when the public good is the object of them, than they are in bestowing their time in reading them.

There are also a considerable number of charitable societies, some of which are marine societies, whose purpose is, in some towns, to provide a subsistence for the wives and children of captains, or masters, who die at sea; or for providing assistance to all vessels wrecked upon their coasts. There are also societies for the assistance of emigrants; that is to say, for assisting with advice and succours those strangers who arrive from Europe, with an intention of establishing themselves in America. Others subscribe for the support of hospitals and schools, and for the distribution of proper medicines; there are some for the purpose of ameliorating the situation of prisoners; some also for the civilization of the Indians; and, lastly, others unite themselves for the purpose of accelerating in America the epoch of the destruction of slavery. In all these different charitable societies, composed of men of all classes, of all professions, and of all religions, there is not one in which some of the people called Quakers are not to be found; they are the agents of a great many of them, and of some

some they are the promoters and almost the only members; such as those who have the liberty of the negroes for their object.

Without becoming on this account an extravagant enthusiast of the Quakers, it is impossible not to remark, that in every place where any beneficent plan is formed for the good of humanity, there they are always ready visitors. They are perhaps, as is said of them, as much engaged in the occupation of amassing riches, as those who do not belong to their society; but granting it to be so, this does not prevent them from applying themselves, upon every occasion, to acts of kindness and beneficence. Their tenets, their principles, and their laws, rigorously prescribe this duty; and their constant inspection over their societies inures them to it. And though there may be hypocrites among them, which is unfair to presume, this pretended hypocrisy, which would be a vice in those whom it might sway, ought yet to be respected, since the good which may result from it, may cause it to be turned to the public advantage, and would even become a credit to their society. There must, without doubt, be found among the great number of members of their communion, some bad men, but they cannot be notoriously so without being excluded the society. If there be among the American citizens some Quakers whom false or hazardous speculations have drawn into proceedings which delicacy and equity condemn, their number is but small; and the quantity of Quakers engaged in commerce is nearly equal to that of the men who compose their whole society. Their private manners are regular and pure, and the luxury of those who resign themselves the most to it, does not exceed the ease and conveniences of life. The courts of justice are never engaged in deciding the differences which take place among them, and the number of law-suits between the Quakers and other citizens is but small, in comparison of their multitude, and the quantity of their property. Submissive to the laws of the country where they live, no state, whatever its constitution may be, has more quiet and more faithful subjects. Their wishes for the freedom of slaves, and their efforts to hasten the period of its accomplishment, has created them violent and irreconcilable enemies in every part of the world. It may be, that

that the exalted zeal of some individuals may have drawn them beyond the bounds of a just convenience, and from a well digested prudence, and those are certainly blameable. But have they ever been even accused of having excited the negroes to rebellion? It has been by pleading and petitioning for them, as unhappy beings and as men; it has been by rising against slavery that they have shewn themselves their friends; and the Quakers are not the first men in whom a desire to dissipate errors and to procure redress for the injured has produced hatreds and even persecutions.

Perhaps it may be delicate to discuss the question of negro slavery, at a period when so many crimes and so many unparalleled atrocities have been committed under the pretext of their emancipation; whence so many miseries, either irremediable, or at least difficult to repair, have resulted to the state, to proprietors, and to the negroes themselves. This question however is foreign to my subject. But the Quakers had no hand in causing these calamities; and their adherence to the cause of suffering humanity, and their frequent petitions in favour of the negroes, do them honour, as well as their vigilance, as citizens, in executing the laws which are favourable to this class of men. How honourable to them are those persevering cares and assiduous attentions to the hospitals and prisons, in which they expose themselves to the danger of catching the dreadful yellow fever when it appears! I am speaking of them as citizens, without any regard to their opinions, to their rules and orders, or to the austerity of their manners; in this respect, I believe that a nation which has really at heart the good of mankind, cannot have better or more useful subjects.

The inferior classes of workmen, down to those who labour in the ports, do not appear to me to be so rustic in America as they generally do in the old world. The reason of this is, without doubt, that they are treated with more civility, and considered by those who employ them as free men with whom they have contracted, rather than as workmen, whom they compel to labour. They are like the workmen of every class, both
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in town and country, much better paid than in Europe, by which they are enabled to live well. There is not a family, even in the most miserable hut in the midst of woods, who does not eat meat twice a day at least, and drink tea and coffee; and there is not one who drinks pure water; the proverbial wish of *having a chicken in the pot*, is more than accomplished in America. The shopkeeper and the artizan live much better here than in Europe; and the table of a family, in easy circumstances, living upon their income, is not better served in England and France, than a great many of those of tailors, hair-dressers, &c. of Philadelphia, of New York, or of all other large towns in America.

Though there be no distinctions acknowledged by the law in the United States, fortune, and the nature of professions form different classes. The merchants, the lawyers, the land-owners, who do not cultivate their land themselves (and the number, which is small from the state of Delaware to the north, is great in the states of the south), the physicians, and the clergy, form the first class. The inferior merchants, the farmers, and the artizans, may be included in the second; and the third class is composed of workmen, who let themselves by the day, by the month, &c.

In balls, concerts, and public amusements, these classes do not mix; and yet, except the labourer in ports, and the common sailor, every one calls himself, and is called by others, a *gentleman*; a small fortune is sufficient for the assumption of this title, as it carries men from one class to another. They deceive themselves very much who think that pure republican manners prevail in America.

The white Americans, by a pride which cannot be blamed, and which proceeds from the negroes being generally employed in the service, is ashamed of the situation of a domestic; so that there cannot be reckoned throughout the whole extent of the United States, twenty native Americans in the state of domestic servants. The class of domestics in America is composed of poor priests, Germans, and of negroes and mulattoes; and as soon as the first have acquired a little money, they quit that station, regarded with a sort of contempt, and establish themselves upon

upon land, which they clear and till, or in a small trade. In short, they become independent of a master. Hence it may easily be inferred, that good servants are not readily found in America.

The prejudice which causes the men in America to have so great a repugnance to the state of domestic servitude, does not influence the women in the same degree; nothing is more common than to see young women of good families, in the situation of servants, during the first years of their youth. Even their parents engage them in this situation without shocking any idea. I have been told by M. de FAUBONNE, a Frenchman, formerly a captain in the regiment of Auvergne (and whom the pride of independence induced to take up the business of a gardener for the support of his family, though he was forty-six years of age), that he had had in his service, as maid-servant, the niece of the Mayor of the city of New York, a young woman very honest, and well brought up. Similar examples are very common.

In a country which has belonged to England for a long time, of which the most numerous and nearest connections are yet with England, and which carries on with England almost all its commerce, the manners of the people must necessarily resemble, in a great degree, those of England. To the American manners particularly, those relative to living are the same as in the provinces of England. As to the dress, the English fashions are as faithfully copied, as the sending of merchandise from England, and the tradition of tailors and mantua-makers will admit of. The distribution of the apartments in their houses is like that of England, the furniture is English, the town carriages are either English, or in the English taste; and it is no small merit among the fashionable world to have a coach newly arrived from London, and of the newest fashion. The cookery is English, and, as in England, after dinner, which is not very long, the ladies withdraw, and give place to drinking of wine in full bumpers; the most prominent pleasure of the day, and which it is, consequently, very natural to prolong as late as possible.

There are great dinners, numerous tea parties, invited a long time in

advance, but no societies. So that these tea assemblies are every where a fund of amusement for the ladies. Balls and plays are much frequented. It is generally understood that these kinds of dissipation belong only to the towns, and particularly to large cities. Luxury is very high there, especially at New York and Philadelphia, and makes a dangerous progress every year; but easily to be conceived, since luxury is, in some degree, the representation of riches, and that wealth there is the only distinction.

There are some persons who surpass their neighbours, already too far advanced, in luxury; these injure the manners of the country, but while the people censure, they pursue these seductive paths; and frequent and sumptuous dinners are held in as high consideration in the new as in the old world; and this custom has its advantages very often. It has been seen that this consideration has raised to the place of temporary president of the senate of the United States, a man who was not esteemed by any of those who elected him, or by any other, either for his talents, his qualities, or for his character, but he entertained his friends with sumptuous dinners. In the other towns, and especially in the country, luxury is less prevalent, but it continually increases, and often out of proportion with wealth.

The women every where possess, in the highest degree, the domestic virtues, and all others; they have more sweetness, more goodness, at least as much courage, but more sensibility, than the men. Good wives, and good mothers, their husbands and their children engage their whole attention; and their household affairs occupy all their time and all their cares; destined by the manners of their country to this domestic life, their education in other respects is too much neglected. They are amiable by their qualities and their natural disposition, but there are very few among them who are so from any acquired accomplishments. What they esteem to be virtue in wives is the virtue of the whole sex; and if in the United States malice may throw out her suspicion upon twenty, there are certainly not above ten of them who can be accused justly, and all the rest treat these with great rigour. I have heard some husbands complain,

complain, that the urgency of their wives makes this irreproachable virtue cost them dear. But where in the world is there a place where evil is not found by the side of good?

The young women here enjoy a liberty, which to French manners would appear disorderly; they go out alone, walk with young men, and depart with them from the rest of the company in large assemblies; in short, they enjoy the same degree of liberty which married women do in France, and which married women here do not take. But they are far from abusing it; they endeavour to please, and the unmarried women desire to obtain husbands, and they know that they shall not succeed if their conduct becomes suspected. Sometimes they are abused by the men who deceive them, but then they add not to the misfortune of having engaged their hearts to a cruel man the regret of deserving it, which might give them remorse. When they have obtained a husband, they love him, because he is their husband, and because they have not an idea that they can do otherwise; they revere custom by a kind of state religion, which never varies.

I do not know whether there be many badly managed families in America; but none appear so, though indeed they do not bear the image of the most desirable happiness. In the inferior classes of society, where the manners of the women are as exempt from reproach as in the more elevated classes, it is said that those of the young women are more easy. Yet according to all which I have been able to collect, it is the illusion of a marriage, which they believe to be decided, which engages them to give further liberties than they otherwise would do without this false hope. The fault therefore lies entirely in the men who deceive the young women; without it can be just to accuse those of libertinage who have not the prudence to guard themselves against it.

There formerly was a custom in New England, and particularly in Connecticut, which various American travellers, in their accounts, attribute to vicious manners; but who, I confess, ought to accuse me of dulness, because it always appeared to me, on the contrary, to be the effect of the purest manners, and the most innocent intentions. A traveller

arrived at the house of a friend, and the beds of the family were engaged. He was put to bed with the family—with the boys, if there were any, and with the girls, if there were no boys. It may be conceived, that it is easier for Europeans to compose pleasant tales, and to draw merry inferences from this custom, than to examine it in its native simplicity, and the beneficence of its intention.

Hospitality among this new people was one of the virtues the most regarded as a duty, and the most religiously observed. Their houses were few and small. A traveller to whom an entrance into one of these had been denied at the end of the day, was not able to find another lodging near; their hospitable manners could not suffer him to be refused; and the idea of disorder did not enter the head of the parents, or that of their daughters, and the guest was admitted into the hospitable roof; and it was not remarked that he arrived inconveniently. The part of the clothing which was not thrown off, was rather a homage paid to the difference of sexes than a necessary means of security; and the next day the traveller departed, to find on the next evening another hospitable lodging. This custom, known by the name of *bondelage*, ceased, in proportion as houses became larger, the roads more frequented, and taverns established; but the day when the idea of modesty entered to make this reform, the manners had lost their innocence.

I have heard it said by men who had been admitted to this species of hospitality, and whose manners were certainly not very scrupulous, that the slightest attempt which they had ever made to abuse this reception had been received with violent repulses, and had caused them sometimes to be turned out of bed, and sometimes even out of the house; and no one ever told me that he had ever succeeded in attempting to take advantage of this custom; but their delicacy had not prevented them from desiring it, and would not have hindered them from avowing it.

There probably may have been examples to the contrary; but they could only be reckoned as exceptions, and too few to have authorised writing travellers to have played so much upon this custom, which, when it is considered at what period it took place, and with what intention

tention it was established, is a credit to the manners of the country, and to the times in which it was practised. Be this as it may, the custom has ceased long ago, so that there is no more truth in the account of those writers who represent it to exist at present, than there is of justness and goodness in their judgment when they attack the morality of it, or pervert the intention.

But the custom which exists still, and which may shock the manners of an European, is that of being admitted to sleep upon mattresses and upon blankets in the same chambers where the husband and wife sleep in their bed, and the children of the family, boys and girls, in theirs. This custom is also to be attributed to the scarceness of houses, and their smallness, which is generally reduced to one chamber, which renders this practice necessary in those parts of the United States which are thinly inhabited. I have more than once found myself in such a lodging, when I have been travelling alone, or with companions of my journey, and when I have met with travellers to whom I was a stranger. The chambers are very small; and men often sleep near the bed of young and handsome girls, whose simplicity is not sufficiently alarmed to make any change in their customary night dress. If the stranger so lodged has his sleep retarded or broken by the ideas suggested by a situation to which he is so little accustomed, it is neither the fault nor intention of his good and kind hosts.

As to the large towns, and particularly commercial ones, the means of libertinism there are perhaps more numerous than in Europe, and I hear say that a great many husbands make use of these means. As in Europe, poverty and vanity of dress are the determining motive which lead the women into the paths of prostitution;—so it is in the great towns of America: and among the married women, those whom the long absence and inattention of their husbands leave without sure means of subsistence, particularly the wives of seafaring-men, are, if not absolutely the only ones, the most frequently accused of this illicit practice.

I ought to add farther, that the condition of the girls who are kept in the houses set apart for prostitution, is viewed by the lower orders of the American.

American people with weaker prepossessions than in Europe, and is looked upon merely in the same manner as every other trade: there are many examples of this description of women, who leave those situations, place themselves as servants, or are married, and make faithful domestics and honest wives. The municipal police connives at this kind of houses; but if the neighbours complain of any exterior scandal, they are instantly shut, and the inhabitants carried to the house of correction.

The Americans marry young, especially in the country: the occasion which the young men, who generally establish themselves very early either in some new lands or in some trade, have for a wife to assist them in their labours, conduces to these early marriages as much as the purity of manners.

In the villages, marriages are less frequent and not so hasty, especially since the introduction of luxury renders an acquired fortune more necessary; and the young men hardly feel the necessity of loving, with the project of marriage, till they have already satisfied, or are in the way of satisfying, the more imperious necessity of gaining money. But however good the marriages may be, the wife who dies is readily replaced by another. In the country she is, as in Europe, a necessary friend to the management of domestic affairs—she is the soul of the family. In town she is so too. She is an indispensable resource for domestic affairs, while her husband is engaged in his own affairs, as every one is in America; she is an assiduous companion, and a society ever ready to be found in a country where there are no other but that of the family, and where the children soon quit their paternal abode.

To the sketch which I have just given of the manners of the people of the United States, I could add some features more, but which would augment but little the knowledge which I have tried to give of them collectively; or of them *ensemble*; besides, I am pressed to finish this article, which appears too long already.

An European coming into the new world, and bringing with him the need of the usage of the politer attentions of that which he has quitted; he, above all, who brings with him the need of what we call in

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France the charms of society, which we know so well how to appreciate, of which we know how to participate, and which affords us so many moments of happiness,—such a man will not find himself satisfied in America, and his recollections will be continually sprinkling his life with melancholy. He cannot, if his heart has an occasion for a friend, hope to find there the sweetness of a constant and avowed friendship. The inhabitants of the United States have been hitherto too much engaged in their respective occupations for the enticements of polished society, to be able to withdraw their attention from them; they have not leisure to consecrate to friendship.

Such an European ought to have for a long time forgotten Europe, in order to live quite happy in America. But if he can readily lose the remembrance of it, or take with him there the dearest objects of his affection, he will lead in America a happy and tranquil life. He will there enjoy the blessing of liberty in the greatest extent which it is possible to desire in any polished country. He will see himself with an active people, easy in their circumstances, and happy. Every day will bring him to observe a new progress of this new country. He will see it every day take a step towards that strength and greatness to which it is called; towards that real independence which is for a nation the result of having the means of satisfying itself.

Besides, every man of talents who shall go to America; every skilful workman; and every man who, without any particular talent, shall take with him sufficient courage and resolution to labour hard, is sure to find there, in a short time, the means of making himself independent, a man of property, and soon after to acquire an easy and honest competency.

Some of the reflections with which I have accompanied the account I have given in this last part of my journal, of the constitution, of the government, of the laws, of the commerce, and of the manners of the United States, may be accused of severity. What answer ought I to make to this reproach, if it be laid upon me? It was my duty to say what I saw and what I thought. I have spared no pains to come at the truth, and to keep my judgment free from the influence of all prejudice,

judice, and from party spirit; I am inwardly conscious of this. Doubtless nothing obliged me to write a journal; but nothing could make me consent, while I was writing it, to disguise, or even to weaken my opinions.

It is still more probable that I shall be accused of having judged the actual politics of the governing party in America with a French partiality. I will not attempt to exculpate myself from a strong attachment to my country, and to all its interests; I believe I do not yield to any one in this sentiment, so general among the French; it is in me, independent of all the governments which my nation can give herself, as it is of all the misfortunes of which I have been, and of which I may still be the victim. But I should have reproached myself for having yielded to be guided in my judgment by sentiments for which I honour myself; I should then have run the risk of not seeing the truth; and it is the truth after which I have been searching, and for the sake of which I wrote. I think, therefore, that I have preserved myself from the influence of national prejudice, and I hope that the majority of my readers will think the same.

May America, strengthened by all the advantages which nature has bestowed upon her, and with those which a happy concurrence of circumstances has added to them, already rich in her own experience, enjoy with a long prosperity!

May the people of America employ, without remission, all their vigilance and all their firmness to preserve their liberty and independence, which they have so gloriously acquired! None of her citizens wishes this more sincerely than I. In short, may France and the United States draw closer the bonds of alliance and friendship, which it so much interests the two nations to strengthen and to invigorate! May generosity and good faith be the bonds for holding them together! In political, as in private life, these are the most useful and the most honourable.

I add

I add here a brief view of the resemblance and differences between the constitutions of the United States of North America, of that of the Union, as well as of those of the different states which compose it.

These tables are the literal translation of those published last year by Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, at that time member of congress for South Carolina, at present minister of the United States.

Tariff of the Duties which the various Articles of Merchandize imported into the United States pay, since the 1st of July 1797.

Merchandize Imported.	Upon American Bottoms.	Upon Foreign Bottoms.
Fire-arms and bayonets, not otherwise specified	10 per cent of their value	16½
Philosophical apparatus imported for the use of schools, &c.	free	free
Aniseed	15 per cent of value	
Articles produced or manufactured in the United States, liquors excepted	free	free
Anchors	10 per cent of value	11
Starch	15 ditto	16½
Slate	15 ditto	16½
Steel	100 cents per quintal	110
Beer, ale, and porter, in casks or in bottles	8 cents per gallon	8½
— upon the value of the bottles	10 per cent of value	11
Bricks and tiles	15 ditto	16½
Bonnets, hats, and all kinds of head-dresses	15 ditto	16½
Boots	75 cents per pair	82½
Buttons of all kinds	15 per cent of value	16½
Buckles for shoes, &c.	15 ditto	16½
Brushes	10 ditto	11
Coin, or silver	free	free
Cambrick	10 per cent of value	11
Stockings	15 ditto	16½
Wax, and spermaceti candles	6 cents per pound	6½
Wood unwrought	free	free
Wood wrought (except cabinet wares)	12½ per cent of value	13½
Brass cannon, and articles made of copper	15 ditto	16½
Coaches, or parts of coaches	20 ditto	22
Cards for gaming	25 cents per pack	27½
Cards for cotton and wool	50 cents per dozen	55

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Cables and tarred cordage - - -	180 cents per quintal -	198
Candles made of tallow - - -	2 cents per pound -	2½
Spikes - - -	1 ditto -	1⅞
Capers - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Canes and whips - - -	10 ditto -	11
Cinnamon, gooseberries, comfits, &c. -	15 ditto -	16½
Chintz, calicoes, muslins, and all merchandize of cotton and wool in colour - -	12 ditto -	13½
Cocoa-nut - - -	2 cents per pound -	2½
Chocolate - - -	3 ditto -	3⅞
Cosmetics - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Coals - - -	5 cents per bushel -	5½
Colours - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Copper wrought - - -	15 ditto -	16½
— in sheets, pigs, and bars - - -	free -	free
Composition for the teeth and gums -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Coffee - - -	5 cents per pound -	5½
Cotton - - -	3 ditto -	3⅞
— manufactured without die or colour -	10 per cent of value -	11
Cutlasses and hangers, either whole or in pieces -	15 ditto -	16½
Hemp - - -	100 cents per quintal -	110
Leather tanned, and all manufactures of leather, or where the leather is the essential article -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Citrons - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Nails - - -	2 cents per pound -	2½
Pasteboard and parchment - - -	10 per cent of value -	11
Types for printing - - -	10 ditto -	11
Dates and figs - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Drugs (of the apothecary) except those used in dyeing -	15 ditto -	16½
Drugs and wood (for dyeing) - - -	free -	free
Lace and lawns - - -	10 per cent of value -	11
Lace for edges, fringes, lacets, &c. used by coach-makers, saddlers, &c. - -	15 ditto -	16½
Malt - - -	10 cents per bushel -	11
Cabinet ware - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Essences, powder, and perfumery - -	15 ditto -	16½
Fans, whole or in parts - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Tin, wrought - - -	15 ditto -	16½
— old - - -	free -	free
Artificial flowers, feathers, and other ornaments for ladies - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Copper wire, &c. - - -	free -	free
Cheese - - -	7 cents per pound -	7⅞
Fruits of all kinds - - -	15 per cent of value -	16½
China ware - - -	15 ditto -	16½
Furs unwrought - - -	free -	free

Merchandize imported.				In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Iron wire	-	-	-	free	free
Packthread	-	-	-	400 cents per quintal	440
Gauze	-	-	-	10 per cent of value	11
Ginger	-	-	-	15 ditto	16½
Girandoles, whole or in pieces	-	-	-	20 ditto	22
Gloves and mittens of all kinds	-	-	-	15 ditto	16½
Lace of gold or silver	-	-	-	15 ditto	16½
Glue	-	-	-	15 ditto	16½
Clothes ready made	-	-	-	10 ditto	11
— liveries, furniture, and utensils of profession, belonging to persons coming to reside in the United States	-	-	-	free	free
Oil	-	-	-	15 per cent of value	16½
Indigo	-	-	-	25 cents per pound	27½
Jewellery, and artificial stones	-	-	-	15 per cent of value	16½
Play-things for children, not otherways specified	-	-	-	10 ditto	11
Blank books	-	-	-	10 ditto	11
Distilled liquors from corn.					
— of the first proof	-	-	-	28 cents per gallon	30½
— second	-	-	-	29 ditto	31½
— third	-	-	-	31 ditto	34½
— fourth	-	-	-	34 ditto	37½
— fifth	-	-	-	40 ditto	44
— sixth	-	-	-	60 ditto	55
From other matters.					
— first proof	-	-	-	25 ditto	27½
— second	-	-	-	25 ditto	27½
— third	-	-	-	28 ditto	30½
— fourth	-	-	-	32 ditto	35½
— fifth	-	-	-	38 ditto	41½
— sixth	-	-	-	46 ditto	50½
Liquors distilled in the United States, imported in the same vessels in which they have been exported from the United States, viz.					
From molasses.					
— first proof	-	-	-	13 ditto	13
— second	-	-	-	14 ditto	14
— third	-	-	-	15 ditto	15
— fourth	-	-	-	17 ditto	17
— fifth	-	-	-	21 ditto	21
— sixth	-	-	-	28 ditto	28

Merchandize imported.	In American bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
From matters the produce of the United States.		
— first proof - - - - -	7 cents per gallon -	7
— second - - - - -	8 ditto - - - - -	8
— third - - - - -	9 ditto - - - - -	9
— fourth - - - - -	11 ditto - - - - -	11
— fifth - - - - -	13 ditto - - - - -	13
— sixth - - - - -	18 ditto - - - - -	18
Wool unwrought - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Woollen yarn - - - - -	225 cents per quintal -	247½
Watches and clocks, in whole or in pieces -	15 per cent of value -	16½
Merchandise imported directly from China, or from the East Indies, in vessels which do not belong to the United States, (except tea, porcelain, and all other articles subject to the higher duties -	- - - - -	12½
— which shall be re-exported in the same ships in which they have been imported -	free - - - - -	free
— not specifically specified in this tariff -	10 per cent of value -	11
Looking-glasses - - - - -	20 ditto - - - - -	22
Manufactures of tin, composition, and copper -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
— of iron and steel, not otherwise specified -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
— of copper - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
— of lead - - - - -	1 cent per pound - - -	1½
— of cotton and wool, dyed or coloured -	12½ per cent of value -	13½
— ditto, without being dyed or coloured -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
Marble, slate, stones, bricks, tiles, tables, mortars, and other utensils of marble or slate, and in general all work in stone or pottery -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Mace (a sort of spicery) - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Merchandises of mode - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Molasses - - - - -	4 cents per gallon -	4½
Muskets and fire-arms, with bayonets, whole or in pieces -	15 per cent in value -	16½
— without bayonets, ditto - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Mustard in powder - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Muffins dyed, coloured, &c. - - - - -	12½ ditto - - - - -	13½
— without dye or colour - - - - -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
Nutmegs - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Goldsmiths' ware - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Oranges - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Olives - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Porcelain - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Dolls for children - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Gun-powder - - - - -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
Powder for the hair - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16½
Raw hides - - - - -	free - - - - -	free

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	Foreign Bottoms.
Calaminare stone - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Lead and bullets - - - - -	1 cent per pound - - - - -	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
Paper, painted for tapestry - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
— for writing and wrappery - - - - -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
— strong - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Plaster of Paris - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Pepper - - - - -	6 cents per pound - - - - -	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pistols, whole or in parts - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paintings and engravings - - - - -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
Allspice - - - - -	4 cents per pound - - - - -	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Prunes - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Naval provisions - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Wafers - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Raisins - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Glauber's salt - - - - -	200 cents per quintal - - - - -	220
Salt weighing more than 56 lbs. per bushel - - - - -	12 cents for 65 pounds - - - - -	13 $\frac{1}{2}$
— weighing 56 lbs. per bushel or less - - - - -	12 cents per bushel - - - - -	13
Saltpetre - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Saddles, whole or in parts - - - - -	10 per cent of value - - - - -	11
Satin, and other silk stuffs - - - - -	10 ditto - - - - -	11
Shoes and pumps of silk, for women - - - - -	25 cents per pair - - - - -	27 $\frac{1}{2}$
— for men or women - - - - -	15 ditto - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sabres and cutlasses, in part or whole - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soap - - - - -	2 cents per pound - - - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sulphur - - - - -	free - - - - -	free
Sugar, brown - - - - -	2 cents per pound - - - - -	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
— white clayed - - - - -	3 ditto - - - - -	3 $\frac{1}{8}$
— powdered - - - - -	3 ditto - - - - -	3 $\frac{1}{8}$
— all other refined, and in powder - - - - -	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto - - - - -	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
— (Linnpeugas) - - - - -	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto - - - - -	7 $\frac{1}{8}$
— in loaves - - - - -	9 ditto - - - - -	9 $\frac{3}{8}$
— refined - - - - -	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto - - - - -	7
— candy - - - - -	9 ditto - - - - -	9 $\frac{3}{8}$
Carpets and mats - - - - -	15 per cent of value - - - - -	16 $\frac{1}{2}$
Tobacco in powder - - - - -	22 cents per pound - - - - -	24
Sail cloth - - - - -	10 per cent of value - - - - -	11
Tea, China and Indian.		
— bohea - - - - -	12 cents per pound - - - - -	17 $\frac{1}{2}$
— fouchong and other black teas - - - - -	18 ditto - - - - -	27
— hyfon imperial - - - - -	32 ditto - - - - -	50
— other green teas - - - - -	20 ditto - - - - -	30

Merchandize imported.	In American Bottoms.	In Foreign Bottoms.
Tea coming from Europe.		
— bohea - - - - -	14 ditto - - -	17½
— fouchong, and other black teas - - -	21 ditto - - -	27
— hyson imperial - - - - -	40 ditto - - -	50
— other green teas - - - - -	24 ditto - - -	30
Tea coming from any other place.		
— bohea - - - - -	17 ditto - - -	18½
— fouchong - - - - -	27 ditto - - -	29½
— hyson imperial - - - - -	50 ditto - - -	55
— other green teas - - - - -	30 ditto - - -	33
Tobacco manufactured (otherways than in powder) -	10 cents per pound -	11
Glas.		
— black bottles, containing a quart - - -	10 per cent of value -	11
— in panes - - - - -	15 ditto - - -	16½
— all other manufactures of glas - - -	20 ditto - - -	22
Velvet - - - - -	10 ditto - - -	11
Wine in barrels, bottles, or other vessels.		
— from London, Madeira of the first quality -	5 cents per gallon -	61½
— London, or brought from Madeira - - -	49 ditto - - -	51½
— other Madeira - - - - -	40 ditto - - -	44
— Burguny and Champagne - - - - -	40 ditto - - -	44
— Sherry - - - - -	33 ditto - - -	33½
— Saint Lucar - - - - -	30 ditto - - -	33
— Lisbon and Oporto - - - - -	25 ditto - - -	27½
— Teneriff, Royal and Malaga - - - - -	20 ditto - - -	22
The duties upon all other wines ought not to exceed 30 cents per gallon in American vessels, and 33 cents in foreign vessels; nor to be less than ten cents in American vessels, and eleven in foreign vessels		
Upon the value of the bottles - - - - -	40 per cent of value -	44
— 10 ditto - - - - -	10 ditto - - -	11
All sorts of fruits preserved in vinegar - -	15 ditto - - -	16½
All other merchandise not otherwise specified -	10 ditto - - -	11

FINIS.

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